WORLD DEMOCRACY FORUM

DÜNYA DEMOKRASİ FORUMU

MESUDİYE / ORDU - TÜRKİYE
14-16 September 2023

Editor:
Prof. Dr. Aziz EKŞİ

PROCEEDINGS BOOK

Daha Güvenli Bir Gezegen için...
For a Safer Planet...

MESUDİYE
33rd
CONGRESS

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DÜNYA DEMOKRASİ FORUMU
WORLD DEMOCRACY FORUM

14–16 EYLÜL/*SEPTEMBER* 2023
MESUDİYE

MEGEV

FOREWORD

Mesudiye is one of the 973 districts in Turkey. Its population reached 38 800 in 1960. But then it decreases year by year due to migration to the city and falls to 13 200 in 2022. On the other hand, it is stated that the population living outside the district is around 81 200. Accordingly, the population living outside the district is more than 6 times the population living in the district.The first generation does not forget the region where they were born and their relatives left behind. Love for the region continues in the second generation. Associations are established to contribute to the development of the region. So much so that every village in Istanbul has an association. A total of 73 village associations are mentioned. In this respect, Mesudiye differs slightly from other Anatolian districts

This solidarity expands even further in 1991. As Oktay EKŞİ stated in his speech, the people of Mesudiye who came from abroad and lived in the district that year, gathered together and discussed the problems of the district. Thus, the process called Mesudiye Congress begins and it meets every year on the first Saturday of July. The meeting is open to everyone, everyone who attends has the right to speak and vote. The agenda consists of the problems of the region. Thus, a successful example is presented for *"local development with direct democracy".*

Over time, the love for the region and the interest of the people spread beyond the region. In 2010, it was decided that the first *"World Democracy Forum"* would be held in Mesudiye in 2023. Thus, it is aimed to strengthen the bond of the Republic of Turkey with democracy on its 100th anniversary and to discuss current problems

of democracy at the global level. This decision is implemented between 14-16 September 2023. The forum is realized with voluntary contributions, without receiving public support. The book in your hands contains the papers presented by scientists in this forum.

Forum; It started with Oktay EKŞİ's meaningful speech about the Mesudiye Congress. This was followed by the opening lecture on democracy as a style of government, given by Prof.Dr. Ersin KALAYCIOĞLU. Later, global democracy was examined from different perspectives in 7 panels within the scope of the forum. A total of 35 papers were presented. Among the speakers were citizens of different countries such as England, USA, Chile, Tunisia, Ghana, India and Japan.

In the FIRST panel, the democracy map of the world and the reason for the differences in the map were discussed. The SECOND panel focused on current problems of democracy and defined populism as the hypocritical enemy of democracy. In the THIRD panel; the relationship between democracy, food security and climate change was discussed and a more equitable food system is proposed. In the FOURTH panel, the relations between democracy and economy and working life were examined. In particular, the factors restricting investments and the obstacles to unionization were highlighted. In the FIFTH panel; the expectation of a more inclusive and more feminine politics for the development of democracy was expressed. In the SIXTH panel; the functions of local governments and, in the SEVENTH panel, non-governmental organizations in terms of deepening democracy were discussed.

The forum ended with a call for *"more democracy for a safer planet and a better future."* We hope that our call will be heeded sooner or later.

Thus, the first World Democracy Forum book was written in Mesudiye. Thus, the first stage was completed. I would like to thank everyone who contributed to the forum, participated and succeeded together. I also owe my gratitude to the people of Mesudiye and the Mesudiye Congress for giving me this honorable duty.

Hoping to meet again for democracy…

Prof. Dr. AZİZ EKŞİ
Chairman of WDF'2023

WORLD DEMOCRACY FORUM

WDF'2023

September 14-16, 2023

MESUDİYE - ORDU - TÜRKİYE

OPENING SPEECHES

Prof. Dr. Aziz EKŞİ
DDF'2023 Executive Board Chairman

Welcome to
the First World Democracy Forum!..

Today, as the people of MESUDIYE, we are experiencing great happiness. For implementing a decision we made in 2010 and keeping a promise we made. Because we met with democracy volunteers from America, Africa, Europe, Asia and all over Turkey. Because we achieved this despite natural and social disasters and difficulties such as earthquakes, elections and floods.

In this context, we would like to apologize to the guests for the road between Ordu and Mesudiye, which was damaged by floods two months ago.

The main purposes of this forum are:

1. Celebrating the 100th Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey and emphasizing its strong bond with democracy,
2. To discuss the problems experienced by democracy at the global level and to develop solution proposals,
3. Emphasizing that the solution to the economic and ecological problems is through more democracy.
4. To contribute to the promotion of our country, region and district.

At the same time, to contribute to the functionality of the "International Democracy Day" determined by the UN as September 15.

We see that the world is going through a really difficult time. On the one hand;

•	According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) 2022 report, greenhouse gas-induced global warming and climate change are knocking on our door.

•	According to the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) 2022 report, the living planet index in the world is decreasing and the number of living things is decreasing year by year,

- According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) 2022 report, food security cannot be expanded. Even though zero hunger is targeted, around 820 million people in the world suffer from hunger. New ones are being added to these after Covid-19,
- According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) 2022 report, the human development index or quality of life in the world begins to decline after 2018.

On the other hand;

- According to the Economist Inteligence Unit (EIU) 2022 report; The level of democracy is gradually declining around the world. While the world's democracy score was 5.52 in 2006, it drops to 5.29 in 2022. 55% of people live in countries that are not considered democratic,
- According to Freedom House's 2022 report; The percentage of people who feel free decreases from 46% to 20.3% from 2005 to 2022. The proportion of people who feel partially free increases from 17.9% to 41.3%.

Additionally, according to UNDP, 6 out of 7 people in the world do not feel safe. Polarization and anxiety are increasing.

It can be seen that the background of these deteriorations is the decline in the level of democracy. That's why we say that **"more democracy is needed for a safer planet."**

If there is no democracy, most of us do not exist...

Perhaps the weakest aspect of democracy is that it is regressive. In this respect, democracy is like the stone that Sisyphus tried to push to the top of the mountain, but always rolled back down. Maybe the reason why the stone rolls back is because Sisyphus is alone. If we want to prevent democracy from going backwards, we need to stand together.

In this Forum consisting of seven panels, we will focus on the world, not Turkey. We will discuss the world, not Turkey. In this context; 37 scientists and subject experts will present papers. 8 of the speakers are from other countries and 29 are from Turkey. Among the speakers are 16 academics from 11 different universities. 41% of speakers are women.

A feature of this Forum is that it is open to everyone who is interested and everyone who participates has the right to speak. We are in favor of as many people as possible asking questions and contributing.

We will prepare a declaration that includes the main issues and recommendations highlighted in the panels and demands more democracy. We think that this call from a small district of Anatolia may be heeded.

We will also publish the papers presented at the forum as a book in two languages, ensuring that they reach more people.

We present this Forum as a gift;

- **To the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey,** founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, which we wish to become even more democratized and live forever,

- **To the history of world democracy**, with the hope that polarization will decline, anxiety will decrease, food security will be ensured, natural life will be protected and the human development index will increase,

- To the loyal and devoted people of Mesudiye, who earn their living from stones, and **to the Mesudiye civil society movement,** which combines love for the region with universal values.

We would like to thank everyone who contributed to the realization of this forum, from the village headman to the governor, from the village association president to the mayor, from the audience to the speaker. This gratitude also applies to media representatives, the organization company Serenas and the communication company Medyas.

Welcome again! I offer my respects and hope that the forum will be successful.

Bahri GÖKALP
Mesudiye Governor

Welcome!..

Esteem protocol, dear participants and guests, ladies and gentlemen, first of all, I salute you all cordially. You are all welcome…

Being here today gives me great pleasure, I have to say this first of all. Of course, this is a very valuable event that we have here today in Mesudiye on the 100th anniversary of our Republic. It's really valuable to have such an event in Mesudiye. Of course, first of all, I will be sending Mesudiye, Turkey and the rest of the world a message, a message of democracy.

As you also know, the 15th of September has also been declared World Democracy Day by the United Nations. So, this event being on this date is also in its own way significant. Now, of course, in this event we have very valuable participants and guests. Today we will speak of democracy, of its current standing, of its problems and our expectations, among many other topics. And as we said, we will be sending a message to the world. Honestly, I want to keep this brief. We have very valuable participants and guests among us here. I would like to leave the floor to them.

Therefore, I would like to thank everybody in the organization of this event, namely first of all, Mr. Ekşi, our mayor, to all of our participants, guests and everybody else who made an effort for this organization and contributed to it. And of course, I hope that this event will be good for Mesudiye, Türkiye and the world.

I thank you all once again and cordially salute you all.

Muammer ÖZER

Mayor of Mesudiye

Welcome to Mesudiye!..

Distinguished people of Mesudiye, our good town, our good country, and distinguished guests. Mesudiye people who are in love with democracy in order to approach the democracy that you are in love with, in order to access your love. Dear people of Mesudiye, work day and nights and every day we are witnessing the developments for reaching to democracy.

And there are challenges that we undergo while trying to ensure the equal access to democracy. And there are civil society organizations and our public who are putting their efforts for these 33 years with the boards we have established in Türkiye and the need for democracy in our town and in our country and in the world. As already mentioned by the President of our Executive Board, we have decided and organized first Türkiye Democracy Forum than Eurasia Democracy Forum and World Democracy Forum. While making these decisions, many people, opinion leaders and civil society organizations contributed and put forward their opinions. Thank you very much to all.

Distinguished citizens and guests, Mesudiye is small town far away from the sea. It has an altitude of 1350 meters, the center is 1050 meters and average altitude is 1350 meters. Mesudiye district has an area of 1,180 square kilometers consisting of extremely broken and rugged lands. This is a town which has a surface area which equals to two provinces in this region and we have 70 neighborhoods and about 180 settlements. As the municipality we are trying to serve and to do our best.

When we look at the history, the lands of this town was settled by the Turkish people in the 12th century. Kale village, which is also my village, is one of the regions where Turks first settled to ensure their own security by establishing castles. A principality named Emiroğlu Principality ruled and lived here until 1461. It joined the Ottoman Empire in 1461 and has remained this way until today. Mesudiye received the title of

district in 1858, and the municipal organization was established in 1899. Mesudiye, which was connected to Şebinkarahisar province at that time, was connected to Ordu province, which we are affiliated with today, in 1933. There are still 70 neighborhoods and more than 100 settlements. In every neighborhood of ours there are many different settlements within the boundaries of our town. Unfortunately, only 210 kilometers of the roads in our province are asphalt or paved, and 1016 kilometers are stabilized or dirt roads, only 1/5 of our roads are covered with concrete, but the remaining 4/5 of the roads are stead rough and not stable.

Again, I think we are the smallest municipality of all the province and there are three social facilities, one guesthouse, one is culture center, one student dormitory, one indoor gym and one swimming pool in our town. So I would like to thank you very much for going on this opportunity for providing the services. But as the town, as the municipality, indeed, if there is democracy, if there is equality, as one municipality out of 900 municipalities in our country, I request that our municipality must be reinforced and be able to provide more services to the public.

Dear friends, if this democracy is only for me or for us, let it not be... If it is for all of us, if we will all be treated equally and fairly, if those in positions and positions will treat everyone fairly and equally. It can only be a democracy if it treats its citizens of every opinion, every need, and first of all, those with urgent needs, fairly.

If I serve people with my views and do not serve those who have opposing views or are not my people, this is neither democracy nor such democracy. I would also like to question how much democracy exists in this hall where we exhibit the democracy platform and want to teach the world a lesson in democracy. I would like you to question it too.

I offer respect and love to all of you. I would like to welcome dear guests, especially those coming from far away places and abroad, for coming to my district. We have flaws, we have mistakes. As a municipality, we have shortcomings. There are things you see missing. I apologize to all of you. But our resources are limited, our staff is insufficient, our staff is not trained. For this reason, I wish you to convey your good opinions about our district to others and your bad opinions to us.

I offer respect, I offer love, I say goodbye…

Seyit TORUN
Ordu CHP Parliamentarian

Long live Democracy!...

Dear District Governor, our very valuable guests from home and abroad, my dear fellow countrymen, valuable representatives of our press!..

First of all, I would like to express that I am extremely happy to be together in such a meeting that will set an example to the world and shed light on both our country and the world from our Mesudiye district. I offer my love and respect to all of you.

Dear Prof. Aziz Ekşi really made a great effort, he was emotional at the end of his speech and it impressed us too. It is obvious that it was organized with great difficulty and great effort. We have been implementing a local democracy model in our Mesudiye district that will be an example for Turkey and the world for 33 years. The Mesudiye Congress, which has been held regularly since 1991, now has a meaningful place in our political history. Now, this tradition is crowned with the World Democracy Forum on the 100th anniversary of our Republic. I would like to thank everyone who contributed to this international organization and all the participants, especially the Mesudiye Development Foundation.

This year, we celebrate the 100th anniversary of our Republic, which was entrusted to us by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and our heroes of the War of Independence. We have spent a century of our free and independent republic struggling to modernize, develop our democracy and provide better living conditions for our people. We have a quest for Turkey, especially as politicians, our struggle is to make a more inclusive understanding of democracy dominant in our country. We all need to know that this struggle should be a common goal for all politicians. But unfortunately, we had very bad experiences on this journey. A few days ago was the anniversary of the September 12 military coup. From here, I would like to emphasize once again that we condemn and oppose all military and civilian coups that take away the will of the people.

In democracies, there is no power above the will of the people. In this sense, the authoritarian management approach that polarizes society according to their ideas, lifestyles and political views is a serious threat to both the world and democracy. Therefore, our most important area of struggle should be against authoritarianism and polarization. In the second century of our Republic, we must learn from the mistakes we made in the first century. We have to create together an understanding of democracy that will serve to ensure the peace and prosperity of not only a section of society but also the whole society. In short, we have to build together the order that will crown the 2nd century of our republic with a real democracy. This is a responsibility of us, the politicians currently in office, and the world of business, academia and civil society, towards our country. Our ancestors granted us a free and independent republic. They paid a heavy price for this. The greatest legacy we will leave to future generations will be a Turkey that has established democracy in all its institutions and social areas, and reached the level of contemporary civilization, in addition to freedom and independence.

I believe that the results of this democracy congress will have a great impact both in our country and in the world. Mr. Ekşi just gave the rates at which democracy has reached the world. The world is now at a crossroads; Those who are in favor of authority or those who are in favor of democracy? I believe that with the struggle that will be waged, those who support democracy will win and the climate of democracy will live and be kept alive in every area of the country and the world.

I say long live democracy. I offer love and respect to all of you. I also thank the participants.

WORLD DEMOCRACY FORUM

WDF'2023

September 14-16, 2023

MESUDİYE - ORDU - TÜRKİYE

OPENING CONFERENCE

Oktay EKŞİ

Journalist

Mesudiye Congress: a Direct Democracy Example

Respected Guests, Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to start my presentation by expressing our deep graritude to all of our guests, especially those who came from 8 different countries who took the burden of comimg to a little town of Anatolia and willing to contribute to the World Democracy Forum here in Mesudiye.

Since I have the good fortune to be the oldest person at this forum, I feel that I am able to speak on behalf of all those assembled and thank everyone your participation!

I know that many of those assemled are distinguished scientists and academic experts who will present their views in scientific language and the languages of their fields of expertise. Unlike them, I will simply tell the story of how the idea for a World Democratic Forum originated and why we dared to convene such a major event, even though it might appear that Mesudiye and our relatively small villages might lack needed experience and facilities.

The story starts in 1991. Because of a religious festival, I came to Mesudiye as did many othes. I noticed that there were too many cars on the streets of Mesudiye and on the roads between villages. In a conversstion with the late Mayor of the town, I asked; *"Why are so many more ciitizens here than usual? I wasn't aware that they loved their town so much."*

He said, *" The reason is that there is a rumor that the government is exploring ways to settle about 500,000 Bulgarian Turks who are being forced to leave Bulgaria because the Bulgarian leader, Theodor Jivkov, is pressuring them to change their Turkish names to Bulgarian, or to return to their native country."*

At tht time, a local businessman, Salih Mesudiyeli, advised the governmnet that the owners of many houses and properties had gone to the big cities to live. It was proposed the these houses and lands be leased to the immgrants, who would pay rent for a maximum of five years. This idea caused a great deal of anxiety and many of these citizens came here to show that, they were indeed interested in their properties!

Upon hearing this, I said to the Mayor, *"Leaving the reason aside, since so many are here, why not call them to a meeting and ask their views about Mesudiye and seek solutions to the issues?"*

He agreed, and a meeting was arranged immediately. The success of this first meeting excited us, and we decided to to repeat the experience on the first Saturday of July at the same location as today's forum.

We called this and subsequent meetings "Kurultay," an ancient name for important meetings called by the then head of state. This year we held the 33rd consecutive Kurultay, and this remains an event that is unique in all of Turkey!

At the Kurultay, not only citizens of Mesudiye, but anyone, without regard to age or gender, is permitted to speak and make their views known and all are permitted to make proposals regarding the problems of Mesudiye. There is one rule that prohibits political speeches. All present must speak only to problems of Mesudiye.

The problems and proposals are prioritized, and three months later a follow up meeting is held to examine how the tasks of the previous meeting were fulfilled or why the issues could not be solved.

The Kurultay excercise in democracy with regard to Mesudiye has been so succesful that it was decided to think globally and to convene a World Democracy Forum that would take place in 2023, the 100th Anniversary of the founding of he Turkish Republic.

Distinguished Professor Aziz Ekşi was aked to take the lead in making it happen. He reminded us that the 15th of September is recognized by the United Nations as "Democracy Day," and here we are! I'm sure I speak for all of us in expressing our sincere thanks for his efforts.

In closing, I also want to express thanks to the people of Mesudiye for their many contributions. While this effort was sometimes a burden, their enthusiasm for the Kurultay and their commitment to democracy helped make this event possible!

Thank you for listening to me tell this story!

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Democracy as a Style of Popular Rule

Introduction

In order to manage the affairs of a human community, it is necessary for the members of the community, if not all, at least the majority of them to consider those decisions taken for all as as reasonable, appropriate, fair and appropriate for those decisions to be accepted as binding. We call such decisions legitimate decisions. Legitimate decisions are of such a nautre that the members of society for which they apply will feel and act as if they had made these decisions spontaneously on their own and by their own free will. Then, complying with these decisions and acting accordingly will become natural, almost improvised, and it will become easier to achieve the goals hoped for in making those decisions. The question then is how to create a perception of legitimacy that makes compliance with political decisions easiest and most widely accepted and effective?

Different Forms and Styles of Political Government

Since political decisions are taken for the purpose of regulating certain actions, processes and structures of the society in which they are made, the compliance of those who take part in these actions, processes and structures are important and even critical. This fact once again clarifies the importance of the legitimacy of political decisions. To accept the legitimacy of decisions supported by sanctions (rewards or punishments), evaluations about who made these decisions, how they were made, and what the effects of the decisions taken might produce determine whether they are perceived as fair, appropriate and reasonable. Then who are the political decision makers? What are their identities, personalities, qualities? How were these decisions taken and by which people and through what procedures? What are the effects of the implementation of these decisions on individuals' lives, beliefs, ideologies, and

interests? Will the results of the implementation of these political decisions be as desired in the areas where they are implemented? The answers to these questions will determine both the perception of legitimacy of political decisions, their success, and the content of political decision-making structures, processes, and practices.

The first set of questions concerns who is authorized to make political decisions. The answer to this question can be found on a scale where a single person is at one end and all adolescent members of society are at the other end. Since Aristotle's work Politics (Barker, E. (ed. and trans.), 1973), the answer to this question has been suggested as monarchy if there is only one person, oligarchy if there are many people, and democracy if the entire adolescent society participate in the making of binding decisions. In the same work, Aristotle argued that there would be different styles of implementation and management depending on whether political decision makers make decisions that benefit just themselves versus the public at large (1973: 174 – 178, 224 – 234, 235 – 243, 373 – 374). A monarchy will become a tyranny if the ruling official makes and implements decisions just to benefit himself; if oligarchy produces decisions that are beneficial to society, it will become an aristocracy; and if democracy makes and implements political decisions in a way that benefits the whole society, it will be polity (or timocracy).

We know that democracy, oligarchy and monarchy have existed as regimes of political systems since Aristotle's early research or since antiquity. The difference in these regime types seems to be related to the extent to which societies have an equal distribution of resources, income, and status. Since human societies in the ancient world were considerably smaller than those in today's world, it was easier for equal distribution of resources, wealth, prestige, etc. to be possible in those societies in which these structures existed. In this case, conditions existed that made it both possible and desirable for political decisions to be made with the joint participation of individuals in the society, at least men above a certain age. In these societies, in the absence of a tribal and tribal structure that would enable the acceptance of inequality as a virtue, a difference in power and ability that would make a family stand out as a dynasty, or a religion and clergy whose superiority was widely accepted in the society, it was easier to accept political decision-making and governance with the participation of almost everyone in the society in short, to realize a kind of government of the people by the people and for the people.

In this practice of democracy in antiquity, both those who made political decisions and those who followed and implemented them were the same people. The "people" in society were considered to consist almost entirely of adolescent men, property owner and/or family elders or leaders; women, workers some of who were also considered as slaves, and young people under a certain age were not included in

this definition. Consequently, the people consisted both of those who took part in the meetings held in the agora to make political decisions, participated in the discussions, and then obeyed the decisions taken. Moreover, a part of the public is also elected to take part in executive activities, which are considered to be executive functions, from time to time. Therefore, there is a public consisting of the same people who play the role of political decision-makers/rulers/authority and the same people who are governed, and play a more passive role. In the long run, since both those who govern and those who are governed are the same people, those who discuss political decisions are in a position to act with the responsibility and consciousness of governing (Sabine, G., 1969: 4). Government and opposition did not exist as permanent and organized groupings, but could change as political issues arose, and thus, to some extent, governance was possible with the co-decision and harmony of the people in a participatory political practice. However, after a while, either inequalities began to emerge in the society, or some empowered states were able to establish empires that spread over large territories by taking their neighbors under their sovereignty. These powers used both military and religious power, often with the support of the clergy, to dominate large territories and societies that were more diverse than equal. Empires came to be ruled either as oligarchies or monarchies. As the ancient world came to an end, so did the first practices of democracies.

In this new era, the right to rule has emerged as a privilege of a family (dynasty), perceived as having been ordained by a divine power. In this concept of sovereignty, the right to rule is traditionally believed to be either inherent in a divine source or accepted by society as a right granted by that source to a family, dynasty, or individual (divine right of kings). The legitimacy upon which governance rested had traditionally been accepted in society as the divine political decision-making and implementation authority of the monarch. This practice was applied in a post-ancient, decentralized (feudal) society and political system in Europe. The king ruled alongside his relatives and friends, as a lord of the lords. Absolute monarchy administrations continued with the contributions of lords who owned significant land and armies in rural communities and supported the kingdom in defense and finantially by tax payments. However, no matter how absolute the monarchy was, power was shared both practically and legally between the king and the lords. Over time, practices and political structures, such as advisory councils, became institutionalized.

A new phase of power sharing was reached when lords in the United Kingdom managed to make an agreement with the king for the confirmation of various rights as early as the 13th century (Magna Carta, 1215). However, the acceleration of developments that would reduce the predominance of agricultural economy and increase economic power based on industrial production and financial structures in cities did not take long. Mercantile capitalism, especially from the late 15th century

onwards, rapidly strengthened and gained a global dimension with the onset of overseas explorations. Cities and urban societies began to grow, industrial production based on agricultural produce began to develop in Europe, and worldwide trade came under the control of European imperial states. Developments in transportation technology, especially the Industrial Revolution that began in the second half of the 18th century, gave a significant boost not only to mercantile capitalism but also to financial capitalism, such as insurance and banking, and non-agricultural industrial production.

During this period, the emergence of new sects and inter-denominational conflicts, especially between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant sect, starting ideological and religious conflicts in Europe, resulted in the making of Reformation and Reform as a strong movement in religion. These processes also created a conflict between the central absolutist government, the noble class in close relationship with it, the church, and the wealthy and powerful classes of merchants and industrialists with their economic interests. The conflict, even civil war conditions, between the urban society and the dominant class of merchants and industrialists that emerged in urban centers and their economic interests against the rural society and its agricultural interests, in the 16th and 17th century England. During this period, starting in the mid-17th century, English urban bourgeoisie won the war they opened against the king and lords, reducing their influence on markets. Simultaneously, the powers of the king and his cabinet were curtailed, ensuring governance by representatives of urban bourgeoisie to administer government in a manner that would not jeopardize the global interests of this rising class, by the representatives of the people that comprised the Parliament (House of Commons).

Under this system of governance, oversight was exercised, and a prime minister and his cabinet (council of ministers) emerge from within the Parliament. This change in governance was accompanied by the globalization of a market where trade and industrial bourgeoisie could compete as freely as possible, shaped by the ideological environment of liberal economic thought and a government with as little meddling as possible in the operation of the market. This economic thought was accompanied by a significant political and ideological transformation that strengthened and began to gain general acceptance during the same period.

From ancient times, except for some exceptional practices, such as the direct democracy found in Swiss cantons that Rousseau referred to, democracy, which was not frequently encountered, became the fundamental political governance form and legitimate political model of the rising English bourgeoisie from the 18th century onwards. As the divine right of kings was increasingly questioned and replaced by the people's sovereignty, partly with some divine references (e.g., "vox Popoli, vox

Dei"), it began to spread across Europe, North America and eventually the world. Rousseau introduced the notion of common collective will *(volonté general)*, which did not exist empirically and could not function as the sole principle of governance, but it mativated the rising bourgeoisie in Europe, especially in France (Kalaycıoğlu, E., 2021: 74 - 75). With the motivation and inspiration of this claim, especially in France from the late 18th century onwards with the French Revolution, both absolute and constitutional monarchy were abolished, unlike in the United Kingdom, and the first modern republican practices were put into effect not only in France but slightly earlier in the United States. In both France and the United States, modern democracy practices began and spread with popular representation in the legislative body especially in the lower chamber of the legislature, produced and consolidated representative democracy.

The earlier established practice of reformation of monotheistic religions allowed for a secular political environment, within which popular sovereignty was practiced alongside with a capitalist market economy, primarily in Europe and North America from the 19th century onwards. In this world where major political empires still existed, capitalism began to dominate the world by taking on an imperialist, colonialist character. For the global political consequences of these developments to emerge, it was necessary for large empires to collapse and for the colonies in Asia and Africa to become independent states. Therefore, two important political ideologies, movements, and political actors needed to emerge from them.

Contemporary Democracy: Representation, Participation, Opposition, and Challenges

The ideologies and movements of nationalism that emerged, particularly in the 19th century, were effective in dismantling empires and played a role in the escalating wars, eventually leading to two world wars. As politicized populations conceptualized as societies characterized by unity and solidarity produced the modern 'nation' and the ideologies that glorified it (nationalism) contributed to the creation of nation-states from empires and also entered into complex relationships and competititon with capitalism and democracy. Nationalist movements often consisted of factors that challenged and could transform both democracy and capitalism (Wiebe, 2002: 49-53). However, another ideological movement and political party that became stronger, particularly in the second half of the 19th century and began to play an important role in world politics, further complicated political life. Especially influenced by the publications of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, socialism developed as a new political phenomenon outside of capitalism, democracy, and nationalism but interacted with them and even occasionally challenged them (Wiebe, 2002). The ideology and political practices that evolved as representative democracy from the 17th century

interacted with nationalism and socialism, competing with them and also evolving in interaction with capitalism.

Contemporary democracy practices are a phenomenon that have developed within nation-states with urban and mass societies, influenced by the Industrial Revolution and the growth of a capitalist economy. These democracies, which are organized according to the concept of governance for and by the people, where hundreds of millions of people can easily participate, are inevitably organized as a form of representative government. At the center of this organization is an election process in which candidates and/or parties compete for support from voters in a free and fair conditions. The vote cast by the voter is the concrete expression of this support. This process has evolved and changed over time as a result of the interactions between democracy and the above – mentioned four other major ideas, ideologies or movements that have emerged from antiquity to the present. Moreover, this process has not followed a smooth, continuous, and unidirectional development. The four major transformative ideas and/or ideologies and their movements, in order, have been monotheistic religions, capitalist economy (especially market economy), nationalism(s), and socialism. In addition, the Industrial Revolution, its technological innovations, and technological change generated by science and its applications also deeply affect democratic governance. During this process, the roles of central state power, wars, and the strengthening of armies have also been effectively enhanced, especially through established empires, and over time, nation-state structures have developed to replace them worldwide. Security-based organizations and practices also gained strength in the political processes and structures of nation-states (Tilly, 1992).

As a result of the Reformation, secularization emerged, especially challenging the claims of the Roman Catholic Church and the Papacy regarding politics, making it possible and effective to question the divine right of kings from philosophical, moral, and ideological perspectives. The success of capitalism in generating wealth strengthened cities and the trade and production conducted in them. This led to massive migration from rural areas to cities, with a large population eventually finding employment as laborers in industrial production. Another significant effect of secularization was the increasing influence of science in the economy and society. Scientists who started to practice freedom of thought and imagination beyond the dogmatic constraints of religion also contributed to significant scientific developments, playing a role in the onset of the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century.

In this context, the feudal politics and economic interests based on the countryside found a new class representing urban capitalists and industrial interests, which were gaining power. The urban elites, equipped with the wealth and tools provided by the Industrial Revolution and the increasingly globalized capitalist economy,

began to perceive the political power, primarily the relationship between the king-noble and land rent, as a hindrance. As the shift from rural to urban areas occurred and a majority formed in the cities with new workers, production, consumption, and the economy became more popular. With the growing wealth and political influence of the urban elites, the practice of popular rule, as rule by and for the people, based on the claim that the urban elite alone represented the people, emerged. This led to the birth of contemporary Representative Democracies as a form of governance.

The process of parliament's power and influence increasing, while the king's power and rule decreased, started with the English Civil War in 1648 and continued under the appearance of a Catholic-Protestant sectarian war in 1688, and resulted in Westminster democracy eventually. It was seen that since the 18th century, not only kings but also monarchies, especially absolute monarchies, have significantly lost power in Europe and North America, as Republican systems and Constitutional Monarchies have begun to spread as power in the legislative bodies, especially in the House of Commons, increased effectively. With the claim of governing on behalf of the people, with representatives elected by the people, and the governments (Prime Minister and Cabinets) accountable to them, a new form of governance emerged as contemporary Representative Democracies. After a long hiatus, democracy has returned to life as a process of governance on behalf of the people, represented by the people and for the people.

In this process, it is observed that peasants and urban poor have played important roles, as in France, or armies and again soldiers as peasants and urban poor have played significant roles, as in the United Kingdom (Barrington Moore Jr., 1993). The social base of contemporary representative democracy has relied on urban middle classes who have benefited greatly from capitalism. However, despite the power of this influence, two important political ideologies have challenged contemporary representative democracy since the 19th century (Wiebe, 2002). The first of these is the nationalist movements that emerged almost simultaneously in the 1780s in the United States and France and then expanded throughout the continent of Europe. In particular, it is seen that definitions of the nation have emerged, emphasizing the term 'nation' rather than 'people,' and in making this definition, definitions of the nation emerged consisting of either people who share the same parents (blood connection) or people who are born and raised on the same homeland (territory, homeland/patrie) and share the same culture. The second is the inclusive, comprehensive, and inclusive definition of the nation that embraced all who were citizens of a territorial state who shared the same culture. The genetic origins of an ethnic or racial definition of a nation reduced the nation to a genetic pool, and touted a narrow definition of nationality or nation as consisting of a single race or

ethnic community which was both exclusionary and discriminatory for all others who resided in the same state territory that were not of the same race / ethnicity (Smith, Anthony D., 1971). Especially in the Balkans and Turkey, the definition of the nation with religious and sectarian effects also gave rise to a kind of religious nationalism. Due to the impact of blood ties, religion, and sect on the definition of nationality, political relations with democracy have been very problematic in these geographies (Wiebe, R., 2002). On the other hand, nationalist ideologies based on territorial (homeland) definitions of a nation have experienced far fewer problems in their relations with democracy. Particularly from the 20th century onwards, ethnic or racist nationalism ideologies that rely on blood ties have constituted one of the most significant threats to democracy.

The relationship between modern socialism, which emerged in the 19th century, and democracy was ambivalent. Radical socialist ideologies such as Marxism-Leninism, Stalinism, Maoism, considered democracy as antithetical to the capitalist economy and politics and sought to exclude it. In some cases, they even advocated for its elimination. However, in the 20th century, social democrats demonstrated that a form of socialism could coexist with democracy.

In the broadest sense, democracy signifies a system of governance where the people have the authority to rule, by the people, for the people (Abraham Lincoln). In the narrowest sense, modern democracy, as defined by Joseph Schumpeter, is essentially an institutional arrangement for achieving political decisions through a competitive struggle in which citizens authorize those who make binding political decisions by means of their votes.

The nature of this definition becomes more complex when we consider Schumpeter's propositions about the characteristics of decision-making in this context. This complexity led to multi-dimensional definitions. Robert Dahl, in the early 1970s, suggested that political science should abandon the term "democracy." The concept of democracy is used widely and has been assigned various meanings, making it a multi-dimensional concept hard to measure and use in scientific discussion. Dahl, therefore, recommended using the term "polyarchy" instead of democracy.

According to Dahl, polyarchy is characterized by inclusivity, widespread and effective political participation, and representation of citizens in decision-making processes. Furthermore, it ensures that those who believe they are not benefiting from this system or are even disadvantaged can contest political decisions without hesitation. Thus, polyarchy consisted of political participation, representation and political contestation or oppostion. Dahl identified eight essential conditions for a polyarchy. Schmitter and Karl (1991) added two more conditions, making ten essential requirements for the effective functioning of modern democracy.

The complexity of these definitions and their multidimensional nature has led to measurement issues and the development of various democracy indices and assessments. Moreover, a spectrum has been established to categorize different regimes, including democracy, hybrid regimes, authoritarian regimes, and even competitive authoritarianism, which Levitsky and Way introduced in 2010. For example, the Economist uses a classification system in its Democracy Index measurements, which includes full democracies, flawed democracies, hybrid regimes, and authoritarian regimes.

In order to be considered a full democracy, the following conditions must be met: the ability to conduct free and fair elections, freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom of assembly, freedom of the media and press, and full protection of civil liberties. In addition, if non-elected actors can independently make and implement decisions, or if a country's political independence is compromised or limited, even partially, the system is not considered a full democracy. As a result, the number of countries with democratic governments that meet these criteria remains around 20-25 out of 193 United Nations member states.

Challenges that Democracy Faces

Since its emergence in the late 18th century, modern democratic practices as a form of representative government have faced various threats. From the early 19th century onwards, even processes that could be considered democratically legitimate have been used to undermine democracies from within. Contemporary referendums, a tool first employed by Napoleon Bonaparte at the end of the 18th century, have been transformed into instruments that limit individual rights and freedoms by allowing direct public voting against legislative or judicial decisions that the executive branch cannot override. Representative democracy is the practice of political structures, institutions, written and unwritten rules. When the results of free and fair elections, associational freedoms, and activities of political parties are not respected and when political leaders and elites who do not adhere to the ethical political practices gain power, democracy is prone to erosion.

As seen in the cases of the United Kingdom (UK) during the Brexit process, as well as the United States (US) during and after the presidency of Donald Trump, even well-established consolidated democracies have witnessed disrespect, indifference, or attacks on the fundamental norms of democracy by political authorities.

Since contemporary democracy is a form of representative government, the voting processes, decisions, and political participation related to them play a crucial role. Political participation involves both supporting the content of a political decision and opposing it, making it a fundamental element, process, and institution of democracy.

For contemporary democracy to be effective, gain value and stability, dissent and opposition to political decisions must also be seen as having a reputable and generally accepted practice. These processes emerge as mass political phenomena, so political organizations, political parties, interest and pressure groups, and civil society organizations also play influential roles in the implementation of democratic governance. Finally, for these processes to be effective, political communication, information, and news also have a critical impact. Without access to accurate and timely information about the facts, relevant and realistic decisions cannot be made. Therefore, the content of political participation, campaign strategies, and voters' decisions will also change in a way that do not align with the facts, if accurate information and knowledge about what is true and what is not are not available. Hence, informing voters about what constitutes accurate information and helping them distinguish between true claims and propositions, and false ones is essential for shaping the quality and impact of political participation. Therefore, Dahl emphasized that in polyarchies, media and the press should have as much pluralism in terms of capital and ideology as possible (Dahl, R., 1971).

In contemporary democracies, to facilitate decision-making on a common ground among voters, parties, and other political organizations, it is essential for the members of society to trust each other as much as possible. Even if they have different opinions, when they can perceive and understand each other as respectable members who share the values of the same society, this becomes possible. Therefore, Aristotle emphasized the importance of equality in society for democracy to function, even in ancient city-states. It was suggested that in a society made up of individuals considered to have similar status, income, and prestige, democracy could be successful. However, it was also argued that if this balance is disrupted, it could easily lead to some form of excessive behavior, especially through demagogues who conduct campaigns against the wealthy, or it could lead to the transformation of democracy into an oligarchy (Aristotle, Barker (ed. and trans.), 1973: 169, 214-215).

In contemporary democracies, economic crises that exacerbate inequality, such as the economic downturn that began in Germany, Spain, and Italy after World War I, led to support for movements and political parties like fascism and Nazism, driven by fears that the middle class and the wealthy would be eliminated through a Marxist-Leninist revolution. Since the 1990s, with the significant developments in liberal market economies and globalization, along with technological innovations brought about by the new stages of the Industrial Revolution, major changes in production relationships have occurred, resulting in widespread job layoffs and, in many professions, long periods of stagnant or declining real wages. In this context, as regional economic projects such as the European Union (EU) gained strength, national democracies and the impact of political participation and voting seemed

to diminish, while the perception that EU institutions and bureaucrats or global capital gained significant power and isolated voters from their influence became widespread in EU member countries. In these and similar circumstances, there is a noticeable emergence of large, critical, angry, and frustrated voter groups who believe that democracy is not functioning, that they have no say in the developments in their political systems, and that many changes they do not approve of are being enforced on them by these global elites or even by the very politicians they nurture (Mounk, Y., 2018).

With the end of the Cold War, in consolidated contemporary democracies, it seems that the situation faced is that large segments of society perceive that they have experienced losses in social status and income, and that their political participation has been ineffective in rectifying these losses. Many former blue-collar workers, young people who graduated from universities with substantial debts but were unable to earn an income that would allow them to pay off these debts and establish a life like their parents, workers who believe that their jobs are being taken by foreign refugees and immigrants, and the masses who feel threatened by the cultures and lifestyles of foreigners and complain that they are prone to crime, all share a common perception that liberal democracy no longer works. In these contexts, there is a perception that a political elite, disregarding the sensitivities, concerns, and fears of these large segments, is trying to spread its own values, from liberal market economy to equality for homosexuals and even impose them on their countries. Those who complain that their votes for established right and left-wing parties in elections do not change this situation are not hesitant to change their preferences towards political leaders and parties that are inclined to make any decision and implement it, ignoring the laws, rules, and norms of democracy.

These politicians, despite adopting a populist approach, can take on different roles in political environments where cultural identities play a significant role. In societies where cultural differences are the main concern, the content of populism tends to revolve around ethnic, religious, or sectarian identities. However, in societies where social class distinctions and economic interests are more prominent, populism may adopt a class struggle approach inspired by socialist literature. For instance, we can observe the first approach in examples like Vox in Spain, Golden Dawn in Greece, the Hindutva movement in India, Fratelli d'Italia in Italy, Pegida or Alternative für Deutschlabd (AfD) in Germany. On the other hand, the second approach can be seen in examples like Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain.

Although these politicians emerge with a populist discourse, they no longer consider themselves as the voice, representative, or leader of the whole voters or people. Instead, they present themselves as the voice, representative, and leader of

a defined group, which they refer to as the "true people." Their concept of people's governance focuses on ending the economic and political hegemony of self-serving, cunning, exploitative, and corrupt elites who are opposed to the "true people." In this conceptualization, society is divided into two homogeneous groups: the "true people" and the "exploitative elites." The political elites do not have a role in governing the people. The "true people" are considered to be an entirely homogeneous group without divisions based on class, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and other factors. Justice and virtue are created and derived solely from the "true people." The "true people" are seen as pure, virtuous, and just, while the exploitative elites are portrayed as a group that is deceitful, cunning, unfair, and devoid of virtue (Kalaycıoğlu, E., 2021: 44-45).

As a result, people's governance is turned into a battle of virtues between good and evil. In this struggle, those not recognized as the "true people" are not limited to the definition of exploitative elites as made by populist politicians. In societies where cultural identities play a significant political role, those who do not share the majority's ethnic identity, religion, denomination, or social class are also not considered part of the "true people." They are viewed as harmful, enemies, and threats, excluded, and marginalized. The result is a monist system, opposite to pluralism, demanding a single people (volk) and a leader (führer) completely integrated with them, and a single government system (reich). In this type of people's governance, there is not much room for inter-party competition. The parties and leaders of the "true people" cannot compete on an equal footing with the parties and leaders of those opposed to them. The election is primarily a ceremony for bringing the "true people's" leader into power, accompanied by cheers and applause. Elections are only meant to show how strong the "true people's" leader is, having the support of the people. The election is more of an acclamation ritual than an expression of a clear choice.

While there is still an election in these authoritarian populist political systems, it is not a competitive, pluralistic, or democratic process. Rather, it serves the purpose of displaying the leader's strength among the "true people. The rule of law and a legal state do not hold any significance in this context. The administration is expected to adhere solely to the wishes and desires of the "true people," disregarding laws, norms, and standards, even if they violate the constitution or legal principles. Only the desires of the "true people" define what is politically just and virtuous. This type of governance is exclusionary and divisive, where minorities never have a say, and they are often scapegoated. This stands in stark contrast to R. Dahl's poliarchy proposal (1971), especially the inclusive, internalized nature of political participation. In this system, there is no pluralistic competitive democracy; the "true people's" governance represents an authoritarian form of rule.

The concerns raised regarding this kind of governance can be seen as a challenge to democracy, particularly in societies where cultural identities play a significant political role. This approach to democracy was first observed in the 1920s and 1930s in Europe and Latin America, and it is reemerging in much more developed and well-established democracies today, on a broader geographic scale, a century later.

Conclusion: Threats to Liberal Democracy

Contemporary democracies are political systems that encompass processes and institutions of free and fair political participation, representation, and opposition. Democracy as a form of representative government can exist when these three components work together effectively. It is essential for individuals to have the freedom to express their thoughts, associate with others, hold meetings, and access information easily in a free environment based on facts. In this context, elections play a fundamental role in producing legitimate government and governance. For democracy to function effectively as a form of representative government, it is crucial that both participating as a voter and running for office are easy and valuable, free from arbitrary restrictions.

Contemporary societies not only host mass events and movements but also witness organized movements. The power of organizations in influencing political processes and decisions varies according to the number of members and resources they possess. Over the last century, contemporary democracies have seen an increase in the power of organizations, while the power of individual voters has declined. It is important to prevent organizations from rendering the influence and role of individual voters in the processes of voting and political participation meaningless. Economic organizations, business people, labor unions, social or cultural organizations (such as those based on religious and ethnic identities), and even formal institutional structures like military bureaucracies can exert their influence on political decision-making, sometimes causing their special interests to prevail over the general public's interests. Thus, even though it may be a form of governance by the people, it would not be democracy but a form of governance where the population is ruled for the sake of certain organized special interests.

The changing technology, economy, and societal issues have created adaptation problems, status and income losses, pauperization, and class impoverishment, which can erode democracies regardless of how well established they are. For ideologies and movements such as nationalism and socialism, which have been struggling with democracy for at least two centuries, these situations provide new opportunities. In these circumstances, certain segments of voters can be easily distinguished as the "true people" through politicians and political parties. Their interests may become central to governance instead of serving the general public's interests. Consequently,

governance by populism can replace governance by the people, leading to the erosion of democracy and potentially evolving into an authoritarian type of government.

Technological changes, economic shifts, and the strengthening and expansion of the global market due to the ease of movement of capital have led to significant economic development and income growth. However, it is not possible to argue that this increased income has been distributed equitably at either the national or global level. This situation has allowed vast wealth and income to move beyond the sovereignty of national political authorities, be used without taxation, and even be increased. The absence of a global tax and monetary authority makes it impossible to regulate and control this situation. The purpose and beneficiaries of trillions of dollars in wealth are unknown, and holding them accountable is virtually impossible. In response, voters express their distrust of global institutions, processes, and organizations, feeling that they no longer have the means to govern their own lives within national political structures. This loss of trust, along with concerns and even fears, not only undermines trust in democracy's institutions, processes, and practices but can also increase support for political professionals and forces that can be undemocratic. Support for ideologies, especially nationalism and religious or ethnic nationalism, which can easily become authoritarian, in the name of taking back the levers of power under national popular control, is strengthened. This, in turn, can lead to the emergence of large segments of the electorate in national politics who are more insular, exclusionary, and view their relations with global/regional organizations as hostile and threatening. These developments can also turn feelings towards groups with different religious, ethnic, or national identities within the national community into hostile and antagonistic emotions, fueling political behavior based on discrimination, othering, exclusion, and denigration.

Contemporary democracies, no matter how well-established they may be, are increasingly faced with challenging threats, especially the corrupting influences of key actors in democracy, such as political leaders, parties, organizations, and voter groups. When confronted with global threats like the recent coronavirus pandemic, national political institutions, especially the state, have gained more power, causing greater concerns in international contacts and relations. This has led to an increase in demand and support for state and government policies aimed at taking precautionary measures, resulting in the routinization of these processes and the widespread adoption of practices that restrict freedom and rights. With technological advancements, the constant surveillance of every individual through applications like mobile phones and CCTV has made it possible for public authorities to become increasingly intrusive, restrictive, and regulatory. Therefore, efforts to monitor and regulate voter behavior for partisan (private-interest-based) purposes have become a small step in this context. The expansion of the state to the extent that it leaves

no private sphere for civil society to freely function, and bring every aspect of an individual's life under state scrutiny is a development that clearly serves autocracy rather than democracy.

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WORLD DEMOCRACY FORUM

WDF'2023

September 14-16, 2023

MESUDİYE - ORDU - TÜRKİYE

PANEL 1

DEMOCRACY MAP OF THE WORLD

Prof. Dr. Çiğdem ÜSTÜN
Nişantaşı University

Increasing Populist Rhetoric and Democracy in Europe

Populism has been a subject of extensive debate in political, academic, and civil society circles in Europe for a while now. The increasing prevalence of populist discourse in elections has led to a rise in polarization, and the dominance of social and political discourse deviating from norms has become almost inevitable.

Populism is primarily characterized by two fundamental propositions. The first is transferring decision-making authority from elites to the general population, and the second is the reestablishment of sovereignty within the [nation-state]. Both propositions have significant implications not only for European nation-states but also for the European Union (EU). Consequently, populism poses a problem at both the national and EU levels, particularly in areas where the EU has evolved into a supranational structure. The core issue lies in the increased visibility and support for populist parties. What exacerbates the problem further is the mainstream acceptance and propagation of populist rhetoric by central parties and politicians, rather than just far-left or far-right parties.

The recent Brexit process, the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the EU, demonstrates the effectiveness of populism at all levels of society and politics within a country. The diplomatic crisis between Turkey and the Netherlands in 2017, due to simultaneous events—a constitutional referendum in Turkey and general elections in the Netherlands—where both countries' politicians employed populist rhetoric, underscores the impact of populism in practice.

One of the most prevalent discourses in populist politics is anti-immigration sentiment. This anti-immigrant sentiment is on the rise across both left-wing and right-wing parties throughout Europe. Despite having no direct relevance to the UK's departure from the EU during the Brexit process, Turkey was brought into the discussion under the umbrella of immigration. In other EU countries, particularly

following the 2015 migration crisis, there has been a growing hostility towards Syrian immigrants. In Denmark, social democrats' anti-immigrant policies, which closely resemble the policies of right-wing parties in other EU countries, are manifest in Frederiksen's "zero asylum-seekers" rhetoric and policies. Recent controversial topics include sending refugees to Rwanda while their processes are ongoing, and a 2016 Danish law that allows refugees arriving in Denmark to possess up to 10,000 Danish crowns in cash and valuable belongings. These issues have sparked significant debates, particularly concerning human rights, liberal norms, and private property. The migration crisis, coupled with Hungary's border control policies, the EU's inability to reach a consensus on refugee resettlement, and countries at the borders pushing migrants back into the sea, have generally compromised the average scores on norms and values that Europe has been emphasizing for years. It is essential to remember that anti-immigrant policies and discourses not only affect European countries but also influence the EU as a whole. The idea of creating evacuation or "disembarkation" platforms near EU borders to streamline immigrant processes has stirred controversy from both an international law perspective and in the context of the norms and values that the EU advocates within and around its borders.

In all these examples, the emphasis that stands out is the question of sovereignty and giving voice to the people. When democracy is defined as the people governing themselves, the question of who constitutes the "people" has long been a subject of debate in the political science literature. The inclusion or exclusion of women, non-affluent men, young men, or women in the demos, which forms the essence of democracy, has been a historical debate. Nowadays, within the context of demos, which we generally approach as citizens, the question of how citizenship is acquired is also under discussion.

Populist rhetoric often highlights who should be part of the "demos" and emphasizes religious and ethnic identities. Such rhetoric strengthens the "us" and "them" divide, exacerbating polarization within societies. This poses the most significant threat to the unity of European peoples, which Jean Monnet envisioned for Europe after World War II.

The issue of mobilization that arises in elections, the most fundamental tool for people to govern themselves, is also crucial for European democracy today. In the Italian elections where Meloni obtained the authority to form a government with 25.9%[1], the voter turnout was below 65%. This is a significant decrease compared to the voter turnout of over 70% in the 2018 elections in Italy. In the Brexit vote that fundamentally changed the United Kingdom's relationship with the EU, a voter

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[1] Antonio Voce & Sean Clarke, Italian election 2022: live official results, The Guardian, 06/09/2022 https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2022/sep/25/italian-election-2022-live-official-results (Date of access 08/10/2023)

turnout of 72% was observed. Subsequent studies have suggested that voters who preferred to remain in the EU turned out to vote less. The belief that there would be no separation, failure to mobilize, and the assurance that respect for norms would be guaranteed are significant threats to democracies in Europe. It is observed that especially young voters need reminders about the fragility of democracy and norms. The belief that democracy will not be harmed is a massive problem for democracy and human rights, which need constant protection. According to PEW Research, representative democracy is generally accepted worldwide (78%). However, in surveys conducted in 2017 and 2019, while support for a fair judiciary system stood at 82%, support for opposition parties to operate freely dropped to 54%[2]. The same study in 2019 also revealed that people felt their voices were not being heard. In environments where people feel unheard and unattended, populist rhetoric and policies find it easier to garner support.

As we transition from the national level to the EU level, we observe even less interest in elections. Although there is a slight increase with each election cycle, the 2019 elections saw only a 50.66%[3] turnout. The low level of interest in European Parliament elections may indicate that the EU is not being perceived as important by the public and that people do not see themselves as a part of the process. This can also explain why populist rhetoric about the EU finds an audience among the public. Viewing the EU as an elitist project emphasizes the desire to give voice to the people and to break free from the elites, a central theme in populism. The next European Parliament elections will take place in 2024. Over the years, there has been an increase in the votes for Eurosceptic and populist parties. According to PEW Research, pro-European views decreased from 70% in the 2014 elections to 29% in 2019[4]. The fact that the populist parties and politicians, who gained attention in 2019, may strengthen their presence in the 2024 elections could be seen as a dangerous situation for the future of the EU.

Another consequence of the rise of populism in Europe is a shift toward more security-focused policies and the strengthening of the "Fortress Europe" concept. However, here, we face a dilemma. Prioritizing security within the EU, which would result in a more security-focused "Fortress Europe," means moving away from being a normative actor, preferring protectionist and security-focused policies over norms.

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[2] Global Public Opinion in an Era of Democratic Anxiety, Pew Research, 07/12/2021 https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2021/12/07/global-public-opinion-in-an-era-of-democratic-anxiety/ (Date of access: 08/10/2023)

[3] European Parliament, 2019 Election Results, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/election-results-2019/en/turnout/ (Date of access 08/10/2023)

[4] w Desilver, Euroskeptics are a bigger presence in the European Parliament than in past, Pew Research Center, 22/05/2019 https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2019/05/22/euroskeptics-are-a-bigger-presence-in-theeuropean-parliament-than-in-past/ (Date of access 08/10/2023)

Nevertheless, the prioritization of security within the EU, coupled with the emphasis on national sovereignty rights, prevents the EU from becoming a security actor. The increasing need for security, a shift towards more security-focused policies, reluctance to transfer sovereignty, and the failure of the EU to develop policy-making capabilities all contribute to European skepticism and the strengthening of populism. This creates a political vicious cycle. In this context, the rising populism in European countries not only affects individual nations but also hinders the overall development of the EU as a whole.

Finally, it is important to underline that populist rhetoric strengthens the existing divisions within the EU. During various crises, such as the 2008 economic crisis, the 2015 migration crisis, and the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, divisions between Northern and Southern European countries have come to the forefront, often marked by divisive language. In the case of COVID-19, for instance, Northern European countries sought to tie financial support mechanisms for Southern European countries to conditions related to fiscal discipline, economic reforms, and the rule of law. This has led to questions about solidarity within the EU. The "frugal four," consisting of Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Sweden, advocating for conditional support based on principles like fiscal discipline, economic reforms, and the rule of law, created divisions within the EU. Similar debates emerged during the 2008 economic crisis when Southern European countries were more severely affected, and assistance packages were debated.

The North-South divisions and the use of divisive language once again benefit populist politicians and make it easier for the public, facing economic hardships, to accept populist rhetoric. In this context, it is essential to remember that the process of EU integration is not complete, and action should be taken with an awareness of the delicate balance between member states.

In light of all these developments, it is crucial to acknowledge that democracy in Europe, while more robust in some countries and less so in others, is generally fragile everywhere. The decreasing importance of norms in member states and the rise of populist rhetoric have significant effects on the EU as a whole, its functioning, its credibility, and its impact beyond its borders. It is essential to keep this in mind.

Prof. Dr. Davit ALTMAN OLIN

Pontificia University Católica de Chile

Democracy's Resilience in Latin America
(Despite Corruption, Crime, and Polarization)

Thank you very much. It's a complete honor and blessing to be here. I first of all want to start to thank you for bringing me here from maybe the farthest away from this conference.

I think in the public. I'm coming from Chile, despite the fact that I'm originally from Uruguay, but from the South Hong Kong it's basically the same. So, I would like very much to say thank you to Aziz EKŞİ, MEGEV for sure, Oktay Ekşi who took us home and make us feel really, really at home and Ceren from Serenas who did all these possible.

So today presentation it's going to talk about a little bit about democracy, resilience in Latin America. Just to give you a very fast overview, are you going to talk about a little bit on the trending of democracy in the world, then democracy and its varieties in Latin America, some glimpses from Chile? And then are you going to conclude with some very broad conclusions.

So, where we start? Considering the world's average democracy-based environment, there is bad news. The bad news is that we are essentially back to 35 years ago in terms of the level of democracy in the world. In fact, in terms of democracy, it is as if we have returned to the level of the 1980s. However, we see that the level of democracy is rising in Latin America. Compared to developed countries, I can say that Latin America is the second continent in the world in terms of democracy.

So, the bad news is that we have a new record of autocratizing countries in the world, up to 42 countries based on our definition. So, we are seeing witnessing an amazing increase in the number of countries who are autocratizing is 42 In comparison with basically the year 2002, where there were basically around four countries or five countries.

This week is a particular week in Latin America because we are commemorating 50. years of the coup d'etat in Chile on September 11, 1973. On Monday of this week was also very tough in Chile because of these still unfinished problems that we have since then, even before that .The soldiers attacked La Moneta, which is the presidential palace in Chile. I don't know if you have seen many documentaries of planes, you know, attacking the Moneta and bombing the Moneta and all democratic elected institutions at that time. La Moneta was one of the democratic institutions in Chile at that time. Politicians were arrested and put in prison. And now we have commemorated the 50th anniversary of September 11.

So, it is extremely hard to talk about Latin America as a whole. First because it includes at the same time some of the most iconic examples of democracies in the world, like Costa Rica, Chile and Uruguay. But at the same time it homes decadi long dictatorship governments as the Cuba also new dictatorship governments as Venezuela and Nicaragua, and countries that are extremely fast autocratising as El Salvador under the presidency of Buchele. At the same time, we have countries immerse in a tremendous volatile institutional setting as Peru and Ecuador and countries that are crazy going through crazy economic turmoil like in Argentina. Nonetheless, Latin America as a continent has served in the literature as a benchmark for producing probably some of the most important and iconic literatures in comparative politics.

 Like how we see economic development, how we understand economic development, the bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, the dependency theories or being the example of the third wave of democratization in the late 80s, beginning of the 90s. And of course, all the transitology literature which is huge. Larry Diamond, Guichard Modonel, Philipp Schmidt or Lawrence Whitehead, etcetera, etcetera. I just hear I include some of the most important or iconic books in each of these pieces of the literature now, based on what Ersin mentioned today. And I want to repeat all his description of Robert Dahl's polyarchy. This project, "Varieties of Democracy", starts measuring democracy from the electoral perspective, the Robert Dahl's perspective of electoral democracy. But then, and this is why the name is "varieties of democracy", there are different senses and feelings about what a democracy is and different understanding. So trying to measure each of these major tastes of how to we measure democracy.

I'm going to show you a map at the beginning to start with how the electoral democracy using Electoral Democracy index for the last year, how the work looks like. As we can see, Latin America still is a quite blue or yeah, bluish continent in the region, unlike most of Africa or Asia. If you see Latin America, we have the southern cone, which is the darkest blue, the most democratic. And in the middle of Latin America, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Cuba, we see the more reddish region which is the less democratic, at least in the configuration of these colors.

So Latin American electoral democracy looks like that this I'm, I'm just zooming in what's going on the southern cone. Chile, Argentina and Uruguay are going from the left to the right in the little part of Latin America and the southern cone. It's the darkest with Costa Rica, which is this very little dark blue in the middle of Central America. Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Ecuador, Colombia are somehow mixed regimes, including Mexico today, which is close to the United States.

Now again paying attention to these different varieties of democracy, what we can conclude is that democracy, it's a southern Latin America experience. The northern we go in South America, everything is relative to the map, the less democratic the region is. And if we for instance pay a lot of interesting participatory component, the lowest right side map that you see there, you can see Uruguay excelling in the continent, maybe a little bit with Ecuador and Chile.

But the same happens with the deliberative component of the egalitarian component of particular with the egalitarian component, you see the difference between the southern cone and the rest of the continent. Now support for democracy has decreased in the last years and again it's systematic with the evidence that we have. That would why Chile, Costa Rica, Argentina are at the top end of what the support for democracy in comparison with any other type of regime. But at the bottom of the table we see countries like Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico, where people are ready to be, first of all they are mostly indifferent, but then they don't care much about going for authoritarian regime.

And this is quite a dangerous situation for the continent. Now it has been mentioned that Latin America is going through a pink tide of governments. But at the same time we can discuss whether it is a pink tide or a government punishment in general. What's going on in Latin American elections in the last in the last years of Latin American presidencies election, presidential elections.

In here, I included all presidential elections in Latin America since the year 2018, the last five years. And if you pay attention, if we pay attention, we can see that the this is supposed to be a leftist turning point in this five last five years. But at the same time, we can include who wins. We are talking about a pink tide in Latin American democracies or it has become extremely difficult to govern any country in Latin America. Because if we really pay attention to what's going on since the middle of 2018, virtually all countries have seen opposition wins. No matter the ideological tilt of the government, whether it's right, left, center, whatever, doesn't matter. Governments lose elections with the exception of Paraguay, which is, as I mentioned, a little bit in the shady line of democracies. So also, we have problems with the representation quality in Latin America.

We have opinion polls since early 90s and we ask all citizens, what about we show a card with all the political parties that they are in existence in Chile. And we ask with

whom you're identified the most, which one is the closer for you? And the answer is none. And if you see the non-increasing, it's about 80% of the population don't care about partisan party politics which is extremely dangerous for a working democracy today. Now and the same happens with the presidencies. From Chile's post-coup first president, P. Alywin Azocar, to the new president of the last few terms, Gabriel Borich, we see that presidents are becoming increasingly weaker and weaker in the face of citizens, and this is statistically significant.

Finally, in Chile, as many other parts of Latin America, we are a milieu of an arena of extremely increasing political fragmentation. The number of political parties competing in national elections has increased drastically. There were some reforms here and there, but also a lot of pressures to make electoral reforms. Basically all these reforms increase the number of political parties in all Latin American countries, and that's another type of reforms, we have. And we ask also, which is the most admired president, and we give a list of all famous presidents in the in the press. And Bukele, Nayib Bukele, president of El Salvador, has become the most preferred president in at least in the eyes of Chilean citizens. Then it is followed by Zelensky, Joe Biden, Lula in Brazil, Xi Jinping, etcetera, etcetera. But the crazy thing is about the percentage of the excellent note that it's provided to Nayib Bukele, a president who is extremely conservative, tough on crime, putting a lot of people in prison with and without fair trial. The rate of those who gave Bukela an "excellent" rating is 67% and he is followed by Zelensky with 39%, J.Biden with 16% and L.Da Silva and Xi Jinping with 13%.

So they are committing a lot of human rights violations in El Salvador, at least from what we understand what a liberal democracy should do. And they are mentioning it as collateral damage, you know, to put someone who is innocent in prison. Well, I'm sorry, but we have to put all these Mafiosi in in jail. And if some people who are not committed a crime got in jail, well, that's collateral damage, which from a democratic perspective is extremely complicated.

So to wrap up, we are in a context, in Latin America at least, of weak presidencies and minority governments in the context of increasing political fragmentation with low party discipline, which makes the governing action extremely difficult, and somehow we are living a crisis of representation with extremely high levels of low legitimacy. Simultaneously, we have to be aware that our countries still are not performing as expected in terms of delivery of social and economic goods.

We are also in any country, even the most developed democracies in the continent like Costa Rica or Hawaiian Chile. We have seen a lot of cases of corruption of elected officials, crime and crime goes essentially with drug dealers. You know the Plan Colombia, one of the most important plans of the American administrations in the last year was to make a fictional line above Colombia, to impede the transportation of drugs from the to the

north from Colombia, particularly to the United States. Now all these drugs go through the South, so they shifted the roots and now they're go through the Southern Cone, which produce a lot of instability. And again, massive immigration waves, particularly from Venezuelans, but not only Venezuelans, people from IT, from El Salvador, from Guatemala, from Honduras, coming to the South, which has become tremendously important with a tremendous social impact.

All these produce quite ungovernable territory. And with that enormous threat of populist, even authoritarianism, as Nayib Bukele in El Salvador shows. Still we have made it so far. I mean, democracy have showed that it has some sort of resilience.

And so somehow it has survived so far. And this is why we are still quite as a regional, as a continent, quite high in terms of democratic levels.

So, thank you very much for your attention. Bye.

Max KOFFI
Africa in Motion

Preconditions for true Democracy in Africa

Abstract

Africa's history is marked by diverse governance systems that existed long before European colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade. These systems ranged from decentralized tribal councils to powerful empires like Mali, Kush, and Axum, shaped by centuries of cultural evolution. They shared a commitment to community welfare and inclusivity, laying the foundation for Africa's rich heritage.

The history of democracy in Africa has been influenced by slavery, colonialism, and the struggle for independence. Since gaining independence, many African nations have embraced democratic principles, with successes in countries like South Africa, Ghana, and Senegal. However, challenges persist. Extreme poverty is a major obstacle to democracy in Africa, exacerbating social inequalities and threatening political stability. Economic development, social safety nets, education, and information access are key to breaking this cycle.

Africa's vast wealth in raw materials contrasts with extreme poverty, highlighting a historical legacy of exploitation. The "Equal Trade Certification" offers hope. It aims to transform trade dynamics by sharing financial benefits with raw material producers, increasing state revenues, and improving living conditions.

This approach embodies fairness, inclusivity, and equity, potentially driving structural changes that empower African communities. By harnessing Africa's wealth through equitable trade, it can pave the way for prosperity and democracy, fulfilling the continent's promise for a brighter future.

1. The Evolution of Democracy in Africa: Past, Present, and Future

1.1. Ruling systems before slavery and colonialism

Before the arrival of European colonizers and the transatlantic slave trade, Africa was home to a variety of governance systems. Many African societies practiced forms of decentralized governance characterized by tribal councils, chiefs, and elders. These systems were often based on consensus and community involvement, with decision-making processes that emphasized inclusivity.

In some regions, advanced empires like the Mali Empire, the Kingdom of Kush, and the Axumite Empire demonstrated a degree of centralized governance and administrative structure. These civilizations had complex systems of law and administration that can be considered precursors to modern governance.

1.2. The history of democracy in Africa

The impact of slavery and colonialism on African governance cannot be understated. The transatlantic slave trade and the scramble for Africa disrupted indigenous political systems and brought foreign domination. However, the colonial period also planted the seeds of modern democracy in Africa.

The struggle for independence in the mid-20th century witnessed the rise of nationalist movements and charismatic leaders like Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, and Nelson Mandela. These leaders championed the ideals of self-determination and democracy, leading their nations toward independence and, in some cases, the establishment of democratic governments.

1.3. The state of democracy today

Since gaining independence, many African nations have made strides toward democratic governance. Multi-party elections, constitutional reforms, and the adoption of democratic principles have become more widespread. Notable examples of successful democratization in Africa include South Africa, Ghana, and Senegal, where regular elections and peaceful transfers of power have become the norm.

However, challenges persist. Many African countries still grapple with issues like corruption, human rights abuses, electoral fraud, and a lack of effective checks and balances. These issues underscore the fragile nature of democracy in some parts of the continent.

2. Overcoming Obstacles to Democracy in Africa: The Struggle against Extreme Poverty

The journey towards consolidating democracy in Africa has been marked by a series of challenges, each unique in its own right. Among these obstacles, extreme poverty

Full democracies are nations where:
- Civil liberties and fundamental political freedoms are respected
- Valid systems of governmental checks and balances exist
- There are limited problems in democratic functioning
- Media is diverse and independent

Flawed democracies are nations where:
- Elections are fair and free
- Basic liberties are honored but may have issues
- There are issues in the functioning of governance

Hybrid regimes are nations where:
- Electoral fraud or irregularities occur regularly
- Pressure is applied to political opposition
- Corruption is widespread and rule of law tends to be weak
- Media is pressured and harassed
- There are issues in the functioning of governance

Authoritarian regimes are nations where:
- Political pluralism is nonexistent or limited
- The population is ruled by absolute monarchies or dictatorships
- Infringements and abuses of civil liberties are common
- Elections are not fair or free (if they occur at all)
- Media is state-owned or controlled directly or indirectly by the ruling regime
- The judiciary system is not independent
- Criticism of the government is censored
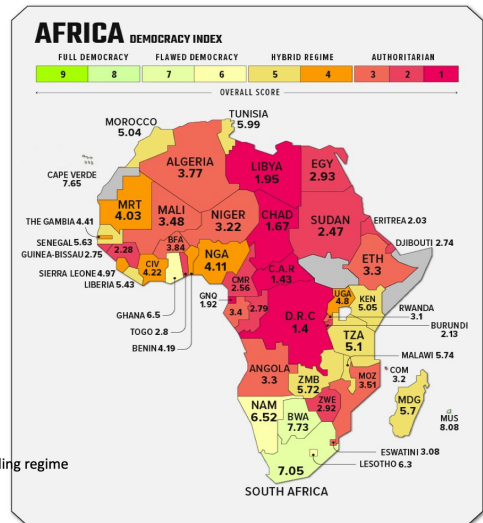
Fig 1. Africa Democracy Map

stands out as one of the most formidable barriers to the development of democratic institutions on the continent.

One of the most significant obstacles to the consolidation of democracy in Africa is extreme poverty. Poverty hampers the development of democratic institutions by exacerbating social inequalities and undermining political stability. Extreme poverty often leaves populations vulnerable to manipulation by autocratic leaders who promise immediate relief from economic hardship, even if it comes at the expense of democratic freedoms. Furthermore, poverty can hinder access to education and information, limiting civic engagement and political awareness.

The crippling effects of extreme poverty not only exacerbate social inequalities but also pose a significant threat to political stability. In this article, we explore the profound impact of extreme poverty on the quest for democracy in Africa and the strategies needed to overcome this formidable obstacle.

2.1. Poverty's role in undermining democratic consolidation

Extreme poverty creates glaring social inequalities within African nations. Disparities in wealth and access to resources can lead to divisions along economic lines, fostering resentment and unrest. In a democratic society, these inequalities can undermine the principles of equal representation and fairness.

Impoverished populations are often susceptible to manipulation by autocratic leaders who promise immediate economic relief, even if it comes at the cost of

democratic freedoms. In their desperation for basic necessities, citizens may be willing to forgo political liberties in exchange for short-term economic stability, perpetuating autocratic rule.

2.2. Poverty's impact on civic engagement

Poverty can hinder access to quality education, depriving citizens of the knowledge and critical thinking skills necessary for active civic engagement. A well-informed citizenry is fundamental to the functioning of a healthy democracy.

Poverty can restrict access to information, including news and political developments. In regions with limited infrastructure and resources, marginalized communities may struggle to stay informed about government policies and political events, reducing their ability to make informed choices.

2.3. Strategies to overcome extreme poverty's influence

Extreme poverty is undeniably one of the most significant obstacles to the consolidation of democracy in Africa. Its far-reaching effects on social inequalities, political stability, and civic engagement cannot be understated. However, it is not an insurmountable challenge. By prioritizing economic development, implementing social safety nets, and investing in education and information access, African nations can break the cycle of poverty that hinders the growth of democracy. The struggle against extreme poverty is inseparable from the struggle for democratic ideals, and it is a battle that can be won through concerted efforts and collective determination. As Africa addresses this critical issue, it paves the way for a more equitable and democratic future for its citizens.

Prioritizing economic development is essential in addressing extreme poverty. Governments should focus on policies that promote job creation, investment in infrastructure, and access to basic services such as healthcare and education. A thriving economy can reduce poverty and create a more stable political environment.

Establishing social safety nets, including cash transfer programs and food security initiatives, can provide a safety net for vulnerable populations. These programs can help alleviate immediate economic hardships, reducing the appeal of autocratic leaders who exploit poverty for political gain.

Investing in education and expanding access to information is crucial. Governments should prioritize improving schools, expanding internet infrastructure, and promoting media literacy to ensure that citizens are informed and empowered to participate in democratic processes.

To counteract the allure of autocratic leaders, African nations must strengthen their

democratic institutions. This includes ensuring transparent and credible elections, protecting freedom of the press, and upholding the rule of law. A robust democracy is more likely to withstand the temptations of authoritarianism.

3. Unleashing Africa's Potential: Equal Trade Certification as A Path to Prosperity and   Democracy

Africa, often hailed as the world's richest continent due to its abundant reserves of raw materials, natural resources, minerals, and agricultural treasures, stands at a crossroads. It is home to a youthful population brimming with potential. Yet, this potential remains untapped as Africa grapples with a troubling paradox: extreme poverty despite its vast wealth. This paradox is a testament to the enduring legacy of exploitation that has plagued the continent for centuries. Extreme poverty stands as one of the most significant obstacles to the consolidation of democracy in Africa. However, there is hope on the horizon in the form of the "Equal Trade Certification." This groundbreaking approach has the potential to reshape trade dynamics, empower African populations, and pave the way for true democracy and prosperity on the continent.

3.1. The African paradox: wealth vs. poverty

Africa is blessed with an abundance of natural resources, minerals, and agricultural riches. Its wealth in raw materials is enviable and coveted by the world. Despite its wealth and having the world's youngest population, Africa is home to some of the most impoverished people globally. This poverty is a stark reminder of the historical and ongoing exploitation that has hindered the continent's development.

Extreme poverty has profound effects on social inequalities, political stability, and civic engagement in Africa. It perpetuates divisions and stifles the democratic potential of the continent. The enduring legacy of exploitation has trapped African states, laborers, and farmers in exploitative cycles where the benefits of their labor are siphoned away, leaving them in perpetual impoverishment.

3.2. Equal Trade Certification: A revolutionary solution

The equal Trade Certification is a new economic model aiming at realizing a sytemic change in the trade system of African raw materials: instead of selling the raw materials for a minimum price, the producers of the raw materials would receive a share in the financial benefits of the (semi-)finished product. The comprehensive adoption of Equal Trade Certification in African raw material value chains, including minerals and agriculture, has the potential to significantly boost state revenues.

The additional income generated by this approach would be channeled into the Equal Trade Wealth Fund, which would then reinvest these funds into the communities

supporting these farmers. This reinvestment aims to drive profound structural changes, improving the socio-economic conditions in raw material-producing countries.

A higher standard of living would drastically address issues caused by extreme poverty such as induced migration of vulnerable African youth, brain drain, child labor, various forms of flagrant labor exploitation, inadequate remuneration for laborers, hazardous environmental impacts (regionally and globally), gender inequality, human rights violations, and political instability (partially) associated with resource conflicts.

The Equal Trade Certification heralds an era where trade becomes a collaborative endeavor, transcending the traditional exploitative supplier-buyer relationship. It empowers African producers by affording them a rightful share in the economic benefits generated by their labor and resources. This pioneering approach embodies the principles of fairness, inclusivity, and equity, promising a more equitable future for all participants in the global trade system.

This approach takes a holistic approach to address challenges ranging from youth migration in search of better prospects to the brain drain depleting talent from the continent. Moreover, it tackles concerns such as child labor, labor exploitation, environmental impacts, gender inequality, human rights violations, and political instability often linked to resource conflicts.

4. Conclusion

The evolution of democracy in Africa is a complex and ongoing process. While the continent has made significant strides in advancing democratic principles, challenges persist. Extreme poverty remains a formidable obstacle, but with concerted efforts in economic development, institution-building, and civic engagement, a brighter democratic future for Africa is within reach. Africa's rich history and cultural diversity make it a unique and vital player in the global democratic landscape, with the potential to contribute to a more democratic world.

The Equal Trade Certification represents a beacon of hope for Africa, offering a path to unlock its true potential, overcome extreme poverty, and consolidate democracy. It embodies the principles of fairness, inclusivity, and equity, transforming trade dynamics from exploitation to collaboration. By boosting state revenues and channeling them into communities, this approach aims to drive structural changes that will improve the socio-economic conditions of raw material-producing countries. Africa's wealth, harnessed through equitable trade, can become a catalyst for prosperity and democracy, fulfilling the long-awaited promise of a brighter future.

Dr. Minhaj KHAN
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Trends in World Biggest Democracy: India

India is often referred to as the world's largest democracy due to several key factors that contribute to its status as a democratic powerhouse:

1. Population size: India ranks as the top most populous country in the world, with over 1.4 billion people. The sheer number of eligible voters in India makes it the largest electorate in the world. This vast and diverse population participates in the democratic process by electing representatives at various levels of government.
2. Regular Elections: India conducts regular elections at multiple levels of government without gap. General elections for the Lok Sabha (House of the People) are held every five years, and state elections take place at varying intervals. Additionally, local elections occur regularly in cities, towns, and villages. These elections allow citizens to choose their representatives and leaders.
3. Universal Adult Suffrage: India practices universal adult suffrage, which means that all adult citizens, regardless of caste, creed, gender, or religion, have the right to vote. This inclusive approach to suffrage ensures that a vast majority of the population has a say in the governance of the country.
4. Constitutional Democracy: India's political system is based on a well-defined and comprehensive constitution. The Constitution of India, adopted in 1950, outlines the fundamental principles of governance, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and the structure of the government. It enshrines democratic values and principles.
5. Independent Election Commission: The Election Commission of India (ECI) is an autonomous and constitutionally mandated body responsible for overseeing and conducting elections in the country. The ECI ensures that elections are free, fair, and transparent, further strengthening India's democratic foundations.
6. Rule of Law: India has a strong legal framework and an independent judiciary. The rule of law is a fundamental tenet of democracy, ensuring that the government

operates within the bounds of the law and respects the rights and freedoms of its citizens.

7. Political Pluralism: India boasts a diverse and pluralistic society with numerous political parties representing various ideologies, regions, and interests. This political pluralism allows citizens to choose from a wide array of political options during elections.

8. Freedom of Expression: India upholds freedom of speech and expression as a fundamental right. A vibrant media, civil society, and active public discourse are essential elements of a thriving democracy.

9. Peaceful Transition of Power: India has a history of peaceful transitions of power. Governments are elected through democratic processes, and leaders are expected to step down when their terms expire or if they lose the confidence of the electorate.

10. Democratic Values: India's democratic traditions are deeply ingrained in its culture and history. The country's struggle for independence from colonial rule was rooted in democratic ideals, and these values continue to shape its political landscape.

11. Unique Practice in Elections : (1) Elections based on cast, (2) Gender based election

Cast Based Elections

General (Upper Cast): This category includes individuals who do not belong to any of the reserved categories (OBC, SC, ST). They are considered as the unreserved or open category and compete for educational and employment opportunities based on merit.

OBC (Other Backward Classes): OBC is a category that includes individuals from social and educational backgrounds that are considered to be disadvantaged but not as severely as Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST). OBCs have access to reservations in educational institutions and government jobs, but the extent of the reservation can vary by state and region.

SC (Scheduled Castes): SCs, also known as Dalits, are historically disadvantaged communities that have faced social and economic discrimination for centuries. The Indian government has reserved seats and jobs for SC candidates to uplift and provide opportunities for these communities.

ST (Scheduled Tribes): STs are indigenous or tribal communities that have faced historical marginalization and discrimination. Similar to SCs, STs have reserved seats and job quotas in educational institutions and government jobs to address their social and economic disadvantages. It's important to note that the terms "Upper Cast," "Lower Cast," "Scheduled Castes," and "Scheduled Tribes" are general categories

used to describe various social groups in India, and they encompass a wide range of castes and communities with diverse backgrounds and characteristics. The reservation system in India aims to promote social justice and equal opportunities by providing affirmative action for historically disadvantaged groups.

Gender Only Election/ Women Only Candidate

In some parts of India, particularly in Panchayati Raj Institutions (local self-government bodies at the village, intermediate, and district levels), there are reservations for women candidates. These reservations mandate a certain percentage of seats to be reserved for women candidates in these local elections. These reservations aim to promote and enhance the participation of women in local governance and decision-making processes. However, it's essential to clarify that these reservations do not mean that only women can be candidates in Panchayat elections. Rather, they ensure that a specific percentage of seats is set aside for women candidates, alongside seats available for male candidates. Both women and men can run as candidates in Panchayat elections, and voters, both women and men, can choose to vote for the candidate of their choice, regardless of gender.

Trends in Indian Democracy

Decline in Ideology and Increase in Religious Politics

- Ideological competition during cold war
- INC vs Communists
- Religious and Secular competition post-cold war
- Decline of INC
- Rise of BJP

Multi-Party System and Alliance

India has a multi-party-political system, with several national and regional parties vying for power at the state and national levels. The two main national parties are the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Indian National Congress (INC), but there are numerous regional parties with significant influence in different states.

• Due to the diversity of political parties, coalition governments are common at both the central and state levels. Parties often need to form alliances to secure a majority in legislative bodies

• In first 10 elections, mostly INC ruled single handedly

• After cold war and rise of BJP their governments are made out of coalition and alliances

Voter Turnout

India has a large and diverse electorate, with millions of eligible voters. Voter turnout in Indian elections tends to be relatively high, with citizens actively participating in the democratic process. Voter turnout in India's general elections has generally been on the rise, indicating increased political awareness and civic engagement. The 2014 and 2019 elections witnessed particularly high voter turnout, reflecting significant public interest in those contests.

Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs)

India uses electronic voting machines for conducting elections, which have streamlined the voting process and increased the speed of vote counting.

Role of Regional Parties

Role of Regional Parties Regional parties play a crucial role in Indian politics, especially in states where they have a strong presence. They often focus on regional issues and have significant influence in state governments.

Youth Participation

India has a growing young population, and young voters have become a significant demographic in elections. Parties often tailor their campaigns to attract young voters.

Use of Social Media

Social media and online campaigning have gained prominence in Indian elections, allowing parties to reach a wider audience and engage with voters directly. Around 729 million internet users are in India.

Economic Issues

Economic development, liberalization, and social welfare have consistently featured as key election issues.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Berk ESEN
Sabancı University

The Global Rise of Populism in 21ˢᵗ Century

Esteemed participants, if you would allow me, I'd like to take out my watch off and put it in front of me. Although we're from different generations with Professor Kalaycıoğlu, I'm also among those academics who like to talk for long, so I'll try to stick to the 15-minute limit as much as possible.

You've been patiently listening to the other speakers for an hour now here. Before I begin my remarks, I would like to thank the organizational committee for the World Democracy Forum. This is my first time in Mesudiye that is one of the more interesting towns in the history of our Republic. We also talked about it in the morning panel. Mesudiye has an assembly that has been convening annually for over 30 years. This is a local initiative for democracy, but I would also like to remind you that it was part of Bülent Ecevit's Village Town project. Therefore, it gives me great pleasure to come to Mesudiye and be a participant in this panel. Some points that I was planning on raising today were mentioned by other speakers, which made things easier for me.

Personally, for the last 10 years, I have seen democratic regimes experience erosion and even breakdown after populists take power. This is the topic that I would like to discuss today. We're going through interesting times in the international arena because after the end of the Cold War, especially in the first half of the 1990s, democratic regimes started to spread in the world. The expectation during that period was for democracy to become prevalent around the globe, and that these democratic regimes to progressively turn into more liberal democracies.

Of course, we're quite far away from those times now, but in the 1990s, as David mentioned, many military regimes ended in Latin America, and they have not reappeared since then. And, with the end of the Cold War, communist regimes collapsed in a lot of countries and in Eastern Europe democratization picked up its pace while personalized authoritarian regimes collapsed due to protests in parts of Africa and the post-communist world.

I think there are two main regions who haven't been affected by this wave of democratization, one of them being unfortunately the Middle East and the other being Central Asia. In both regions there are quite personalized authoritarian regimes that have weakened institutions.

But starting from the middle of the 2000s, this democratization wave started to die down. And we even saw a counter wave against democratization in recent years. Recently not only in developing countries, but also in many industrialized countries, we see that democratic regimes are in the process of gradual erosion, and in the global south this trend resulted in the breakdown of democratic regimes. In Turkey, Hungary, and Venezuela, among others, middle-income countries with fairly strong democratic institutions experienced this process. Unfortunately, this isn't the first time in world history that we're seeing an autocratization wave.

The first such wave initiated after the onset of the Great Depression, that is throughout the 1930s and in the beginning of the 1940s, when economic turmoil resulted in political instability and military takeovers across Latin America and Eastern Europe or the rise of fascist regimes in Germany and Japan. In Soviet Union, meanwhile, the communist regime was becoming more centralized and repressive under the rule of Stalin. This was a period of single party or strongman regimes from Mexico and Brazil to Turkey and Poland. After the democratization trend of the early post-World War II years, when many of these single party regimes and fascist administrations collapsed, the 1960s saw a second wave of authoritarianism during the height of the Cold War. While nearly half of the world was already under communist rule or influence, militaries toppled civilian governments in large parts of the global south to deal with the convoluted problems caused by late development. In Turkey, the armed forces pushed out civilian governments in 1960, 1971 and 1980.

The current period described by political scientists as the third level of authorization. It is quite different than those two previous periods I mentioned. In the previous two, democratic breakdown occurred very rapidly, almost overnight, such as the 1980s coup in Turkey or after 12th of September. During the third wave of autocratization, democratic reversals occur at the hands of political leaders in a gradual manner and over a long period. Let us take the Turkish case, for instance.

In the last 15 years under the AKP rule, we progressively witnessed erosion of the democratic regime. It's very hard to say on which exact day the democratic regime collapsed because this is a gradual process that occurs in a piecemeal fashion over a long period. But this wave of authoritarianism that we are experiencing is quite significantly different than the previous ones. In previous decades, when the democratic regime collapsed, it was the losers who pushed for this outcome through outside interventions such as coup detats. In our age, it is usually the winners who

target the democratic order. Having been elected to office through free and fair elections, this new generation of leaders have undermined institutional checks and balances and captured the state apparatus to consolidate their authority.

Since they control bureaucracy, these governments can use public resources in a partisan manner. As was mentioned in the morning panel, these leaders can distribute resources to their supporters with the goal of winning elections. In so doing, they divide society into two clear groups: winners and losers. From the media to civil society and universities, they reward their supporters and exclude or target their opponents. We can give Boğaziçi University and the heavy oppression that they've been going through at the hands of a government-appointed president for the past two years, as an example. This is a clear example of a partisan government looting one of the most precious education institutions in the country for a partisan agenda. At the point where we stand right now, maybe we don't notice it every day, but all political institutions are undergoing this transformation. Political scientists call these as competitive authoritarian regimes. These regimes are competitive in so far as elections are held regularly, and all political parties are allowed to compete during those elections. However, these elections are neither free nor fair because the state apparatus is captured by the ruling party. Similarly, both the judiciary and media remain under heavy government control. s Ersin Hoca mentioned in his speech this morning, especially during periods of campaigning, there is uneven competition in favor of the incumbent.

So, if you think of these regimes as a football game, on one hand we have a team of 11 players and on the other hand we have a team of eight players. Of course, if you play this match, then the team with 11 people will usually win this game. This regime type not only reinforces authoritarianism, but also enable the opposition parties to become more authoritarian internally. And since opposition parties also get weaker over time, their ability to reach out to voters becomes limited.

So although elections are held regularly, we cannot call these democracies. A more appropriate term would be competitive authoritarian regimes, which is what Turkey has gradually turned into over the past decade. Some analysts and commentators may refer to the Turkish case as a democracy due to the presence of regular elections, but this is erroneous. However, this is not to suggest that inter-party competition is not important, either. In Turkey, the ruling party failed to win parliamentary majority on its own in three of the last four elections. Opposition candidates defeated government-sponsored candidates in many of Turkey's most populous provinces.

In countries where populists take power, especially those from a right-wing background, this kind of democratic reversal is experienced. For instance, although they are EU member states, we see this trend in Hungary and in Poland. We also see it

in Serbia and many western Balkan countries, as they are not yet part of the EU. There are, of course, also left populist examples, such as Venezuela and Nicaragua.

Since I'm running out of time, I would like to talk about how and why these regimes have been on the rise in world politics in the past 15 years. Of course, the collapse of a democratic regime in a country, as we see in Turkey, feeds on the national conditions of the country. But I think David said in his presentation there were 42 countries. When we see this trend in 42 countries, then we can say that the global factors are accelerating this. During an earthquake, if your home is durable, then that earthquake might only cause cracks. If it's semi durable, then some walls might break or collapse, but the house will still stand. If your house is very weak, then that earthquake, although it may be weak, will still collapse your home. And unfortunately, since political institutions in those countries aren't so strong, therefore those factors have allowed for authoritarianism to come to rise more quickly in those countries.

For example, the 2008-2009 global finance crisis was an exogenous shock that hit Western countries very severely and worsened economic inequalities in Western societies. This global recession did not only hurt the West but also negatively affected those developing countries who trade heavily with industrialized countries in the West. Sharp increase in migration flows from the global south to the industrial north over the past decade was another factor that destabilized politics around the globe. The pandemic also increased these inequalities. It's an important factor. And generally, when we list all these factors together, globalization, although it has had a lot of positive impacts, tends to create winners and losers.

In every country, there is a section of high-skilled people that takes more of the pie from globalization, while those with little skills and education find themselves on the losing end. Those who cannot apply their skills in post-national settings and remain internationally competitive became poorer and more insecure, especially in industrialized Western countries. These complicated changes in international politics and the world economy have accelerated the autocratization process around the globe.

As I conclude, I don't want to draw a very pessimistic picture since we still live in an age of vast improvements in technology, healthcare and living standards. While democracies are experiencing erosion around the globe, elections retain their high normative power.

Even autocrats feel the need to hold elections and they emphasize that their legitimacy comes from winning these elections. This is very different from the 1930s and 40s. When you talked to a fascist or a communist during this period, they did not tell you about the importance of elections. There was clear opposition to parliamentary regimes and ideological support for closed political systems. We do not see a similar

shift during the contemporary period. Parliaments remain open; elections continue to be organized. Democratic institutions, however weakened they may be, are still standing. In competitive authoritarian regimes, political parties do not get shut down by force or opposition politicians are not arrested in masse.

Therefore, I don't want to come across as too much of a pessimist. But I'm not too optimistic either, because unfortunately, even in the 1930s and 1940s over the world, when fascism was on the rise in world politics, liberal democratic institutions were still standing in the US and the UK. However, currently liberal democracies in even these two countries are experiencing erosion. Since populist leaders are focused on winning elections, they tend not to use elections even though they don't cheat. It's not easy to defeat them because they enjoy all sorts of advantages against their opponents. These populist leaders are very successful in making ethno-cultural appeals and relying on religious discourse to receive the support of a majority or near majority, while opposition parties are fractured. Therefore, we have a lot more to do.

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PANEL 2

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY

Prof. Dr. Ahmet Kasım HAN
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Pupulism: A Known Two-Faced Murderer of Democracy

Now, when we talk about democracy, we sometimes act as if we are talking about a magic power that chooses the political well-being of a society based solely on its own values. We have an attitude as if we have a mystical power that can protect itself and that is why the wisdom of democracy cannot be questioned. But of course it's not like that. A significant amount of democracy's scope is the scope of its solution to social distribution, and this is not a perfect form of government, nor is it a system that can protect itself. Democracy is not a miracle in short. So when is democracy not?

Now, Winston Churchill has been used to change the weakness of democracy in terms of its function. I think this statement is important for democracy. The meaning of this expression is as follows; "Democracy is a terrible regime, but the appearance of another regime, which has been tried from time to time, is the least terrible." This statement appears to be weak in terms of the function of democracy, it is probably one of the clearest statements. On the issue of democracy's self-preservation on the other hand, there is John Adams, the second president of the United States. It may be useful to read it this way. Adams warns us, says remember; "Democracy never lasts long, it soon wastes itself, gets tired and is killed." After all, there has never been a democracy without divorce.

Like almost everything else, this debate has an ancient antecedent. If we need to remember, Plato; After seeing the fate of Socrates, Socrates' teacher, deeply affected by the situation he found himself in, said: "I think tyranny arises naturally from democracy." From Plato's perspective, democracy was a regime that consisted of the rule of those with ideas over those with knowledge. This was the critique of the idealized Athenian democracy brought from within by one of Athens' most learned sons. Now, what I have said so far is certainly views that carry the risk of elitism, and the libertarian and participatory qualities of democracy will certainly come to the fore. However, the populism challenge that democracy is going through today

is important in terms of rethinking this interpretation. Naturally, it should not be expected that such an exercise of thought is something that can be achieved by giving control of the political system to philosopher kings or kings no matter who they are. If you have such a request, it means you want to go back at least 300 years. What did Louis XIV. say? The state is mine. On the contrary, the goal should be to improve rationality, participation and freedom in political life. So what does all this tell us about democracy? That we may be cynically suspicious of democracy, that we may abandon it, that we may despise it, or that it is a mistake to attach any special value to democracy. So, is democracy something that can be easily given up on? Of course no. Democracy can maintain its existence by considering the maintenance of a certain order required by individual and social freedom and common life, that is, by considering not only freedom but also the limitation of those freedoms.

If we focus on the glass half-full aspect through Churchill's sentence, this is the one that does this job best among political regimes. In other words, it is the one that does the best job of balancing freedoms on the one hand and restrictions on the other. It is valuable because it guarantees the freedom of the individual, his self-realization, and the influence of societies in deciding the issues that concern them and may concern them, and because it matches sovereignty with the will of the governed, both normatively and practically, and to the extent that it is able to do this. No one can say that a democracy that cannot achieve this is valuable just because its name is like this or has a name like the democracy of the People's Republic of Korea or something. When used as a way of trying to superimpose another will, the will of the governed that I mentioned, let's call its will national sovereignty, trams, buses, etc. If it is reduced, for example, it means it is being instrumentalized. It should not be forgotten that when you try to use democracy by putting another will above that popular will or when you approach it with this instrumentalization, this really turns it into the hope of tyranny, that is, it takes democracy and brings it to a point where tyranny can easily take shape and come to life. It should not be forgotten that a democracy that is treated as a tool has an inevitable amortization period for those who accept it as such, just like every tool. They use it, amortize it and give it up. If someone tells you that democracy is a means to achieve certain ends, that is probably reason to doubt all of their democratic beliefs, reflexes, and credits. Therefore, believing in democracy means protecting it. That's what we see an example of here.

To use the common expression in Turkey, those focuses, which we call tutelage centers, emerge precisely when the society remains insensitive to this duty of protection, that is, when it delegates this task to a number of protectors and guardians, when the society becomes apolitical and consents to this depoliticization and surrenders its will without questioning. If societies do not do these, if they do not do these 4 things, there will be no focus of tutelage. By the way, the focus of tutelage does not necessarily have to be in a certain image. On the contrary, whoever tries to drag the

society is trying to become the focus of tutelage. Political power is liberating and attractive, power is satisfying. In its raw form, even in its highly sophisticated form, to be honest, power is, at some point, the satisfaction of the desire to control the will of others, to make them obey, to force them to act in the desired way. Those in power satisfy them. All governments, including small governments, big governments, and patronage relations in companies, are useful for these purposes. This is a tendency arising from human nature, and it is clear that preventing this tendency and making rationality, participation and freedom the dominant of decisions and practices constitutes an obstacle.

So, how do we make rationality, participation and freedom the dominant decision-makers and practices, and demand that those in power be held accountable, and that they give this account accurately? We won't just want them to be held accountable. We will ask them to give the correct account. So, are we just asking for these things? No, if you just ask, you probably won't get the answer to your expectations. At the same time, you have to make the balance and control systems that will provide these an integral part of the regime. The way to do this, I go back to the beginning, is to protect democracy. If you wait for democracy to protect you, I'm afraid you'll be waiting for a very long time. In fact, as Ozan said, you will wait as if you were waiting for Godot, but it is difficult for a result to emerge. This is what democracy requires. Conducting politics with the aim of protecting the common social benefit is only possible in an environment where the functioning of these balance and control mechanisms is guaranteed. Then such an environment has to be a rational environment, you have to confront and object to fallacies wherever you see them. An egalitarian and consistently functioning legal system must be restrictive, and this will be possible by recognizing the superiority of an egalitarian and consistently functioning legal system. In other words, you cannot treat law enforcement officers and legal institutions as your employees. They are above you and are impartial. They inspect you on behalf of the public. If you do not internalize this, there is no point to talk about democracy anyway. In every society and at all times, there are and will always be tutelage enthusiasts, in Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's words, miscreants, who will want to mortgage national sovereignty and try to make democracy unpleasant by treating it as a tool. There's no way to escape this.

So, what should be done to ensure that these bad people, that is, those with bad intentions, become miserable and misfortune as they deserve, and that all their efforts end in failure? To achieve this, society must become aware that democracy is an end rather than a tool. On the one hand, the line of means and end, on the other hand, democracy is essentially a phenomenon that requires constant effort to achieve a goal in life. This is also the main cause of the definition problem, in effect definition inflation, which is much discussed in the literature on democracy. The use of more than 500 adjectives related to democracy in the literature shows the

situation more clearly. This diversity of ideas about democracy also explains why democracy is so easily subject to political manipulation. This is a problem, especially in the world of post-truth fallacies we live in. Essentially, the word democracy is a set of normal principles and practices. Its existence is possible through institutions and regulations, especially law, and these institutions and regulations are essentially the tools. Not democracy, but the institutions and regulations on which democracy exists are tools. Democracy is the totality of individual and institutional efforts spent to ensure that these tools function according to the norms, principles and practices in question. In other words, it is the process itself that is shaped on these institutions in which you live in democracy.

And as such, democracy is a goal, that is, to keep this process alive. The goal is to keep this process alive, it is not something that can be done with passive citizens. The thing to do is to refuse to be squeezed into the bracket opened by the administrator who says, "Are you holding the state to account?" And this rejection is both legitimate, justified, and a duty and responsibility for a citizen who wants to breathe democracy. The maturation and establishment of democracy in a society means that the society internalizes that the political system should operate in line with all the norms, principles and practices I mentioned. This requires taking care of it almost every morning, living by making peace with its nature and doing what is necessary. Marriages are like that, love relationships are like that. If you live every day thinking that you only have 24 hours to make the person you wake up next to fall in love with you again and that not even a particle of that credit will be transferred the next morning, rest assured that there will be no problems in your relationships. This is how democracy should be lived and kept alive. Rather than expecting democracy to produce ideal solutions for us on its own, to encourage or even force us to achieve them, or to protect ourselves, it is necessary to consider that democracy is a goal that should be carried into daily life. It is not enough to think, it is necessary to act in line with this idea. If we use the concept of ideal in the sense of an idealized perfect goal or situation, democracy is not ideal at all. Democracy is too flawed to be sanctified, and I fear it is doomed to remain so. If it is idealized and carried into life, it is inevitable that the problematic "the enemy of the good is perfect" will arise. But to the answer to the question of whether it is worth idealizing as a goal, I will undoubtedly say yes. Otherwise, it wouldn't be worth constantly striving for it.

At this point, it is possible to delve into the subject of populism, which I defined in the title of my speech as "a murderer with two familiar faces." Why the familiar two-faced murderer, because populism destroys democracy not by using tanks and guns, but by using the institutions of democracy itself and the name of the people, and mostly their will, yes, by using their will. The sad thing is that the ballot box, which represents a sacred beginning for democracy in terms of the reflection of the general will on politics and "government of the people, by the people and for the people",

can easily turn into the starting point of a premeditated murder in the hands of populism. In this regard, just as you cannot bless democracy, you cannot regard the ark as a means of sanctification on its own and within itself, and you cannot accept it as a well of purification, which the Jews call "mikvah". You cannot be purified from all your sins by entering there and being baptized. During the Cold War, it was not just about intervening in elections. At the same time, three out of every four cases where democracy ended were due to military coups. For the first time since the Cold War, we are back on a trend dangerously reminiscent of the first half of the 20th century. The murderers of democracy, the populists who came to power through elections, have increased. My personal observation is that populism, as an epithet, does not cause as much resentment and resentment in the political establishment as other expressions. When you say "You are a populist", they can say "Allah forbid you too, sir". This is because the meaning of populism is not well understood. Probably we shouldn't call populism populism, it's "errandism" I have to say. Maybe if we call it swindling, those we insult will know why they are receiving the insult they deserve. Populism can be swindling. Even at this point in his current state, the murderer can take refuge in the shadow of his innocence. Because populism, populism. So why is populism becoming widespread? There are some conjunctural reasons, milestones and breaking points. These were explained very carefully and meticulously in the morning's panel. But there are 2 main currents here…

One is about postmodernism. As postmodernism became widespread in the 20th century, a system of values that could replace secular morality could not be created. Therefore, societies are very confused about what values are and the hierarchy of values and norms. Truth, truth, truth, they are all intertwined. In fact, neither political science nor philosophy has yet agreed on satisfactory meanings for these concepts on which democratic institutions can be formed. In fact, he could not even suggest these meanings.

Second, there was a relationship between prosperity and democracy, but this relationship has been broken in the 20th century. So we do not have to live in a liberal democracy for our prosperity to increase." If it is said, "If anyone wants an example, look at China," it is not clear what to say and what not to say against this sentence. However, we also lost something else. Pluralism no longer means equal opportunity. Because no one believes in politics. The masses are becoming apolitical, but on the other hand, they have lost confidence in both the capacity and intention of the political institution to bring solutions. In other words, he is saying that politics neither intends to understand my problems nor to solve my problems in terms of equality of opportunity... It does not even have such an intention, and even if it intends to do such a thing, it does not have the capacity.

Now, when you consider these two together, you enter a process of depoliticization

where you lose interest in how democratic institutions work. In fact, it is in human nature to find someone to decide on their behalf and entrust their work to them. Don't worry about our ambitions. In fact, very few of us are wandering around with the "curiosity of imposing our will on others", which the Ancient Greeks also called "thymos". Therefore, this depoliticization makes the job easier for all leaders who intend to become authoritarian. But they know that, as in the past, authoritarianism is difficult to explain without the ballot box. This is why populism stands out as a very serious method. What we are going through is a crisis of democracy. So how do we recognize populism, the murderer? All of us are victims anyway. How do we know the victim and the whole society behind the murderer? It defines a monolithic, anti-pluralistic and exclusionary people. This is what a populist leader does. The leader who emerges as who are you, I am the nation, we are the nation is a populist and his intentions regarding democracy are probably not very pure. A leader who excludes other identities, first characterizes them as bad and then criminalizes them, and stands as the flag bearer of a polarizing identity politics is not a democrat. He is populist and probably has serious ambitions of authoritarianism. However, what you call people is a plural word grammatically, semantically and semiologically. There is no uniformity in the people, but a populist leader will tell you that 50% + 1 of the people, not 51 or 52, but 50 + 1 people, if the system requires 30%, 30%, and if it requires 10%, 10% are the real people. And the wishes, will, identity definitions and values of that people are essential. The rest are not included in the actual ring. This is the first one. The second is elite hostility. You put imaginary and real elites as enemies of the people. You put the people against him. Imaginary and real elites are generally the educated people of that country. That's why hostility towards educated people comes into play at some point. In this crucible, it defines the institutions that do not serve its purpose, that is, it defines them as elitist institutions or institutions under the control of elites, and it wears out the institutions, especially those with balance and control functions. It renders them dysfunctional. If a populist leader does this, you probably have someone dreaming of autocracy. Thirdly, populism offers you a leader who has just idealized 10%, 20%, 30% of voters who voted for him, who knows the wishes of the people after describing the mass he represents as the people, and who represents the holistic identity of the people in question. The leader who uses populism also defines himself this way. There is no need to go far, Venezuela's populist leader Chavez said "I am the people". These leaders also like to make up some adjectives for themselves, such as leader, chief, captain, etc. The political objections of those who do not believe in him and those who are not from the public are also not legitimate.

There is a moral superiority in populist leaders that constitutes the legitimacy and basis of their integration with the people, the morality they represent is the best. He curses everyone else who is left with this moral superiority. Therefore, it wages

a relentless war against institutions and individuals that might cause its superiority to be questioned. These may be journalists, these may be professors, these may be universities.

As I said, we do not accept populism as an insult. Then, "errand" is not a bad word to describe our purpose. There is also a concept called "clientalism" in English. We can call this "sidemanship" in Turkish. Populist leaders feed their partisanship. What you call partisanship is especially useful and profitable in apolitical societies. Because the people have given up hope on politics, they are no longer seeking compensation for the money they spend and the taxes they pay as legitimate citizens. You eat three, give me one. The man steals but works. When you hear this sentence, you probably fall into the bracket of populism. Sidemongering channels what is stolen from the public to someone else through direct transfer mechanisms. The general population, on the other hand, is willing to live in needy relationships with various aids.

You won't complain too much if what is stolen from the future of society is being transferred. So, why can't oppositions be successful against populist regimes, even though they have a solid basis such as pluralist and enlightenment values? Because the opposition has two major weaknesses. The first weakness is that it is opposition, this is its biggest weakness. Because he does not have the resources of power, and because he does not have it, he cannot make a proposal that will go beyond the system I just mentioned. The second is ironic, a bit sarcastic. The opposition to populism has a weakness in that it is ontologically based on pluralism. In other words, the opposition may not agree within itself. But this should not cause us to forget the fact that there is opposition and that it is valuable because it cannot agree.

The populist leader is not the type of leader who becomes smarter when he is crowned; he can be his own opposition. Maybe this will surprise some people, but there is actually nothing surprising about it. Because there is an additional factor here that makes the opposition's job difficult. Because populism can survive by opposing the elites, even if it is constantly in power, by telling that these secret elites are part of a malicious conspiracy, by opposing this opposition with these stories it produces, and by opposing that opposition as well. Breaking this cycle requires truly competent political leaders and experienced politicians. Populists constantly produce conspiracies, and if there are conspirators in the opposition, they will not have much difficulty in their work. If you live in a populist country and think that you represent the opposition, you have to live by knowing what democracy is and carrying it into your daily life and every breath. You have no easy way to achieve this goal other than trying hard. I think some countries have reached the end of what could easily be reached very recently. What's more than that is to work at the grassroots level, so in my opinion, this important event we are involved in, this democracy forum, serves its own function. Thank you.

Deniz ZEYREK
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The Relationship Between Communication and Democracy in the Age of Artificial Intelligence

Hello. I'm very sorry for not being able to be there. As someone who comes towards it frequently but has never been to my city, I really wanted to join, but everything's quite chaotic. On the one hand, we have Sözcü and the new season starting on Fox TV, and I also have a health problem. I'm receiving treatment, so there was a conflict on that end as well.

So please accept my apologies, for I would prefer to be there and talk to you face to face, but it is quite suitable for the topic that I've chosen. It might be supplementary, so to speak. I would first of all like to thank my reader for his kind words. It's very important for me to hear such nice words as a journalist from such a great academic, I'm really happy to hear those words. Thank you. I would also like to thank Oktay Ekşi for inviting me here. I'm really proud to be here.

Now the topic is democracy in the age of artificial intelligence, but I would like to examine this age called post truth that was brought about also with the help of AI. So what are we experiencing? How does politics use post truth and what effects does it have on democracy? I would like to demonstrate it accurately. The relationship between democracy and technology is what I want to examine. This technology that can be very useful for us can be abused by politics, and I would like to share some examples of that with you as well. Post Truth is what I define as the truth losing its importance and meaning. So, we live in such an age that the means of communication and technology allows those who have political power to create some sense that blocks reality, that blocks the truth. And in all fields, not only in politics and communication, but also in administration and public relations, sociology, ethics in every imaginable field.This sense has come to the fore and the truth has lost its significance and it is bringing about severe consequences and problems.

Now I would like to first tell you how it works for journalism, the development of in technology, artificial intelligence, These are in our advantage. I was a conflict journalist in Baghdad, in Afghanistan, for example. I've worked there. It was impossible to transmit any news, let alone being able to transmit it in time. There were a couple of horror 5 international lines. The Americans had bombed it so hard that all communications were cut off and we would use that line for 5 minutes at a time. We would take the cell phone, read the text we had prepared, and somebody on the other end would record it because we would be reading it very fast. So they wouldn't be able to catch up with the typewriter, so they would record it and then do the transcription. I lived in Ankara. I live in Ankara and can join a meeting in Mesudiye online. We have the technology for that now. That's amazing. Information being transmitted really quickly reinforces the people's right to receive news.

There is such an interpretation of this. For example. This also means another thing for journalists. If bosses don't like what you write, they can fire you. This is one of the biggest problems in my profession. I was I had to leave Hürriyet newspaper during the Demirören group time and I can explain why very clearly. One day Demirören came to Ankara with the executives and they held a meeting and they said I like Tayyip Erdoğan and they said that they would not have any insults, criticisms or anything against Erdoğan, that wouldn't be allowed on the paper, is what they said. And at that moment I realized what my, what the newspaper I was working at had become and I left. And now I see what it has turned into very clearly. So, this is to emphasize that we live in a period where journalists are silenced constantly and technology has empowered us against these.

A lot of my colleagues can now work on YouTube channels, reaching out to more people than would be possible through the television for example. The speech I gave on television was seen by 250,000 people and by 30 million people on Instagram, it was viewed 30 million times. And let's assume that one person watches it several times. So let's say that it's 10 million. There's a lot of capacity and potential, so it became an independent platform for us journalists. So, this kind of censorship applied by bosses is something that we have leverage against now.

But this technology is not always used with good intentions or in a good way.

Journalists also abuse this. They use it as a power sometimes and have a tendency to abuse them sometimes. So, this could reverse that advantage. But what I would like to emphasize is how politics abuses this. Politicians focus on winning, that's the first thing.

And they do whatever they can to win. And they never hesitate to abuse any tools they have. This is something we should emphasize, and in social media, this is used in the highest way. It's also statistically, street journalism was something we were talking

about. Then, when we couldn't send the journalist to every piece of news, we would confirm the things people shared on social media to follow up on the developments there. This gave us an advantage, especially when there were incidents at night. No, when there were the Gezi protests, this was something we saw. We also saw it in the Arab Spring. Despite the media blackouts in those countries, people were able to reach the news more easily.

Unfortunately, politics is social media and although this seemed like an advantage at first, it had a natural outcome which was social media being used for trolling like social media. In this polarization we are in started hurting politics itself and access to correct information became hard for us. Although social media should make it easier for us to reach information, it can make it harder due to politicians, their approach to information and it created a new field of work for us. There were such big lies back then that were said by politicians.

For example, Ismet Önünü was a "draft evader"… Would you believe that? There's the first victory of the first battle, the second one in the great charge. They charged together. They took Izmir together. So saying that, you know, there was a draft dodger under these conditions is unbelievable. But this is a lie that they shared on social media and somebody bought some people bought those lies. Some people started using these in street interviews. Under these circumstances, can you use the expression "İnönü is a deserter"? They did it, they circulated this lie on social media and some of their own base bought it. There were people using it on the street. There were people who resorted to this discourse on the street. CHP and PKK were side by side, a lie that the party that founded the Republic, Ataturk's party, supported terrorism in Turkey was put into circulation and kept in the market for a long time.

One of the main characteristics of such periods is that conspiracy theories spread widely and the number of people who believe in these theories increases. This is the issue of the "hidden articles of Lausanne Treaty". For example, those secret articles went into circulation on social media and millions of people in Turkey believed that once it had been 100 years, the secret articles of the Lausanne Treaty would be revealed and that Turkey would be able to do more things that it wasn't able to, such as extracting oil.

So fact checking was … became another field that we've got familiar with. We had our own way of working of course, but we also started to confirm the information we saw on social media. There are a lot of websites that were founded, such as tate.org. Technology brought this burden on journalists and the main reason is politicians trying to use post truth for themselves, Unfortunately, especially the party in power abusing the power they have and doing politics on those lies.

Also sets the gender of the country, if it's built on these lies, on the opposition parties.

Instead of talking about their projects and their approach, they had to defend themselves against these lies and they had to spend a lot of their energy on telling the truth of …. they weren't able to explain themselves and they had to go running against that virtual, those virtual news.

Think of it this way, I say it to show how reckless and immoral it is used. In Turkey, there are about 20 million Internet users, but the videos published by politicians received 60 to 70 million views. So they were made to be seen as popular, because on social media there are also bot accounts, now troll accounts, fake accounts. And this is a project for propaganda, a very such project for propaganda. So bot accounts, troll accounts, fake accounts are being used still, and there's also a lot of capital going into this. It's not only the party in power using this, the opposition parties are also using it now. So a purification or a focus on models is what was expected of politics, whereas in reality the discourse of the those in power also took the opposition hostage, so to say. And important …the social media became a very important arena for these parties to have their fights.

And unfortunately, during times of elections, these are used much more than normal times. We all watched the race between Trump and Clinton, and we also saw how the Russian intelligence intervened in that race and how Clinton had to defend herself, and how Trump's racist discourse was shown to receive support in the US public and with the support of social media and of the KGB, we saw Trump reach victory. Under normal conditions, him even becoming a candidate would be a miracle. But he became a candidate, He won, and he was in charge of the USA for five years.

Let me give you an example without dragging it on for too long. For example, HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, being created in a lab in the US and being spread in Africa against the migrant problem, is a claim that's been spread even years ago, even in American media it was very popular and a lot of Americans bought that. The FBI did a research, they call it an operation. They found that in India in a local communist newspaper, there is a piece of news on a column which said that the HIV virus was developed in a lab in the USA and then spread from there. And it was later revealed that that newspaper was founded and managed directly by the KGB. And that information was later published on the Bulgarian Communist parties, right? And then in another newspaper in East Germany. And somehow a newspaper in West Germany later published it, then to the British media, then to American media. So that … that operation that the KGB started it in India ended up in American media in just two years. So, it took two years for the American public to hear and buy that conspiracy theory. But today, a similar conspiracy theory can be spread at the speed of light. And these malignant politicians have an amazing tool at their disposal. Before elections, during elections, et cetera, they abuse it so much, so ruthlessly, they

use it as a weapon. So, in this age of technology, one of the problems we see is what we call a deep fake through artificial intelligence.

So it's the deepest of the fake, so to speak. Technology is so advanced that they can watch a footage of you for an hour, an hour-long footage of you, they save it and can create a fake speech that you give. But even leaving that aside video montages are very popular dinner. We experienced this in Turkey as actually the president of the country used a commercial of Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, his rival, where Kılıçdaroğlu said "haydi haydi haydi", which is let's. And then he placed a photograph from Murat Karayılan of a member of the PKK take in one of those meetings of the terror organization and they placed people around cheering and crying. We just said a couple, which is a slogan for the party, but in the background, it has came up as Kılıçdaroğlu election song. So, he appears in the beginning of the video, says some things and then the leader of the terrorist organization applauds Kılıçdaroğlu and starts repeating his song. Even the president himself accepted that that video is fake. And unfortunately, I went to like around 30-35 cities during the elections. Most AKP voters had bought that video. They accepted it as truth. So the public, the AKP voters accepted the view that the members of the terrorist organization were supporting Kılıçdaroğlu's election calls.

Remember the elections. They created such a climate that, for example oil was found in Gabar, gas is discovered in the Black Sea. OK, these are my finishing remarks. Actually, we're nearing the end. The drones, unmanned vehicles, they created such a climate that I said to myself, if we were living in a country like this, then we would be feeling it with so much added value. If we had so many things, with so much added value, if we had the oil and gas to meet our needs, if we had such great automotive initiative like TOGG, all the drones, the defense industry, we would feel it. Had the prosperity been spread to all of the population, then we would all live in prosperity. But that's not the truth. We see it. We see it every day. And also post-earthquake housing. He created such a perception. He created the perception that it would be true and now there's too much interference. All of the constructions are only now just beginning in their beginning phases, the foundations have been set only recently. They only have a foundation ceremony that would be enough to give the people the perception that this housing need would be met. So despite Kılıçdaroğlu was saying that he would make it free they said I don't started building the foundations.

So to summarize, politics is unfortunately headed in a bad direction and the AKPs aim to become the absolute power and abusing all means offered by technology, which is a big threat for turkeys democracy. I believe that politicians should be thinking on this and we could have regulations, ethic, norms, something positive. And I believe that we need this needs to be discussed.

Let me wrap it up. Thank you very much for your attention. I hope for a Turkey in which we can live in an improved way of democracy for its 2nd century. And I see that this is a very successful conference. I wish the continuation of your success. Thank you.

Doç. Dr. Özge KEMAHLIOĞLU
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Local Politics and the Future of Democracy

Populism, polarization and the uncontrollable political dominance of a group or a party stand out among the current problems of democracy. Populism is an intellectual construct that divides society into two: elites and the "real" people, and claims that they are the only ones who represent and serve the people. One result of this demarcation is that pluralism (acceptance of difference), which forms the basis of democracy, loses its value and is damaged. Polarization, on the other hand, is defined, in the first instance, as political actors such as individuals and parties having very distant (different) views, political preferences, and different political ideologies. Recently, what we understand from polarization has begun to change and expand and has started to include daily life. The observation that polarization also affects daily lives is not unique to Turkey, and its existence in different societies and its impact on politics is emphasized in the field of political science and is called affective polarization. It is observed that thoughts such as our life is different from the other group, we have difficulty in living together with them, our preferences are very different and we cannot be together, we cannot live together, arise among different groups. It is a problem that is not specific to Turkey, but occurs in various countries around the world, including those that we consider to be developed democracies.

Another problem is the increasing dominance of a political group or party and through this power their attempts to change democratic institutions, gradually transforming the democratic system into an electoral authoritarian system, perhaps competitive, perhaps non-competitive. Again, this is a situation we have observed in many countries in recent years. Although the fragmented government problem that may be the opposite of this situation - the crisis of not being able to solve the problems as a result of too many groups participating in the government and a single group not being able to manage very strongly - is also an important problem, it will not be discussed here. The focus will be on the gradual shift towards authoritarianism

in a slow process, the relationship of this process with populism and polarization, and whether local politics can provide an answer to these problems and whether we can look to local politics as a solution. Although it will be discussed mostly in conceptual/theoretical dimensions, empirical data that may shed light on some issues will also be shared.

The widely used definition of democracy, developed by Robert A. Dahl (1971), includes two dimensions – participation and competition. It is critical that competition encompasses different groups and provides the same opportunities for these groups. Local governments can contribute to ensuring this type of competition. The most important and basic aspect is the existence of alternative power centers. Having access to public resources, being able to control public resources, and being in power can provide parties with great advantages in elections. In a situation where the party controlling the central government enjoys this advantage, local governments offer to the opposition the opportunity to control an alternative center of power. Thus, this creates a situation that can strengthen the opposition. In other words, by governing at least in local governments, the opposition can demonstrate its ability to implement and create its own policies and appeal to the citizens in some manner with state resources. Therefore, local governments have the opportunity to strengthen competition. Although this question is discussed in political science, it is an idea that has not yet been fully supported empirically. Although we do not have a definitive answer to the question of whether the control of local governments by the opposition is a factor that may prevent the slow transition to single-party hegemony, it is quite possible that it may have an impact.

Another issue that is extremely important for the relationship between local governments and democracy is direct participation in government. It is especially important to discuss this issue in the World Democracy Forum context because the Mesudiye Congresses, which form the basis of the forum, are actually examples of a local institution where the people and citizens directly participate in politics. How do such environments, such opportunities and institutions affect populism and polarization? Could there be negative effects that we cannot foresee? It is important to discuss these questions. In order for direct participation to work, people from different groups with different views must be able to come together, discuss and produce solutions. There are not many institutions or opportunities in Turkey that can enable us to conduct research on direct participation. When we look at other countries, we see that problems are encountered from time to time. We can see, for example in Venezuela, that partisanship sometimes predominates in places where direct participation is provided, citizens participate in the creation and implementation of projects, and institutional options are available. In cases where citizens can create and manage their own projects, we can actually encounter

situations where people and groups close to the government have more say. While direct participation institutions can enable the interaction of different groups in a positive way, there is also the possibility that they turn into institutional entities in which one group is more influential.

It would be useful to give a few empirical examples from local government experience in Turkey. Some of the questions we asked in a survey we conducted in April-May 2023, before the May 16 general election, may shed light on issues related to local politics.[1] This survey, which was conducted with a representative sample of Turkish voters, shows that participation in direct participatory institutions/projects of municipalities is extremely weak. The question asks "In which of the municipal practices listed below did you participate in past year?" with the options presented as participatory budget, participatory project and search conference. These options mostly cover the practices of metropolitan municipalities offered in the recent years. For example, Izmir Municipality calls the meetings open to the participation of citizens where local problems are discussed as search conferences. Among the 2108 people who answered the question, 29 people said they participated in the participatory budget, 24 people said they participated in the participatory project among the 2112 people who answered the question, and 11 people among 2109 said they attended a search conference.

We observe an increasing demand for direct participation in some countries with economic development levels similar to Turkey. In order to understand whether such a demand has developed in Turkey, especially among young people, it would be useful to look at the answers given to the following question: "In which of the following practices would you participate if your municipality offered the opportunity?" In this question, recalls used in other countries have been added to the practices presented as options. It is observed that there is a relatively greater desire for participation compared to actual participation. Those who would participate in the participatory budget if it were possible were 359 people out of 1914 respondents (who gave an answer), those who said they would participate in the participatory project were 362 people out of 1911, those who said they would participate in a search conference were 305 people out of 1904 respondents, and those who said they would participate in the recall were 300 people out of 1902. The answers to this question do not differ according to age and education groups. The rate of those living in metropolitan cities who stated that they would participate if they had the opportunity differs statistically

from those living in other provinces and, contrary to expectations, is observed at a lower level.[2]

Another important issue in terms of democratic governance is the contribution of local governments to accountability. Especially in the nineties, when institutions such as the World Bank focused on local governments and suggested that the administration be shifted towards the local, decentralization was a subject that was widely discussed. In this period, the focus was mostly on the positive aspects, and it was argued that local governments would increase accountability because they were closer to people, people would have more knowledge about local issues, and participation would be greater due to proximity.

Under what conditions does local government increase accountability? Here I would like to focus on the accountability of incumbents through elections. Accountability has some stages and necessary conditions. First of all, voters must be interested in the subject and have knowledge about it. The interest and knowledge of voters, however, are shaped by partisanship, especially in recent years. Voters show more interest in the issues emphasized by their party of attachment. Also, through the role of the media, voters tend to be more inclined to hear, perceive and believe what their partisans say about these issues. Therefore, there are problems with accountability even at the very first stage. Then comes the stage of attributing responsibility. Unfortunately, at this stage, too, the negative impact of partisanship is seen, and it is not a problem experienced only in Turkey. Voters evaluate outcomes more positively when the party they support is in power. They are less willing and inclined to punish their partisans when problems occur. Even if responsibility is attributed, voters do not always change their choice in elections. They also consider the alternatives and alternatives are likely to be undesirable in polarized contexts. When an issue is important for the voter, they should be able to evaluate the government's performance on this issue and make their voting decision based on this evaluation. If the voter finds it unsuccessful, she should punish the incumbent; if she finds it successful, she should continue to support it. However, in environments where polarization is intense, as we have discussed before, such a mechanism will not always be effective, and even if the voter is not satisfied with the government on issues that are important to the voter, they will continue to vote for the same party due to partisanship and polarization.

Does this situation differ in local elections? Although the data we have does not allow us to fully answer this question, we may shed some light on this issue. The survey conducted before the June 2019 Istanbul re-election includes some questions about local governments.[3] To the open-ended question we asked about the most

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[2] Results are available from the author upon request.

[3] Please see Erdoğan et. al. 2019 on details about the study and the sample.

important problem in Istanbul ("What do you think is the most important problem in Istanbul today?"), no one gave earthquake as the answer. Twenty years after the 1999 Marmara earthquake, it seems that this issue has lost its importance for Istanbul voters. The survey included 1019 respondents and no one stated the earthquake as the most important problem of Istanbul. It is, therefore, clear that even vital issues can be forgotten over time, and a significant effort must be made by civil society to keep the issues that need to be important on the voters' agenda.

A very simple question was asked in the same study to measure the voter's interest in local politics and their knowledge about local politics. In 2017, the mayors of Istanbul and Ankara Metropolitan Municipalities were forced to resign, and the Metropolitan Municipal Councils elected their replacements. When we asked an open-ended question where the respondents were asked to name the mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality – a politician that they did not vote for, the voter's correct answer indicates an extremely high level of interest and knowledge. In our findings the electorate appears to be quite interested and knowledgeable. Among the 1019 people interviewed, 648 people were able to name Mevlüt Uysal when asked in an open-ended manner (without giving a name option in the question).

The survey mentioned earlier, conducted in April-May 2023, also includes the following question about responsibility: "Who do you think is responsible for the losses in the earthquake?" Of the 2357 people who answered the question, 734 found the central government responsible, 410 the municipalities, 59 named the bureaucrats/employees in government offices, almost half, 1083 chose contractors/construction companies, and only 37 said all. These results suggest that partisanship might have come to the fore in attributing responsibility.

Table 1.

Satisfaction	Will not vote for Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Will vote for Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Total
Not satisfied	397 40.8%	218 21.8%	615 31.16%
Neither satisfied nor not satisfied	177 18.2%	152 15.2%	329 16.67%
Satisfied	399 41%	631 63%	1030 52.18%

The final empirical data I will share includes satisfaction with district or town municipalities. When we divide the sample into two groups, those who intended to vote for Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 2023 and those who did not intend to vote for

Erdoğan, in order to see the role of partisanship and polarization, we see that the two groups differ to a large extent in their levels of satisfaction.

The question is "How satisfied are you with the government in your district/town municipality?". The response scale ranges from 0 to 10. Below 5 is coded as dissatisfied, above 5 as satisfied. "So which presidential candidate are you planning to vote for?" captures the vote intention. Those who answered the question "Recep Tayyip Erdoğan" were coded as intending to vote for Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, and those who stated one of the other three candidates were coded as not intending.

Finally, it is also possible that the opportunity given to alternative groups to rule at the local level may create the opportunity to reduce affective polarization. In cases where citizens feel that they did not lose much under the rule of the other group, their views about the other group may change, and local politics may contribute to reducing polarization. However, we do not have any data or analysis to evaluate this prediction.

As a result, the questions of whether local governments can contribute to the better functioning of democracy and prevent democracies from collapsing should continue to be discussed. In cases where there is a demand for direct participation mechanisms, it should be investigated how egalitarian participation can be achieved. In order for local governments to contribute to accountability through elections, the presence of voters who know and follow local policies and the results of these policies and vote according to their satisfaction is required. When we look at data from Turkey, there are signs that voters are interested in and knowledgeable about local politics. However, there are still two questions that need studying: Whether there are voters who observe the policies chosen by local governments and the results of these policies, who make decisions based on these observations, who attribute responsibility and make a party choice or change their party preference accordingly and how the emergence of such a voter in a political environment dominated by polarization and partisanship can be ensured.

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Prof. Dr. Burak KÜNTAY
Beykoz University

Party Structures in Democracies

We send greetings to you from all our professors, academics, administrative staff and students from Beykoz University. They wholeheartedly congratulate all of you on this beautiful forum. I, too,personally congratulate you that come from different parts of Türkiye, for organizing such an important forum.

When we met with Aziz hoca months ago, he was revealing how his dream of this event would work and how it would progress. The district of a city, the villages and towns of that district also believe in this, and such a magnificent thing comes out of this belief. Because you really put a tremendous heart and soul. I wholeheartedly congratulate all of you, especially the valuable leader of this work, Aziz hocam.

Of course everyone has a political opinion. Let's be frank, in Türkiye, if you are a member of party "a", you like negative criticism about "b", you like the praise of "a", and if you are in party "b", it is the opposite. It's normal, because we believe in an idea, an ideology. We don't think about whether the other one might also have the right side. This is where democracy exploded anyway. First, let's see from the grassroots level, can we carry out this work well?

What I want to say is that most of the issues we talk about are different, but the event that determines this whole story is the parties and us who manage the parties. When I went to USA at the age of 16 and a half and 17, I set my mind on something. There is a system called the presidential system. I'm hooked on this. I believed that the presidential system was a very democratic, very beautiful, very correct system, and I studied this system. I devoted myself to this throughout my studies. I still believe that this system is the best system. Because the presidential system has a few basic features. 1, the legislature, executive and judiciary are clearly separate from each other. 2, each power is not above or below the other, they control each other. 3,thanks to a narrow district election system, the people elect their representatives

and send them to the parliament, not because someone recommends them to them, but because they determine them. In short, the people elect the MPs, they are not imposed on the people. 4, parties are close to non-existent and weak.

It would be great if bringing the name of the system, transferring the name of a system somewhere, using a name somewhere would solve the whole problem. In short, this is not how it works today. Look, there are a few items under the presidential system that I have listed for you. Now let's come to the parties at the bottom of the presidential system, let's see how the system works normally.

I will ask you to help me. Let me give an example from Ordu. But first, let's look at this parliamentary election. How many members of parliament does Ordu get? 6? For ease of calculation, let's say it gets 10. Let's say party A usually gets 4 or 5. So we know it. I also did politics. We worked in youth branches. So, according to the mood of the party in Türkiye and the mood of the party living in that province, you say Party A gets 5, Party B gets 3, Party C gets 1, Party D gets 1. Why can we give these figures? Because in our country, we do not vote for the candidate, we vote for the party, the leader and the atmosphere. So 5, 3, 1, 1 is not clear in our minds, right?

Now I will be a member of parliament. We intended. No one should be angry or offended, we went to the party, who will elect me as a member of parliament? Let's be very clear. So who is the decision maker? General president. Look how good our system is. Now I go to the chairman, I ask him/her, sir/madam, can you make me MP? He/she says of course. It is truly a very honorable profession, so I would like it very much. We were made ordinary candidates to be elected, and then we became MPs. We did our best for 4 years. I just have one problem. Sometimes I hear contradictions with what the chairman says. Look, it doesn't matter the party, it doesn't matter at all. Well, it is not true, it is something that is talked about there. What are we going to do? Should we talk about it or not? Now we have a very good option. If you don't say anything, I am very comfortable in the next election. Why? Because I have no problem with the person who will appreciate me again for being a member of parliament. The moment you say it, say goodbye to being a member of parliament. Because, unfortunately, in Türkiye, being a member of parliament is far beyond being an authority elected by the people - so that no one gets offended - it is a position presented to the public with the words "I found it suitable for this, here you go." Now criticize any party you want, criticize any leader you want. No matter what anyone says, we have been in this situation throughout the history of Turkish democracy. We could never get out of here, we never did. Now, if it were my late father, he would be angry with me and say that in our time there were primaries in the parties. Was intervention possible again? When you form a national assembly like this, does it matter who comes here? Look, I'm asking very sincerely. You like it if he wins, you like

if the other one wins, you cannot elect a representative, you cannot elect a person to an authority that will raise a voice to rebel, and we cannot voice this. It doesn't work, why? Because that party is always wrong, the other party is wrong, or the other party is wrong. Well, we don't have parliamentary elections.

We change leaders every 30 years or so. This is a very professional occupation. What is your occupation? I'm the leader. If you happen to sit in the chairmanship of a party, no one would be offended by the current delegate structure in Türkiye, but if you are not very incompetent, they will not let you lose that seat. It doesn't matter whether you lose or win the election, whether you do wrong or tell the truth. Because there is such a beautiful delegate structure, I come and say to you, sir, you will like me, our Istanbul delegates are 20 or 30, you put a family here, you come and put our friends here, put graduates from our school here. I chose you, and next week you will choose me, it's a sweet system. And we are talking about the system in Türkiye. No party has a party system that can change your leader.

You are going to parliamentary elections, you do not have a system where you can elect parliamentarians and where the people elected by the people can actually represent the country. Have you seen any party discussing this? He talks to her, she talks to him. Everyone is avoiding the fundamental problems within the system, why? Because it affects everyone. Why? Because it doesn't benefit anyone. Why? When you sit in that seat, may God give everyone a long life. Unless there is death or resignation, there is a forever job guarantee. There is no such good job. Everyone has an evaluation and criterion at the end of their job. The people say it didn't happen, they say it didn't happen, it did happen but the people didn't even realize it happened.

Now we have a legendary party system. Party financing, very nice. The state gives money to the party to do politics. The state says, do politics according to the votes you get. I've never seen anything like this. For example, let's give an example from the system in USA. Are you going to be a candidate? You have been given limits. In American law, it says you can collect this much money and tells you how much you can collect from whom. You will get it at that rate, it will all be transparent, you will not put a burden on the state, you announce your candidacy, do you know who will appoint you to that position? Due to narrow district feature, the voters in that region decide. We don't have a practice of asking voters. In conclusion, what I want to tell is a very clear case. Now I'm going to ask you a name, do you know? Have you heard of Joe Biden? Who is he? American president. Have you heard of Kamala Harris? Which party are these from? Democrat. So let me ask you something? Have you heard of Jaime Harrison? 99.9% probably haven't heard of it. Do you know who is he? The chairman of the democratic party. No, it is normal that neither us nor Americans do not know about it. Do you know why? Because parties are weak in the presidential

system. Because the perception of democracy is clear, obvious and based on the people. In our case, the system is based on everything except the people. The man was born in 1976. Nobody knows in America. Candidates say "I am a candidate" and appear before the people, and the people say "be a candidate, don't be a candidate". The people say so and he becomes the party's candidate, that's how deputies are elected, that's how senators are elected, and that's how all candidates are elected.

Do you know the summary of today's speech and what is our biggest problem? We watch the parties having sweet fights with each other, pretending to be in a beautiful illusion. No religious issues, no Ataturk, no nationalism. These are the best things, everyone eats a lot of bread there, gets into trouble with each other, and the economy goes very well between these fights. Well, the most basic point is there is no people. There is no asking the public, there is no public involvement. He was put in a position where he was obliged to vote for anyone who appeared before the public. Tell me that in the last 20, 30, 40, 50 years in Turkey, the parties settled on the system of electing the people's MPs and the representatives who will represent them in the parliament, compromised and walked on democracy. Can you give an example? Come on, I'm not old enough, is there anyone? No, why, there is no need?

Have we seen anyone regretting this? We didn't see it.

In conclusion, I would like to say this, of course, the issues that the valuable speakers will talk about today and tomorrow are very important, but Süleyman Bey had something to say. I was young at that time, I would say, Sir, there is something wrong here. Then he would tell me, son, say whatever you say, but change doesn't start with my hat. He said he had to come on foot. He said he had to walk from the grassroots. He used to say that unifications and movements occur at the bottom, not at the ceiling. He said that rivers flow and find their way, but that delta must form on its own.

Dear friends, the foundation of democracy starts from the grassroots, the solution of democracy starts from the parliament, but it really starts with your voters who send the solution to the parliament and the authorities that will represent you. As I said at the beginning, I am a defender of this system. A democratic system in which the people are not involved remains democracy in name only and cannot go further than that.

I offer my respects to all of you

WORLD DEMOCRACY FORUM

WDF'2023

September 14-16, 2023

MESUDİYE - ORDU - TÜRKİYE

PANEL 3

DEMOCRACY AND ECOLOGY/FOOD ASSURANCE

Prof. Dr. İnci GÖKMEN
METU Department of Chemistry (E)

Democracy for the Sustainability of Ecological Living and Food Security

If one day my words are against science, choose science!!

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

I would like to begin by expressing my gratitude to Mr. Oktay Ekşi, who hosted the World Democracy Forum in Mesudiye on the 100th anniversary of our Republic, and to Mr. Prof. Dr. Aziz Ekşi, the people of Mesudiye, and all those who contributed to the realization of this forum.

In 2015, I also participated in the Turkey Democracy Forum and witnessed the wish for the World Democracy Forum to be held on the 100th anniversary of our Republic. This wish has become a reality with intense effort and work. I am confident that this event, with speakers from both the country and abroad and followed by many, will make a positive contribution to our country and global democracy.

On October 9, 1923, the first article of the Constitution has been amended as follows: "*Sovereignty is vested unconditionally in the Nation, that is, in the people. The form of the state is a Republic.*" In other words, sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation. The form of government is based on the principle that the people personally and practically manage their destiny. The Republic was declared on October 29, 1923. On Sunday, October 29, 2023, we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of our Republic throughout the country.

Democracy is formed by the combination of the Greek words 'demos' meaning people, and "krates," meaning ruler or authority. According to Karl Popper, democracy

is defined as "the rule of the people and the right of the people to rule." Republic is a form of government, and democracy is one of the ways in which a republic is practiced.

The title of our panel is "democracy and ecology/food security." Before discussing ecology and food security, as a retired university lecturer, I would like to briefly touch on some antidemocratic practices that university members have been subjected to: In 2016, 2212 faculty members signed the Academics Declaration for Peace (BAK). In the following days, investigations were opened against signatory faculty members in many universities, and faculty members were tried in various courts in different cities. With the issuance of Decree-Laws (KHK), the relations of many faculty members with their universities were severed, their passports were canceled, many of them were separated from their universities and residences, and they were scattered in all directions. Some of the faculty members who suffered such harsh treatment took their own lives. The number of those who lost their jobs and went to court to return is very small. As a result of these ruthless treatments, universities have been silenced.

In universities, in 1946, a law was passed to elect rectors. After the military coup in 1980, rectors were appointed. In 1992, elections for rectors were reinstated. With a Decre Law (KHK) in 2016, rector elections were abolished, and the President was given the direct authority to appoint rectors. In our country, we elect neighborhood headmen. It is a contradiction and a democratic deficit that university members cannot elect their rectors. The protests of Bogazici University faculty members against rector appointments and other antidemocratic practices have been going on for 1,000 days. Universities play a leading role in society, providing young people with education and opportunities to acquire a profession and serving as the country's brain with scientific meetings, conferences, research, reports, articles, and other activities. It is imperative to put an end to antidemocratic practices and democratize universities as soon as possible. This is a priority for the future of our country.

In this panel, our five speakers will share their insights on democracy, ecology, and food security. Before discussing food, let›s remember some important concepts. There are two closely related Turkish terms: food security, which means that the food provided to consumers is safe and does not contain harmful elements; the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)[1] defines food security as "physical and economic access by all people, at all times, to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food for a healthy and active life." In addition to these two concepts, there is also the concept of food justice, which sees food security as a fundamental human right and demands the fair distribution of food production. Food sovereignty, on the other hand, advocates the right of every community to determine its own food policy[2]. The title of our panel includes food security, one of these important concepts.

Nutrition is important for people of all ages, but it is especially important for children during their childhood years for their mental and physical development. Ensuring that children eat well is crucial for them to become healthy adults. Children and young people are the future of the country. Food Engineer Dr. Bülent Şık's report[3], «Hidden Hunger - One Free Meal at School for Children" prepared for the "We Can Live Together Education and Social Research Foundation" (BAYETAV), tells us that due to the significant increase in food prices in recent years, children are sent to school hungry, and the solution to this problem lies in providing one free meal at schools. In today's conditions, implementing one free meal in schools can be easily done and should be initiated as soon as possible, but unfortunately, no decision has been made on this issue by the authorities this year, even though the school year has started. Students who have been admitted to universities are faced with housing problems in addition to their nutrition. As a result, many students choose to freeze their registrations. We are also experiencing a brain drain problem in our country. In recent years, 14,000 doctors have emigrated to Germany alone. In addition, we are practically offering many university graduates and young experts in various fields to the West on a silver platter. It is important to provide the conditions for a qualified young generation, which will shape the future of the country, to stay in the country and realize their potential.

The Black Sea region of our country and Ordu province are regions with a high density of forests. Many forested areas, including Ordu province where Mesudiye is located, are being destroyed by mining, road construction, construction, and fires. It is unacceptable that 74% of the land area of Ordu province is open to mining activities. People living in areas where nature is threatened make intense efforts to protect these areas. However, these efforts are often not sufficient, and activists are treated harshly by law enforcement officers. Efforts are made to stop the destruction of nature through legal means, but the judiciary is often slow, sometimes decisions in favor of nature are not made, sometimes positive decisions are not implemented, and attacks on nature continue. Trees are often cut down, and forests are destroyed. In these days when we are experiencing the effects of climate change, it is crucial to remember that forests are the most effective sink for carbon emissions, and by protecting them, we secure the future for our youth and the sustainability of life in our country. We know that forests are ecosystems that take many years to form, and they host not only trees but also many other living organisms. Afforestation efforts are very important, but afforestation alone is not sufficient for the formation of a forest ecosystem, as ecosystems can take decades to develop. By destroying nature and forests, people are essentially cutting the branch they are sitting on. It is important to protect our forests because climate change has a significant role in reducing biodiversity, and this, in turn, threatens food security.

Dealing with the pressing issues we face today depends on nurturing physically and mentally healthy, well-educated, providing good job opportunities, and raising a generation that is aware of democratic rights and responsibilities and can express their opinions freely. Democracy begins at home, continues at school, and in daily life. To strengthen democracy at home, democracy education should be provided on platforms such as TV. In schools, lessons, practical applications, and enlightening information about democracy will be very beneficial for the establishment of democracy in our society.

I wish the First World Democracy Forum in Mesudiye to be held annually and continued as a tradition. My other wishes are as follows: World Democracy Forums will gain a larger venue that will host a wider participation. In future forums, separate sessions will be organized for children, young people, and women. With the support of opera artists we listened to at the opening, the World Democracy Forum Choir will be formed.

With my wishes for the eternal existence of our Republic, which we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of...

See you at the Second World Democracy Forum.

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Advancing Equitable Food Systems for Food Security and Nutrition

Introduction

Addressing food inequality is a paramount concern that intersects with various critical issues. It is crucial to establish a common understanding, as interpretations vary widely. The primary focus should be on food access as the core issue of contemporary food security, rather than merely emphasizing national self-sufficiency and production capabilities. Unfortunately, the world is currently off-track to achieve global targets for ensuring food security and nutrition for all by 2030. Hunger is on the rise, and simultaneously, obesity is becoming increasingly prevalent. Inequality in food security and nutrition, including access to food, persists both between countries and within nations. This inequality is multifaceted and influenced by various factors within the food systems, encompassing both supply and demand sides. Notably, it is essential to recognize that economic growth alone cannot address inequalities in food access.

The Four Dimensions of Food Security

The United Nations World Food Summit has defined food security as the condition in which all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that meets their dietary requirements and preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 1996). Food security is fundamentally about access to food and is a foundation of human security. A comprehensive framework of food security in Figure 1 outlines the elements of food security, including availability (food supply including domestic production and trade), accessibility (physical and economic access to food), utilization (food consumption and nutritional absorption), and stability (sustainability of these dimensions over time). This framework serves as a fundamental conceptual model in various organizations.
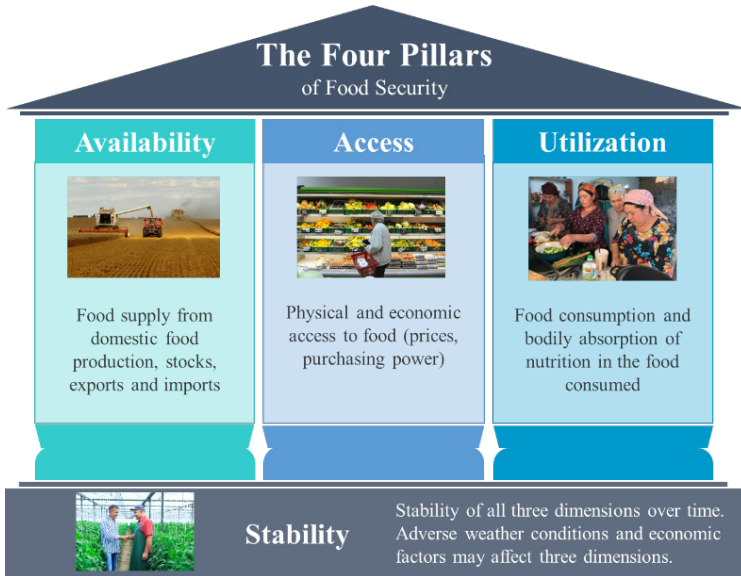
Fig 1. Four elements of food security

It is vital to distinguish between food security and food self-sufficiency. A high level of self-sufficiency does not necessarily equate to improved food security. Factors such as low purchasing power and inequality often contribute to food insecurity. Country level self-sufficiency, as depicted in Figure 2 and Figure 3, do not guarantee universal access to food. Some countries with lower self-sufficiency, like Spain, Italy, and Japan, exhibit higher levels of food accessibility compared to self-sufficient countries in South Asia where many people still lack access to sufficient food.
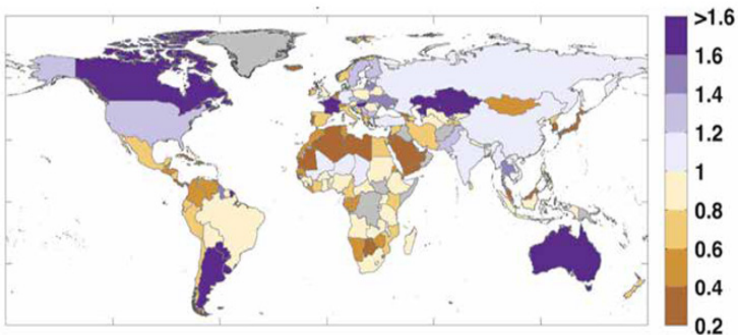
Fig 2. Self-sufficiency ratios by country (2005-09)
Source: FAO (2016)
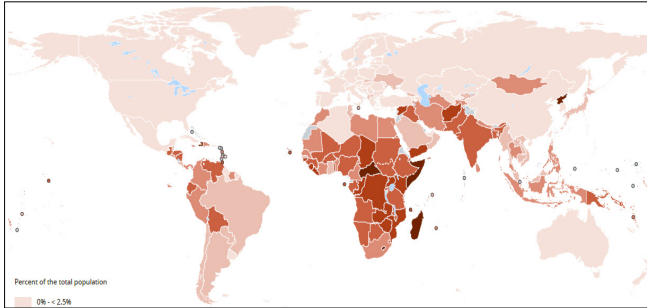
Fig 3. Prevalence of undernourishment (2020-22)
Source: FAO (2023)

The Global State of Food Security and Nutrition and Türkiye's Perspective

Despite substantial progress in reducing hunger and undernutrition from 2000 onwards, global progress has stalled in recent years due to the COVID-19 pandemic, inflation, and conflicts such as the war in Ukraine. Moreover, food insecurity and malnutrition extend beyond insufficient food intake to encompass poor dietary quality, including micronutrient deficiencies and obesity. These issues are increasingly prevalent globally, with approximately one in three people being malnourished, and if current trends persist, this number could rise to one in two by 2030. This situation contrasts starkly with the targets set in Sustainable Development Goal 2.

Türkiye also has witnessed a reduction in undernutrition over the past two decades, but obesity rates have steadily climbed to some of the highest levels globally. These changes in dietary patterns are driven by increased consumption of animal-based protein and high-fat foods.

Inequality in Food Access and Nutrition and its Underlying Causes

The challenge of food security and nutrition has expanded to encompass a spectrum of issues, including hunger, undernutrition, poor dietary quality, and obesity. Notably, these challenges do not affect all countries and communities equally. Inequalities persist both between countries and within nations. For instance, even middle-income countries in Latin America and South Asia experience moderate levels of hunger (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP and WHO, 2023). Moreover, obesity, once considered a problem of developed countries, now affects approximately one-third of obese individuals residing in low- and middle-income countries (Ng, M., Fleming, T., Robinson, M., et al., 2014). These countries also face high rates of undernutrition and micronutrient deficiencies. The complexities of these challenges indicate the need to address inequalities within countries, which can be more challenging due to variations in data availability.

Inequality in food access stems from disparities in accessing food production resources, such as knowledge and finance, and inequities in access to modern value chains and markets. Affordability of food is another key factor, with nutritious foods often being expensive for low-income households while energy-dense, but nutritionally-poor foods are readily available at low prices in supermarkets. Inequality also exists within households, particularly concerning gender roles, knowledge, and time resources. For instance, many rural women engage in smallholder farming, yet they are often burdened with the responsibility of food preparation without sufficient time. These observations underline that the root causes of inequality in food access extend beyond production and income.

The Need for Multi-Sectoral Management

To tackle inequalities in food access comprehensively, a food systems perspective is indispensable. The food systems framework recognizes that access to food is shaped by four key elements: food supply chains, the food environment (including affordability and prices), individual factors (such as knowledge, gender norms, dietary habits), and consumer behavior. This multifaceted approach highlights various points of intervention. For instance, urban agriculture can enhance food quality and diversity in urban and peri-urban areas, consumer-friendly food labeling and messaging can improve consumer understanding of nutritional value, and national food-based dietary guidelines can align stakeholders on healthy dietary choices. The food systems framework is widely adopted by governments, international organizations, academia, and civil society, and the quantity and quality of available data and analytics on food systems and diets have increased significantly in recent years. Platforms like the Food Systems Dashboard and Food Systems Assessments facilitated by the FAO provide open access to these resources.

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The Linkage Between Food Security and Democracy

OK, I'm ready to begin. Thank you for the invitation. I'm joining you from Ankara. I was unable to join because of scheduling conflicts, but I'm excited to be a part of today's session.

I'm particularly energized after hearing our last speaker and the speaker from the preceding session. One of the comments that really stood out to me was, and I don't know how this will translate back, was "you can't silence the voice of the people". And that is true on a number of fronts. And just as an aside, as a father of several teenage boys, I can attest that that is true, especially when they're hungry.

And then our last speaker, Miss Argun from the UNDP I really enjoyed the comment that she made. And again, translation may have come across a little bit different, but stressing how people are the fundamental fabric or the component of democracy. So with that I'm going to talk more about agriculture and the Nexus between it and democracy. And I think our speaker from the FAO with Robart to hit on a number of points that I will, I'll put a little finer head on it, but let's go ahead and get started.

So, as you all know, global food security is under considerable pressure. There's war in Ukraine. There are other conflicts around the world. We have climate change, other disasters. We have the pandemic that we just emerged from a year or so ago. Agriculture is among the leading contributor to global greenhouse gases. We have to increase food production by at least 50% to feed the 9.7 billion or so people that will be on this planet come 2050. And there's increasing protectionism, polarization and this has been discussed in in earlier sessions, Populism and other divisions, divisiveness that are tearing at the fabric of democracy in all countries in the world. So there's a need for transformation. And as it was mentioned, we're behind the schedule in achieving our 20-30 UN, UN goals to development, in particular ending hunger, we're still behind on that and a number of other indicators.

So all of this is going in order for us to achieve that goal and progress has been made. I don't want to over shadow that in any way, but we need to look and make changes to how we produce food, what we're eating, processing of that food, the transportation, the selling of that food, whether it's domestic or exported. We also have to consider the importance of international agreements and trade standards. We have a robust system at the moment, but that system may need to be updated to accommodate for the different challenges and priorities that are on the horizon.

Of course, in all of this we have an obligation to the countries that are in most in need. And underpinning all of this is, are these the democratic institutions, whether it be government or international bodies, civil society and others that really help drive change and make it sustainable? Of course, in all this we also need the support from the business community and individual consumers and general public in all walks of life. So again, this was covered in in the earlier presentation, but essentially food security means access by all people. This is something that really struck me as a practitioner of food security for many years. Sometimes it's easy, at least in my position, to forget that it's really about the individual, all people. Sometimes I'm looking at it at such a macro level. I forget that there's individual people.

So I'll just give you an example of what this, you know, how this is shaped in my own mind. So, for instance, if you go back to February when Turkey experienced A devastating earthquake in the Southeast, 50,000 people died or more, there was considerable devastation and houses collapsed, buildings collapsed. There was, there was just a lot of pain and heartache that went along with that. And so, when I was looking at it from sort of my position as the agriculture counselor here in Turkey, I was looking at it from the standpoint, OK, is Turkey going to be able to produce enough food to feed its people? And the answer was yes. And there are different reasons for that. But part of it was there was additional capacity elsewhere in the country that was unaffected by the earthquake. There was also the fact that a lot of the crops, the winter wheat, the winter barley was already in the ground.

So it wasn't at threat. Now, of course, there are people. If you take a step back and look at it at the micro level, there were a number of individual families and households that were severely impacted, not to mention all the death that that occurred. But those people have been put in difficult situations and at times are struggling to maintain access to food.

So with that sort of definition in place and sort of looking at it either as a macro or … or micro, I think that's important to sort of have in the back of your mind as we move forward in this presentation. So again, if we're looking at food security, there's essentially 4 dimensions. There's food availability, there's the economic and physical access to food, there's the utilization of that food and then there's that stability. I'm going to talk about each of these a little bit.

I'll skip over the stability because it's a little bit longer term horizon and I'll give you some personal examples along the way. So, the first point, looking at food availability from the perspective of production. So, farmers, in order to be successful, make a profit, care for their families and invest in the future, they need to have access to the seed, fertilizer, technology and other inputs. So, OK, so how do they access those inputs to grow their crops, to grow their animals, to do their business? Well, they really need a supportive regulatory system and functioning markets and that's where the demo, the democratic institutions, the government as well as the private sector come together to make that all work. Production is also dependent on these the government support programs, rules and regulations. And in developing those rules and regulations, the public has an important role in helping tailor that regulatory framework. So just as an aside, in the US, we have a process by which we seek public comment on changes to our regulations and rules to make sure that we're accommodating for the interests of the businesses, the interests of the public, of the NGOs.

And we have to balance all that and come up with the best solution. We can't, you know, do one thing for one group and another for someone else. We have to find common ground that allows us to move forward. And I think that is in reflecting on democracy and agriculture and I guess just democracy writ large is that ability. Democracy I think in my mind really hinges on the ability for people of different mindsets to come together and find common ground because without the ability to do that, we just find more divisiveness, more fighting and problems. So I highlight that that process, that process of seeking private or excuse me public comment we also have the government also has a role to play in providing different types of support whether it's crop insurance, food assistance. The government also has a role to play when it comes to land and water rights, enforcing and maintaining rule of law. And of course, in all of this there, there's

changes, inevitable changes, including consumer behavior. So on the right here there's a picture of the Glen Canyon Dam in Arizona. This is just a couple hours from my home in in southern, in the southern part of the state of Utah.

So this dam again one of the biggest in the US but we've seen water levels in the last few years just dropped markedly. 2023, thankfully, was a little bit wetter year, but we're still really far behind where we need to be in terms of total water availability. So what this means is this dam and this river, the Colorado River, feet 1/2 a dozen states. It's used for culinary water. So, the house, the water you drink at your home, it's used for irrigation at your home. It's used for your lawn. Farmers use it. And this water also makes its way as far South as Mexico. So you have this really interesting dynamic of different interests and different priorities. And we have to find a way to sort of balance that. And that's where government comes in to play that arbiter, that arbiter role referee if you will, to help find that common ground. Because a farmer is going to have perhaps a different motive or interest than the person that's drinking water out of his or her tap or watering his or her lawn. Where we come into these changes that I mentioned in consumer behavior, I'll give you an example. So it's the situation where I live and again, there are far worse situations in the world.

But I just wanted to share a personal example. We're struggling right now with finding enough water for our crops and for our lawn, our green lawns. And so as a result of that, some people have decided with the support of government incentives to take out their lawn and put in rock gardens or other native vegetation that doesn't need as much water. So that's, I think that's problematic of where the government fits in, in helping support agricultural production. Next, I wanted to just highlight community gardens by local initiatives. There's an increased interest in public interest in food production, where it comes from, how it's made, what is it and how is it good for you? And so all of this is combining together in a very like a quilt, if you will, a number of different pieces coming together and that's sort of underpinning not only production in the United States but elsewhere around the world to varying degrees. I know we have countries that that don't have these types of systems, but I feel like this is a sort of a good example to look at for our discussion today.

So again, food availability depends on competition and we need markets that work properly. And in order for that to occur, we need government. We need democratic institutions, if you will, these watchdogs that oversee the markets to make sure there are regulations in place at the level that you have a level playing field to ensure everyone has access, free and fair access and is able to compete. So let me just give you an example in the United States.

So approximately five or six companies control the majority of the US need and poultry industry in the United States. So, the US Department of Agriculture has seen

this and is stuck in this situation to make sure that there is not undue or that there's sufficient competition in the marketplace so that prices that are available to farmers and consumers and others are fair and based on market principles. So, this this is just an example of where the government may need to intervene. I'm a free marketer, but there are occasions where the government needs to intervene and take directive action and make sure the market stays on track.

We could spend a lot of time talking about the financial world and the interventions governments had to make to keep that going. So, competition, it helped expand consumer choice. Its first innovation reduces waste, helps keep bringing this down. I wanted to highlight here for just a moment that when we talk of waste, and this is a bit of an aside from competition, but typically when you're a business, waste is lost money. However, when you're a consumer, the same is true. But in some countries, we're finding, including the United States, consumers are wasting considerable amounts of food. In the US it's 30 to 40% and the government, consumer groups, civil society have played an important role in helping reduce that waste. And we need to continue down that path to help reduce future waste and make sure we have enough food to feed the world in the future.

This is just reinforcing this next point. This public input is very important in making sure that our markets, the regulatory frameworks, the standards, etcetera are working in a way that benefits the entire community and not just one exclusive group trade. So, trade is really there to help balance the surpluses and deficits that exist. For instance, in the US, we produce excess commodities, say soybeans. And so, there are countries that are deficient and need those soybeans. And so, we're able to sort of work together and balance those surpluses and deficits around the world and governments and international institutions like WTO, the UN are there to help establish those regulatory frameworks, those markets to help facilitate that trade. Now in in recent years, though, what we've observed is an increasing.

So let me just jump to the end. Trade is important and I apologize. There're some other areas that we could talk about where the public is very important in in shaping the system. So just to wrap up a functioning democratic institution, both governments and international organizations are are crucial to food security.

And remember that food security is for all people at all times and there's different ways that the market, consumers, civil society all work together to drive this forward. And so this is really where we're at. We're at a point where we need to get past the divisiveness and continue working to achieve the 2030 sustainable development goals that have been set forth and agreed to with that.

Thank you for your time and sorry missed covering some of those items.

Gökmen ARGUN
UNDP SGP/GEF National Coordinator

Climate Change in the Context of Democracy

Change please set a timer because we have a restricted resources and time. Time is an important resource. Thank you. I like to say that when we speak about the environment and bring it together with democracy, we need to develop a perspective on our field of responsibility. There were small apocalypses in the world. A lot of living beings have been eradicated by a diversity is gone, we are faced with disasters and the climate is at our gates. The climate changes at our gates. It's something we need to fight against and solve in order to continue our existence. We are already beyond certain thresholds. Now, for me, the concept of democracy, to put it a little beyond what we talk about today, is the ability of a person to embrace the opportunity to shape his own future, the future for his society, and the future for his loved ones. For me, this is the equivalent of democracy. So the skills and authority to shape the future is not left to somebody else, and I believe that we should instead try to draw the best way possible.

So, when we look at this, there is an inevitable condition. The distance between the subject and the happening needs to be shortened. So, me personally have an expertise.

I've learned certain things. But I leave the chance to shift the future to a lot of people. I elect people, I elect MPs, parties, representatives. And my impact on the outcome is so weak, this kind of weakness for people and all other living beings to stay alive is insufficient. So, we need to shorten that distance in between.

The Rio Conference in 92 was a good opportunity to look at it in a good way. In 93, the small support program(GEF) was also established. That way, there was a difference in the approach of the United Nations. Then the United Nations calls itself an intergovernmental organization. It leaves the act to the states. It supports

the other roles. It supports experts, but it leaves it all up to the states. It primarily supports the states. Related really to the environment and biodiversity.

In 1992, Rio Conference they invented a fund so called GEF, a pool of money where states contributed. They allocated resources for states and states allocated resources for NGOs and NGOs directly had a pool of resources allocated to them. It was a small part of the bigger pool of resources, but it was an indication that we started to support our opportunity to shape the future with funds. So having limited resources is quite critical.

GEF has supported 28,000 non-governmental projects worldwide in the last 30 years. The total budget allocated for this is 750,000,000 $ in 30 years. The advertising budget of last year's World Cup was $875,000,000. Now we see hypocrisy here. From where? When we say NGO, people come into play. It is a civil initiative that can take care of its own problems, look around and say, "This is my problem and I will work hard to solve this problem." It is important for SGP to support such people who want to work hard by entering a structure. Thus, the relationship between the subject and the result is shortened. We don't have to persuade someone to do something, to think about it that way, and to do it that way. We literally walk and even run towards the solution with both hands, by gathering our friends around us, establishing relationships with them, and bringing expertise side by side.

Now this program in Turkey has around 400 projects, so we have been able to provide around 400 suggestions for solution which are very innovative, up to date and correct. I wish that they could be replicated until this day because. The world's problems with the climate biodiversity would have not have passed any thresholds. Now, there's something very important here. Shortening that distance, representative democracy of participatory democracy. There are other names, such as compassionate democracy. We need an understanding of democracy that is inviting, understanding. How will this happen? Okay, we must demand democracy, but we need a capacity. In other words, by demonstrating a capacity as an individual, as a civil society, to demand democracy, by presenting an idea, a current need.. For example, the politicians tells you what is right, but maybe you have a different opinion, you can suggest something better. And with that correct suggestion, the funds, the resources and time being allocated to this and the approach that involves this is what I call democracy.

Assuming that time is limited, what can we do? We can do so much. For example, we may not expect every solution from central or local government. We don't need to call anyone. We have the mental capacity to offer solutions for every problem. We are people who can look around us, dream, and propose something new when we see something better. A lot can be done in non-governmental organizations. For

example, there are dairy cooperatives in Europe. It is powerful enough to determine Europe's policy on milk. Come and see, no one knows who is the president of the cooperative. Why, because it is very democratic. Because they work to meet a need. No one needs to sit there dressed fancy. They determine the policy of milk, they determine the profits, they determine whether it is healthy or not, and this is a cooperative. I mean, we talked about the crisis in democracy, but believe me, there are not many obstacles.

If you have a claim and you are going to pursue it, democracy requires capacity. If you defend something by reading, researching and understanding, then you become a part of democracy. Otherwise, we wait for someone to present it to us. Thank you.

İbrahim GÜNDÜZ

Journalist and Writer

A View at Turkey's Ecocides from the Lense of Democracy

For about five years, I have been focusing on looting mining, wild mining and colonial mining. I can say that this is the file I have worked on the longest and most extensively as a journalist. Because this mining causes Turkey's most valuable natural habitats to disappear forever. I would like to start my speech with the story of Easter Island.

1. Easter Island

Some of you may be familiar with the story of Easter Island, which fascinated me in the book "Collapse. How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed" by American scientist Jared Diamond. Because there is a common destiny between Easter Island, right in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, and Turkey, tens of thousands of kilometers away. More precisely, I feel the need to tell this story so that Turkey's fate does not resemble that of Easter Island.

The island was given this name because Dutch explorer Jacob Roggeveen landed on the island on Easter, April 5, 1722. Roggeveen was astonished as soon as he stepped on the island. Because he saw huge stone statues of 9 to 15 meters hight all over this desolated and barren island in the middle of the Pacific Ocean.

For decades, these stone statues on Easter Island remained a mystery. How could these huge statues have been moved from one place to another on this barren island,

without wheeled vehicles or large ropes? And where did the people who built these statues come from? Because the nearest Chilean coast is 3,700 kilometers to the east, and the nearest Polynesian island is 2,000 kilometers to the west. However, after long efforts and research of scientists, Easter Island has emerged as a striking example of the destructive effects of human beings on the world. How?

2. The World's Largest Palm Trees

Around 900 CE, the Polynesians, who lived on a cluster of islands around New Zealand, were the first people to settle on Easter Island. In other words, they traveled 2-3 thousand kilometers across the Pacific Ocean in their primitive canoes made of palm trees and landed on Easter Island. The Easter Island they set foot on was covered with the largest palm trees in the world, reaching 30 meters in height. It would be an understatement to even call the island, which is 13 kilometers from one end to the other, home to hundreds of bird species and teeming with fish, as paradise on earth.

People who settled on Easter Island began to use resources uncontrollably, as they always had. In accordance with the cultural and religious beliefs they brought with them to the island, they built huge statues called "Moai". A volcanic quarry on the island also provided a favorable environment for making these statutes. The rapidly multiplying people started to cut down forests unconsciously to build houses, cook food, heat and make canoes, also began to cut down trees to carry these statues. Just as Mehmet the Conqueror moved his ships on sledges, the inhabitants of Easter Island moved the statues on planks they made from trees they cut down.

First they started killing the flightless birds, then the flying birds. After a while, the island was no longer visited by birds. They plundered the fish stocks around the island. In short, by the 1400s, that is, in 500 years, they did not leave a single tree on Easter Island. Eventually, when there was no food to be found on the island and there were no trees left to build the canoes needed or fishing, cannibalism broke out on the island. In summary, the island, which had become a paradise over millions of years, turned into hell within 500 years after humans set foot on it.

3. Mass Murder

Look around you. You don›t have to go far, look at your country. Don›t you see how ruthlessly we destroy natural resources? Which of you can see the forests of your childhood in the Black Sea region? Trees are cut down mercilessly every year. Trees are still being cut down uncontrollably for more luxurious houses, tables, sofas and chairs. In most of our villages, the groves and forests of our childhood are gone. When we were children, the Black Sea was full of anchovies. Trucks full of anchovies would stretch for kilometers in front of anchovy processing facilities in Fatsa. Today,

anchovies are almost extinct in the Black Sea. Now we have miners. They commit mass murder. They cut down not just a three or five trees but thousands of trees at the same time, destroying forests and poisoning the soil and the water with cyanide.

They started to pulverize 50 tons of soil and rocks for a ring, and after taking 30 grams of yellow metal from there, they throw it around. So where do you think this is going? How can people not see this? Isn't it hard to believe? I am sure you were all wondering "How can these people be so stupid?" while I was telling you about Easter Island. Now I ask you, how can we be so stupid? How can we remain unresponsive while our agricultural lands, forests and waters are being destroyed in front of our eyes? Whatever you are experiencing today, the people living on Easter Island also experienced the same thing. "Nothing will happen" they said. "Isn't it a tree? Its roots are here and it will grow." they said, "Our state leaders protect us, they will not allow anything that harms us." As we say today.

Now I would like to show you a few photos that describe the unique natural beauties of Turkey. Then, I will show photos that show how these natural beauties and habitats have been destroyed and massacred. These are the images you will often see today when traveling anywhere in the Aegean and Mediterranean regions of Turkey for vacation, passing through Burdur, Afyon, Denizli and Muğla: Forests cut down, mountains torn to pieces and lands carved like pumpkins.

4. Eko Eko Eko

The images on the screens in the hall during my speech belong to the EKO EKO EKO documentary. The six-episode documentary EKO EKO EKO was prepared by Dr. İlkay Nişancı from Istanbul University Faculty of Communication and friends in over 5 years. If you want to understand the looting and plundering system and colonial mining called mining in Turkey, watch all six episodes of the EKO EKO EKO documentary.

Today, 74 percent of Ordu has been declared a mining region. We learned this through a very valuable study by TEMA. I would like to thank all TEMA volunteers, especially Mrs. Deniz Ataç. With this statistical study, we understood what kind of danger we are facing. Can you imagine, 74 percent of green Ordu, covered with forests, hazelnut groves and meanders, has been declared a mining region. Today, a cyanide gold mine in Fatsa has been operating for 8 years. Our friends who have been fighting relentlessly against cyanide gold mines have prepared reports to explain what this means and what kind of damage it causes. In other words, they revealed the poisons and damages of the mine in Fatsa with scientific reports. Thanks to the struggles of Mr. Zeki Odabaşı, the President of the Fatsa Nature and Environment Association, in the audience here, right next to him, Mr. Alaattin Yılmazer, the Energy Engineer who sparked the first sparks of this struggle, and Mr. Ertuğrul Gazi Gönül, the President of

the Ordu Nature and Environment Association, one of my fellow panelists here at the podium, and thanks to the struggles of their friends. Those who try to turn Ordu into a mining region cannot easily take the steps they want. So the field is not empty, but the struggle is not over either.

5. "You are Trying in Vain"

I would like to tell you an anecdote from my book "Altın Ölüm" (Golden Death): A high-ranking local administration chief in Fatsa, in other words, a high-ranking state official, said the following to a lawyer who visited him and who was struggling against the cyanide gold mine:

"The state has declared this region as a mining area. In 20-25 years, this will no longer be a livable place. You are trying in vain..."

In fact, there is nothing wrong or missing in what he said. Because if the miners' plans are really implemented, no one will be able to live in Fatsa in 20-25 years. Undoubtedly, the effects will not only be limited to Fatsa. Judging by the new mining areas announced every six months, Ordu, Perşembe and Ünye are also facing a similar destruction. However, what is wrong is that a person sitting in that position and entrusted with the lives of tens of thousands of people accepts this in advance and does not engage in any struggle. Because for him, Fatsa is one of the many districts where he has served in. So, it is just a "duty" place. He says these sentences so easily, "The state has declared this region as a mining area. In 20-25 years, this will no longer be a livable place." Actually, what his words mean for us is, "You will no longer be able to live on these lands." It is as if the occupation forces are at the door. It is as if Fatsa is facing the Mongol invasion of a thousand years ago. This is the feeling of us and millions of citizens like us who are under similar attacks all over Turkey.

6. Kurşunçali

Today, they aim at doubling or tripling the cyanide gold mine in Fatsa. Kurşunçalı Mountain, which we can call "our Mount Ida", has been declared a mining zone. They want to open a cyanide gold mine in Kurşunçalı. I just showed you the Perşembe Plateau, one of the world's rare ecosystems. Meanders flow through its center. It is a lush geography. Now, cyanide gold mine drilling has started right next to the Perşembe Plateau, which is famous for its meanders.

So, I try to explain where we are. Today, licenses have been issued in Korgan, Kumru, Aybastı, Ulubey and Mesudiye. We will drill here, drill there. We will mine gold here; we will mine silver here. So where are those places? Those are the nation's plateaus, those are the pastures, forests and villages of the nation. Those are the water resources

of the nation. Unfortunately, the whole of Turkey faces this situation. Almost all of Turkey's mountains, forests, plateaus and pastures are under attack today.

If we go back to Easter Island, how can we be so stupid? Unfortunately, it happens. I want to say that those who govern countries and states can make mistakes. No matter which country. The history of the world and of Türkiye is full of painful examples of this. However, it is not possible for us to accept these decisions. But for this, our people need to know what they are facing. This is what I try to do as a journalist. In other words, I try to explain what kind of danger Turkey is facing in general.

7. Golden Death

If you want to understand what is going on in Turkey in terms of wild mining and colonial mining, be sure to read the books "Altın Ölüm (Golden Death) and "Altın Girdap" (Golden Vortex). One million tons of hazelnuts are produced in the world every year, and 700 thousand tons of these are produced in Turkey. Turkey has MORE THAN 2 BILLION DOLLARS of income from these hazelnuts every year. Only from hazelnuts. Now they have come and established a cyanide gold mine in the middle of such a geography. We can talk about its damages for hours. Destroying forests, tearing apart mountains, poisoning waters, using the world's most poisonous chemicals, etc. Here we are, we will cut it down, we will tear it apart, we will poison it, but we will restore it and leave. Lie. These are lies.

8. Cyanide Flood

They were even able to deny the images of floods flowing through the cyanide gold mine in Fatsa. In the images, membranes and pipes used for cyanide leaching were scattered everywhere. They were even able to file criminal and compensation lawsuits against me for reporting and making news on these images. In other words, while the state should have taken action upon the images of the crime, state institutions made statements such as "Everything is under control, there is no problem."

They established a cyanide gold mine in the middle of a geography that generates two to two and a half billion dollars of income every year. What does the state gain from this? One million dollars. It is called state contribution. Let us say it is two million dollars, let us say it is five million dollars. Today, they want to open cyanide gold mines

in at least 10 different places in Ordu. I told you about Kurşunçalı, Mesudiye, Ulubey, Aybastı... Is there anything that can be explained with reason and logic? So, on the one hand, you jeopardize your income of two to two and a half billion dollars every year, and on the other hand, you cut down your forests, destroy your mountains and poison your waters. Why? One million dollars a year for charity.

9. Ecocide Attacks

Turkey has been under a heavy ecocide attack for the last 25 years. Murat Mountain, Kaz (İda) Mountains, Çiçekbaba Mountain (Sandras), Beş Parmak Mountains (Latmos), Taurus Mountains, Kurşunçalı, Canik Mountains, Munzur Mountains, Madra, Eğrigöz, Kozak Plateau, Çarşamba Plateau... The list goes on and on.

In Muğla-Milas, the region has been turned to the lunar surface to meet the coal needs of the thermal power plant. Villagers have been fighting for Akbelen Forest for months, but thousands more trees were destroyed in front of the eyes of the whole world in a raid carried out by the company with a gendarmerie-police escort.

Murat Mountain, located between Afyonkarahisar, Uşak and Kütahya provinces, is the source of 40 percent of Turkey's rivers. Murat Mountain is the birthplace of Porsuk, Gediz and Büyük Menderes. It is the main source of hundreds of streams. Today, there are dozens of mining projects related to Murat Mountain. Citizens try to stop this plunder through legal struggles. But state institutions give "approvals" to projects that will tear Murat Mountain into pieces.

The world is no longer talking about the Global Climate Crisis but about the Global Climate Disaster. The most valuable things on earth are no longer yellow metal, but yellow ears of grain. You cannot destroy the olive groves, which are the source of olive oil, which has reached 5 thousand dollars per ton, just because you will export marble, which costs 500 dollars per ton today.

The forest allocations made solely for mining in the last 10 years are more than the forests that burned in 20 years. While 95 thousand 905 hectares (959.050 acres: 137 thousand 7 football fields) of forest were lost in the fires that broke out during the 20 years between 2002 and 2022, the amount of forest land allocated only for mining permits in the 10 years between 2012 and 2022 was 109.884 hectares (1.098.840 acres: 156 thousand 977 football fields).

Şanlıurfa-Göbeklitepe, Diyarbakır-Çayönü, Northern Mesopotamia-Halaf, Southern Mesopotamia-Ubaid cultures; Aplahan, Mitanni, Achaemenid, Macedonian, Seleucid, Uruks, Hittites, Lydians, Persians, Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Urartians, Romans, Umayyads, Abbasids, Seljuks, Ottomans drank water from Kızılırmak, Euphrates and Tigris. Many ruins of these civilizations were flooded.

Anatolian Geography, where the first agriculture, the first cities and the first empires were established, cannot be abandoned to wild mining practices.

10. They Regret It Very Much

Now let us come to the democracy dimension. I will tell an anecdote and link it there,

The Czech Republic, Germany and Hungary are the first European Union countries to ban cyanide gold production. The European Parliament, consisting of representatives of EU member states, passed a decision in May 2010 calling for a ban on cyanide gold mining on EU territory.

While this is the situation in Europe and the Europeans do not easily allow such plunder and plundering of mines in their own lands because the costs are much higher than the returns, they give different advice to their friends in Turkey. How do we learn this? From İsmet Kasapoğlu, President of the Turkish Mining Council of the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB).

Kasapoğlu stated that they were given advice from their colleagues in the EU and said, "Whatever you do, reveal your mining assets until the moment you become a full member of the EU... Otherwise, you will have difficulty in utilizing them when you become a member of the EU." "We did not give this warning to Spain and Greece, we regret it very much today," they said.

Why, because democracy works with its rules. Why, because there is free media. Why, because there are institutions…

If you are a democratic country. So, if you are in a country where the constitution, laws and the state of law prevail, where free journalism is practiced, and you have independent courts, you can overcome all these negativities... I am not saying it is easy, but you can... It means you have a ground to struggle...

In short, we have to fight. As in the whole world, authorities may make mistakes from time to time, but we have to protect our lands and living spaces.

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DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMY/BUSINESS WORLD

Prof. Dr. Ünal ZENGİNOBUZ

Bosphorus University

The Decisiveness of the Economy in a Democratic Society

Introduction

It is naturally expected that there is a direct correlation between the way countries are governed and their economic performance and, consequently, the general welfare of their citizens. Indeed, a significant portion of economic activities are directly affected and even determined by the decisions taken and policies implemented by the public authority, the state. The extent to which the public in general and different social segments can be decisive in the election of those who will govern the country and in the determination of the economic policies to be implemented afterwards will directly affect both the extent of economic growth and how widely the economic value created is distributed among those social segments.

Noting that democracy is, very roughly, a regime in which the way the state is governed is determined not by one person or a narrow oligarchy, but by large segments of the population with political equality (equal vote), and let us recall Winston Churcill's definition of democracy as a form of government:

> *"Many forms of Government have been tried, and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed it has been said that democracy is the worst form of Government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time."*
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> **Winston Churchill**, November 11, 1947

To paraphrase, Churchill says that democracy is the least bad form of government among the bad ones. Indeed, democracy is, in the final analysis, the form of government in which the largest segments of the population have the opportunity to live with fundamental rights and freedoms in a manner most consistent with human dignity. This is why it is important to consider the extent to which there is a link between democracy and economic performance, especially sustainable high economic performance.

Questions such as how much less developed countries need democracy in order to realize their economic growth and catch up with developed countries; whether they can grow under authoritarian regimes that do not hesitate to ignore basic human rights and freedoms; whether trying to comply with democratic principles in determining and conducting the country's administration for economic development and development will constitute a hindrance; whether they should give up democracy in order to catch up with developed countries are questions that still remain important and for which different answers can be offered.[1]

On the one hand, we see that the most economically developed countries today (mostly Western) are governed by democracy, and also that a country like India, with its very large population, has shown high economic performance in recent years in a democratic system, despite all its difficulties.

On the other hand, we have China's economic development over the last 30 years under an authoritarian regime that had nothing to do with a liberal democratic order, and South Korea's economic growth during periods of authoritarian regimes while rose to the level of developed countries.

In sum, the relationship between democracy and economic development is complicated, to say the least.

Democracy and Economy: A painful relationship

The flip side of the question of how far democracy supports economic development is the extent to which the economic order in a country leads to and enables the emergence and maintenance of democracy.

In fact, the question that is not easy to answer in terms of our topic is: Does the form of government determine economic performance or the level of economic development determine the form of government?

Discussions on the relationship between economic order and the form of government have been going on since Plato, Aristotle and Ibn Khaldun, and the last word has yet to be said on the subject.[2]

A most striking example how not every economic order can always go hand in hand with democracy is what happened in Chile after the democratically elected socialist Salvador Allende was overthrown and killed in a military coup on September 11, 1973.

What happened in Chile under the post-Allende military regime served as a laboratory example for the "neoliberal" economic policies that were put into practice

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[1] The extensive literature on the relationship between democracy and economic growth includes (i) Barro, R. J., "Democracy and Growth," *J. Econ. Growth,* 1996; (ii) Gerring J. et al, "Democracy and Growth: A Historical Perspective," World Politics, 2005; (iii) Acemoglu D. et al, "Democracy Does Cause Growth," *J. Political Economy,* 2019.

[2] On the economic origins of dictatorship and democracy, Acemoglu D. and J. A. Robinson's *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy,* 2006, provides a comprehensive framework from the perspective of economic theory.

in the 1980s in many countries under the leadership of US President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Policies that envisaged minimizing the intervention of the state in the economy and the liberalization of all markets, especially capital markets, on a global scale. Chile is a striking example of how privatization and, in general, the withdrawal of the state from the economy, leaving everything to the free markets, can only be implemented under repression.

Historically, we see that the industrial revolution, which started in Great Britain and gained momentum from the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century, and the rise in the importance of markets and the free market economy in the functioning of the economy based on private property are very parallel processes.

In the process that accelerated from the last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards, which we can call the first globalization wave for the world economy; the owners of capital, which is one of the factors of production, under the imperialist protection of powerful imperial states, introduced almost every corner of the world to the most capitalist form of free markets. It is well known that this process, in which commodified labor, which was bought and used by capital owners under uncontrolled market conditions and was left in a state of almost absolute vulnerability, did not go hand in hand with democracy.

During this first period of capitalism, of which Adam Smith (1723-1790) is known as the theoretician, capitalists were able to act more or less uncontrolled under conditions of "let them do, let them pass".[3] The extraordinary drive that individual profit motive provided in these conditions for the capitalists resulted in their taking full advantage of the opportunities that mechanization and industrialization allowed them. They made tremendous amounts of profits while creating the greatest material development on a world scale that history had ever seen up to that point.

But for those who did not own property (or capital), those who could make a living only by selling their labor in the market, this process meant a great deal of misery. The social crises that this entailed in many countries and the implications of these on the international order were among the factors that led to World War I. The tensions created were not completely resolved by the first world war and they contributed also to the factors that led to World War II.

Since the middle of the 19th century, capitalism, its version under the absolute control of capital, has been severely criticized in many ways. The most radical criticism came from Karl Marx (1818-1883). Marx not only made a comprehensive

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[3] In The Wealth of Nations (1776), Adam Smith argued that in a free market environment, the exchanges that take place among economic actors who pursue only their own self-interest will lead to a good outcome for the whole economy. It took some two hundred years to establish precisely the conditions under which Smith's powerful observation would be correct! Incidentally, before his 1776 opus on the virtues of the free market, Adam Smith first wrote a book in 1759 entitled *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* in which he discussed the effects of the moral elements in human nature on economic behavior and order.

critique of capitalism based on private property, but also explored the possibility of an economic order in which labor is the determining factor instead of capital.[4] The most important implementation of Marx›s ideas and the search for a different economic order based on labor was the seventy-year experiment with a socialist economy in the Soviet Union. The socialist economy experience in the Soviet Union led many to conclude that an economic order in which there was basically no private property and the ownership of the means of production was under complete control of the state did not go hand in hand with democracy. The experiment in the Soviet Union ended unsuccessfully in 1990 after a very painful process.

Smith and Marx versus Keynes: The Power of Economic Thought

John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), one of the most important economists of all time, was a great thinker who saw the deep problems that uncontrolled capitalism and its alternative, socialism, which excludes private property, could cause both in terms of economic order and democracy. He sought and proposed an alternative solution, a third way. The following remarks of Keynes on the impact of ideas and systems of thought on the search for and implementation of different economic and social orders are striking:

> *"The ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed, the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back. Madmen in authority who hear voices from out of the blue distill their madness from the pen of a lapsed academic. I am sure that the power of vested interests is vastly exaggerated compared with the gradual encroachment of ideas."*

> **John Maynard Keynes,** *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, Chapter 24, p. 383 (1936)*

Following Keynes, we will consider the different economic orders envisaged by Smith, Marx and Keynes as the three main intellectual approaches in approaching the relationship between democracy and economy.

On the one hand, we have the competitive free market economy, based on private property, with as little state intervention in the economy as possible and with markets operating according to their own rules while economic actors compete to advance their self-interest and profits. This is the Adam Smith's world.

On the other side is the socialist economy that Karl Marx tried to imagine. An economic order in which there is no private ownership, especially in terms of the means of production; where the capital/labor antagonism that arises in the free market order

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[4] Marx's major works in which he developed his critique of capitalism include *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and Capital (1867).

is resolved in favor of labor because there is no ownership of capital; and where all economic decisions are resolved not by the markets but by the state (political process).

John Maynard Keynes, after observing that these two extreme approaches did not and could not bring freedom and prosperity for large segments of the population in a sustainable way, pursued an intellectual approach that would ensure the sustainability of democracy with all its positive aspects and economic policies that could be implemented in that direction. It should be added that Keynes was a thinker who did not stop at theory, but also supported the policy implementation of the British government, including during World War II.

Keynes saw how the economic imbalances and great inequalities caused by unrestrained capitalism and uncontrolled globalization all over the world could and did lead to world wars and great destruction. He argued against the free-market, unadulterated capitalism of economic liberalism, which had begun with Adam Smith and excluded state intervention in the economy. He argued that state intervention was essential for the survival of capitalism, which on its own led inevitably to crises. He saw that democracy would collapse and authoritarian and repressive regimes would emerge in an economic order where the problem of distribution was neglected or ignored, where the "minimal" state allowed property owners to do everything ("let them do, let them pass"), but where the freedoms of those without property or capital became meaningless due to material impossibility. This was how he diagnosed the economic roots of the rising fascism before World War II.[5]

On the other hand, the "real socialism" implemented in the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the 1917 revolution, immediately after World War I, did not fare well in terms of reconciling the economic welfare of large social segments with fundamental rights and freedoms and democracy. Keynes saw that private property and the great drive for economic dynamism created by the profit motive, and the efficiency with which markets with self-interested economic actors spontaneously solve basic economic decisions (such as what to produce, how to produce, and how much to produce) in modern societies with large populations are very difficult to replace. There would be enormous problems to be faced in maintaining a socialist economic order, which would be basically a command economy, driven by decisions taken from the center, instead of the spontaneity of markets fueled by private property and self-interest. And it would be extremely difficult, if not the impossible, to combine centralized economic decision-making with social participation and democracy.

Keynes, who saw the dilemmas of these two extreme approaches, which I have summarized as very rough sketch, envisioned a social economic framework in which

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[5] Another important political economist, Karl Polanyi (1886-1964), in his book *The Great Transformation* (1944), analyzed in detail how uncontrolled capitalism, with the economic depravity it would bring about for the masses, would inevitably lead to all kinds of social reactions, resulting in authoritarian and even fascist regimes, democracy being destroyed under abuses by populist politicians.

private property and markets were protected, but the state managed capitalism through macro and micro regulations. It does not allow exploitation, and reduces poverty by redistributing income. In other words, a mixed economy in which the state actively participates in the economy on a national scale. In other words, a "managed capitalism". When markets are allowed exist, he foresaw the inevitability of the interconnection of international markets on a global scale, and proposed institutions that would manage international capitalism. He was indeed successful in convincing the world leaders to establish International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, the so-called the Bretton-Woods institutions.

It would not be wrong to summarize Keynes' views and approaches as "managed capitalism," both at the national and the international level.

Democracy and the Limits of Economic Power

The uncontrolled capitalism and globalization of the pre-World War I period led to the collapse of democracies, fascism and world wars. In the meantime, socialist economic systems in which private property was abolished and the means of production were owned by the state came into being. It was also seen that the "real socialism" as it was practiced, of which the Soviet Union and China were the main examples, did not guarantee fundamental rights and freedoms for large sections of the population and did not go hand in hand with democracy. In the light of what Smith›s and Marx›s basic formulations of economic order could lead to in practice, Keynes› search for a third way makes sense.

Economic theory tells us that in free markets, especially in free financial markets, any outcome that may involve large inequalities is perfectly possible. In other words, it is quite possible and, in the logic of markets and within the very nature of capitalism, quite legitimate for 1% of the population to control a very large part of the economic value produced and for the remaining 99% to suffer economic hardship and misery to varying degrees. One does not need to be a soothsayer to predict that this situation will be unsustainable and lead to massive social explosions, the Occupy *Wall Street* movement that emerged in the US after the 2008 financial crisis being a mildest example of this. History, including recent history, is full of revolts and revolutions caused by such economic imbalances. Today, such revolts have already taken the form of Donald Trump's election as President of the United States and Britain›s exit from the European Union in a referendum.

What we expect from democracy, i.e. a political system in which all citizens have equal voting rights, in terms of economic order, is that it should create institutional structures that will smooth out imbalances that can arise in a market economy, and reduce inequalities in income distribution to an acceptable level. For this, economic power should not be able to determine everything.

Economic power means that every single lira has equal rights, and the one with more lira is more powerful. At the core of democracy, however, there is a completely different understanding of equality that stems from each person having equal voting rights. It becomes difficult to call a political system democracy if those with equal voting rights cannot restrain those with economic power in a way that ensures the survival of the system.[6]

Economic power determining how political power is exercised is not something that can be completely avoided. In fact, an order in which political power completely controls the entire economy is neither desirable nor sustainable. As we have seen in the practices of real socialism, in the absence of democratic participation of all segments of society, total control of the economy by political power leads to both a shrinking of the economic pie and the continuation of inequality, except for the benefit of a narrow oligarchy.

But when the democratic process; i.e. who gets elected as senators and deputies, which laws are passed or not passed by the Congress etc., is largely under the control of Wall Street, i.e. those with economic power, as is the case in the United States, it is impossible not to have disastrous consequences. When economic power completely determines political power, the economic order is no longer sustainable. In other words, democracy is needed to prevent the free market economy from collapsing and to keep its inherent potential to create extreme inequalities within acceptable limits. The managed capitalism envisioned by Keynes can avoid the inevitable doom of unmanaged capitalism only if there is a democracy that is sufficiently inclusive of different social segments, i.e. a participatory democracy.

What should be the sphere and the extent of political power that will be independent of economic power? This is a very difficult question. A free market economy based on private property is not an easy mechanism to give up. It is not easy to provide for the economic needs of millions of people without markets operating largely on their own. In fact, it is impossible without incurring enormous costs, costs that may be at the level of having to establish repressive regimes. Economic theory tells us why this is technically so. Without giving up on the efficiency of free markets, we seem to have no choice but to continue the search for an institutional structure that can monitor and correct the macro imbalances they can create, limit the huge inequalities they can create in terms of distribution, without using unacceptable repressive methods that violate human dignity. In other words, there seems to be no choice but to continue the search for a democratic order whose projection on the economic plane will bring freedom and prosperity and a dignified life to large segments of the population.

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[6] Joseph Stiglitz expresses similar views in the US context in his article "Inequality and Democracy" published in Project Syndicate on August 31, 2023.

Arzu ÇERKEZOĞLU
General President of DISK

The Labor of The Century, The Century of Labor

Dear esteemed participants of the World Democracy Forum,

I greet you all with respect and love on behalf of the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey. I would like to thank the organizers of the World Congress for Democracy.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Republic for transforming us from the servants of a clan into citizens. As I begin my speech, I would like to pay tribute to the founders of our Republic, especially Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Long live the Republic!

Dear participants, dear friends,

In this congress, I address you as the General President of the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey, DISK.

Dear participants, dear professors, dear students,

On the 100th anniversary of the Republic, I would like to take a bird's eye view of the 100 years of labor.

As we leave behind one hundred years of the Republic, we cannot say that the picture of working life and labor rights in our country is very bright.

The republic is based on the idea that the source of sovereignty belongs to the people. In this sense, the Republic is a great social revolution and transformation. The founding cadres of the Republic took protective steps for individual workers' rights as early as the days of the War of Independence. These steps for individual workers' rights, which began in 1921 with the Ereğli Coal Basin Mine Worker Law No. 151, continued with the 1930 Law on Public Health and Hygiene and the 1936 Labor Law.

The provisions of the General Hygiene Law were even used 90 years later in the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic. The 1936 Labor Law introduced many individual labor rights, including minimum wages, social insurances and severance pay, which are still pillars of our labor law today.

Unfortunately, the regulations of the Early Republican period protecting individual workers were not accompanied by trade union rights and collective labor rights. Due to the delay in industrialization and the quantitative weakness of the working class on the one hand and the authoritarian tendencies of the period on the other, trade union rights could not be institutionalized until 1961. Unfortunately, the Republic, which gave importance to individual workers' rights since its foundation, was late in securing trade union rights.

As you may know, in our country, the most comprehensive and advanced labor union rights became possible with the 1961 Constitution. On the one hand, the principle of a welfare state adopted in the Constitution, and on the other hand, the fact that labor union rights were included in the Constitution for the first time, marked the most profound transformation in labor relations in the history of the republic with the 1961 Constitution. With this characteristic, the 1961 Constitution is the most suitable Constitution for our history in terms of social policy.

The 1961 Constitution laid the foundation for the welfare state, both by granting the right to join a union to all employees and by providing constitutional status to collective bargaining and the right to strike. Our confederation was born in the mid-1960s, as industrial workers were growing, and the protection of union rights was guaranteed. The 1960s and 1970s marked a period of rising social movements and an increase in the power of labor.

Over the following 20 years, labor relations became institutionalized, democratized, and unions gained strength, resulting in improved distribution relations. The working class, which emerged on the stage of history, began to make use of union rights as a whole. The number of wage earners increased, and a significant transformation occurred from agriculture to industry, from rural areas to urban centers.

However, the period of progress for labor during the Republic was abruptly interrupted by a major coup in 1980. Alongside the legal and economic achievements of the Republic, its social and union gains also faced a significant attack.

The neoliberal economic attack that began with the decisions of January 24, 1980 was completed with the military coup on September 12. They must have thought that the neoliberal counter-revolution was not possible within the parliamentary system, which is why they established a military dictatorship with the September 12 military coup. Even if it is forgotten today, it is essential to remind that all the leading

employer organizations of the time supported the September 12 military coup. In fact, some of the prominent employers of the time openly stated that "without September 12, the January 24 decisions could not have been implemented." These statements are on record.

The period that began with September 12 and continues to have effects today is one of the most challenging periods in the history of the Republic in terms of labor relations and social policy. This period can be seen as a capital blow against labor. On September 12, the activities of DİSK, a confederation that was only 13 years old at the time, were halted. Its leaders and members were arrested, tortured, 52 of its leaders were tried and sentenced to death, and they served years in prison. DİSK's assets were seized, and for 12 years after September 12, a 13-year-old confederation, DİSK, remained locked and inactive.

September 12 also suspended collective bargaining and the right to strike. A thornless rose garden was created, and collective agreements were bound by the Mandatory Arbitration Board for four years. The rights achieved in the 1960s and 1970s were removed from collective labor agreements. Turgut Özal, a former president of an employers' organization, was appointed to steer the economy, and neoliberalism, privatization, and the pruning of union rights were gradually implemented.

The institutionalization of the counter-revolution in labor relations was achieved with the 1982 Constitution and the laws numbered 2821 and 2822. The 1982 Constitution, to be clear, was prepared as a TİSK (Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations) Constitution. The provisions of the Constitution regarding social and economic rights and union rights are almost a repetition of TİSK's report from April 1982. The Constitution was prepared in line with TİSK's demands, and the military junta administration enshrined them in the Constitution.

Heavy restrictions on union activities, the 10% occupational sector threshold, uniform occupational sector unionism, strike bans and postponements, mandatory arbitration, the High Arbitration Board (YHK), and lockouts were enshrined in the Constitution.

With the laws numbered 2821 and 2822 introduced by the 1982 Constitution, unions were virtually put in a straitjacket. The organization, authorization, and collective bargaining agreement(TİS) process for unions were made more difficult.

These laws, in effect for approximately 30 years, led to a significant decline in labor unionism in Turkey. The unionization rate, which was estimated to be around 40% in 1980, began to rapidly decrease, and it has currently fallen to around 10%.

Sendikal rights restrictive and antidemocratic legislation and climate have had a detrimental impact, which we are experiencing in the 100th year. As of July 2023, the

official unionization rate in Turkey is 14.8%. With the inclusion of informal workers, the actual unionization rate is 13%. In other words, as of July 2023, only 2.4 million out of over 18.5 million workers in Turkey have been able to join a union. Turkey ranks among the lowest in terms of unionization rates among OECD countries.

On the other hand, unionization rates are insufficient in revealing the percentage of those benefiting from union protection. One of the most important functions of unions is to protect the rights and interests of their members through collective bargaining agreements. In this regard, the number and percentage of workers covered by collective bargaining agreements are crucial. Therefore, the scope of collective bargaining agreements (TİS) is just as important as unionization rates in this context.

In Turkey, when we look at the scope of collective bargaining agreements (TİS), the figures are even lower. The number of workers covered by TİS is only 1,471,000. The percentage of workers covered by TİS among all workers is 8.1%.

The situation is even more dire when it comes to private sector workers benefiting from collective bargaining agreements (TİS). As of September 2022, the number of private sector workers covered by TİS is around 758,000. Considering the total number of private sector workers is 16,844,000, the coverage rate for TİS in the private sector falls to as low as 4.5%. This means that only 4 to 5 out of every 100 private sector workers are covered by collective bargaining agreements.

In labor unionization data, gender inequality persists. As of January 2022, women make up 32.9% of the total workforce, while female union members constitute only 21.8% of the total union membership. Despite 67.1% of the total workforce being male, 78.2% of the total union members are male. This means that both overall and within each gender, women are less likely to unionize compared to men.

The inclination to strike is another indicator of being able to benefit from union rights. The right to strike, which gained constitutional protection in the 1960s, is now only on paper. In the 2000s, during the AKP government, the inclination to strike significantly weakened. The annual average number of workers going on strike between 1984 and 2002 was 40,823, while this number dropped to 4,585 between 2002 and 2021. Similarly, the number of workdays lost due to strikes decreased. Between 1984 and 2002, the annual average number of workdays lost due to strikes was 1,208,000, and this number dropped to 195,000 between 2003 and 2021.

The inclination to strike has been decreasing since after September 12, and hit rock bottom during the AKP years. The widespread use of strike postponements during the AKP era played a significant role in the decline of the inclination to strike. Strike postponements have almost become a ban on strikes. A significant portion of

these strike postponements were made under the pretext of "national security." Since 2003, strikes involving 195,000 workers have been banned under these strike postponements. Meanwhile, during the same period, the number of workers who were able to exercise their right to strike was around 80,000. Although Article 54 of the Constitution guarantees the right to strike, this right is now practically at the discretion of the President. Any strike that the President does not approve can be postponed.

The situation we are experiencing in the 100 years of our Republic is grave. We rightly criticize the slogan of the early Republican era, 'We are an undifferentiated and privileged mass.' However, the current situation is no different from 'We are an undifferentiated and unionless mass.' This picture created after September 12 has not changed despite more than 40 years passing.

Certainly, the cost of this significant erosion in labor relations has been the deepening of distribution relations against the working class. After September 12, real wages decreased, and income distribution deteriorated. This trend continues to this day. The share of wages in the national income, estimated to be around 35% in the 1970s, fell to the 20s in the mid-1980s. Looking at the distribution shock in recent years, it is clear that a similar impoverishment is occurring.

Before September 12, in 1978, the ratio of the minimum wage to per capita gross domestic product (GDP) was 103%. In other words, the annual minimum wage was larger than per capita GDP. After September 12, this ratio fell to 55%. As of 2022, this ratio is around 35-40%. Claims of significant wage increases in the minimum wage should be viewed in this context. The relative purchasing power of the minimum wage has eroded significantly. The country has grown and become wealthier, but distribution has worsened.

Obstacles to freedom of organization and exercising union rights contribute to further worsening the existing distribution relations. In Turkey, as of the 2nd quarter of 2023, out of the 31.5 million people employed, 22.4 million (71%) are wage workers, i.e., workers. The majority of the country, the workers who make up the majority of the population, contribute to the country's growth through their labor, but they cannot get their fair share of the country's growth.

The existing class-based inequality has deepened further due to the damage caused to workers' jobs and incomes by the COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent high inflation. In 2016, labor's share in Gross Value Added was 36.3%, while in 2022, it fell by 10 points to 26.3%. In contrast, capital's share, which was 47.5% in 2016, increased by 6.2 points to 53.7% in 2022.

The transition to a presidential system and the income inequality exacerbated after the pandemic have worsened income distribution. It has caused a kind of distribution

shock. In conclusion, as we enter the 100th year of the Republic, I would like to mention our approach to the second century of the Republic. In the second century of the Republic, we believe that there is a need for a new social contract that was not realized, remained incomplete, and pruned in the first century, a democratic and social republic. We, as DİSK, see the obligatory and possible way to keep the Republic alive as 'A Democratic and Social Republic and Turkey of Labor.'

In the second century, for the realization of the basic principles of the Republic, all obstacles, pressures, and practical and legal obstacles in front of organizing freedom, organizing, and the pursuit of democratic rights must be removed. The scope of collective bargaining agreements must be expanded for Turkey to get out of the minimum wage trap. In the second century of the Republic, public policies that prioritize the benefit of the society, not the 1% who seize the social wealth, must prevail. In the second century of the Republic, a decent job, public social security, and health must be the main principles. In the second century of the Republic, solidarity must develop against selfishness, competition, discrimination, and exclusion. In the second century of the Republic, a democratic, secular, and social rule of law based on human dignity should be established. In the second century of the Republic, a new constitution based on the principles of a democratic, secular social rule of law is necessary.

In closing, I greet you all with the longing and belief of a Republic based on human rights, a democratic, secular, social rule of law in the second century of the Republic.

Prof. Dr. Kerim Sinan ALÇIN
Kırklareli University

Economy Against the Wind

First of all, I would like to thank the organizing committee and Aziz Bey in the first place. I arrived yesterday night here and stayed in Yeşilyurt yesterday. I ended the day in a beautiful manner because indeed the village was very good and there was the example of solidarity. And in the morning at the village foundation, we had a good breakfast and we talked about the traditions and transmission of these traditions to the features and the daily life culture examples and also the communal examples were all discussed. And as a social scientist, indeed everywhere we have the chance of observing people. And Yeşilyurt village for example, the population of the village in 1975 was around 5000, but now the population 450. During these 45 years periods and nearly 50 years period actually what happened in Yeşilyurt? But it's the same for the Turkish economy and for many of the late capitalist countries the process is quite similar. There is a big transformation and the starting point of this was already mentioned by Unal's presentation. What was the starting point? It was 11th of September 1973, Salvador Island government, which was a great coalition and one of the best examples of democracy in Latin America.

If we ask what the first point is, it is about the Salvador Allende government on September 11, 1973, which was implemented with a broad coalition and as one of the best examples of democracy in Latin America, and of course Chile is a poor country. Geographically, it also has a very difficult geography. Come on, it may be more difficult than the Black Sea, but it also has the richest copper mines in the world. In this respect, I say it in quotation marks, it is an appetizing country, and in a way, the coup carried out there by Pinochet, backed by American imperialism, was actually the starting point. Later, a similar coup took place in Turkey on September 12, 1980 and similarly put Turkey into a neoliberal transformation process.

And then in the following periods over the world, especially with the beginning of the 1990s, China started a new development model which was based on productivity. I mean it was based on low priced competition which was exploiting labor and exploiting natural resources and that was a kind of accumulative regime. And from the perspective of China, since 2015 it's a system which is not proceeding properly because the China economy grew by 12% annually but since 2015 that growth rate decreased to 6% And that cloth that block in the capital accumulation made China adopt any way and that's way included a qualitative production and this was a semi environmental and semi surrounding method. And since 1990s this scattered production was quite common and the nature was destructed wildly. And for these countries, Industry 4.0 paradigm emerged in Germany and in one direction it was a reducing that imitation economy and the development which was directed towards the east was actually turned back to the West once again. And since 2015 regarding Industry 4.0, the country which is making the major investments is China again. Actually they are not only imitating to products but also, they're imitating the system developed against them. Now regarding composite materials, artificial intelligence, etcetera, is the country making the major investments in the world?

And what did we do during this period since 1990s, a rapid industrialization started? Yes, Türkiye is growing, especially by the beginning of 2000, the textile industry followed by the machine industry, important steps were taken and pandemic. Also accelerated it. Türkiye is growing, Türkiye is growing, but there is no shape of this growth. Actually, it's actually a sustainable trend is not followed and actually Türkiye is creating some problems within itself. And what kind of a problem is this? distribution and environmental destruction.

Think about the beginning of the pandemic in Wuhan region in Beijing. For the first time, the near spaces of birds near spaces of plants emerged again. And for the first-time air pollution was quite less compared to the former periods. And there are some conspiracy theories you know that the virus was developed in some labs in China, they said. But this was a conspiracy theory. But what was not conspiracy was that in the 1990's that productivity based the production was possible through cheap labor and people migrated from rural areas to the urban areas and people started to settle in the peripheral areas of Urbans. And then the wild appetite was mixed with human habitats and those viruses increased with that because there was the problem of nutritional salt.

And a similar example for Türkiye may be discussed over the rivers. What's the greatest economic problem in Türkiye? What do you say? The most important economic problem? Türkiye itself? Yes, it's a good answer. The visible problem of Türkiye is inflation at the moment. But the basic problem is the economic deficit. And there are

three main problems in this deficit energy dependency, raw material dependency and the intermediate goods

dependency. We have over 60% dependence on intermediate and raw materials in the manufacturing industry. We are such a country.

And let's turn back to 1980s. What was the major problem of Türkiye then? Energy dependency. At one side there was the development programs and hydroelectricity power plants were being established to eliminate the energy problem and in that way Turkey would be growing. We were discussing all this, but at the moment we are in 2023 and hydroelectric hydropower plants are all there and on almost all of the rivers there are hydroelectricity power plants and even nuclear power plants are being established in Türkiye.

In the central capitalist countries and plates capitalist countries we are … they are leaning towards the clean energy. However, on the other side there was a tendency to work towards nuclear power plant and the root cause here is related to the production structure.

Again, I will give an example from Yeşilyurt village. The area is rough but the nature is really good and there are many empty spaces. Also the spaces are all empty because the land which are fertile are not being planted on the normal conditions they used to cultivate barley and weed. However, in Yeşilyurt there are fertile lands but these are empty and for my hometown which is this is the same. The average age of the farmers is 58. Because young generations are not cultivating and the young people are moving towards the urban areas. And the shapeless growth in Wuhan in China is also seen here and predominantly without using the preliminary products, the concepts are all not rooted when we compare the countries to each other. When we say capitalist countries, it is not enough. There are differences between the early capitalist and late capitalist states. When we say a state, a socialist state or capitalist states, they are not referring to the same thing. When we say democracy. The bourgeoisie democracy is different from the public democracy. The bourgeoisie democracy gives you the right to vote, but they do not give you money. So in bourgeois democracy, you have the right to buy those shiny shoes, but how you buy them is your problem.

Therefore the election problem. The democracy problem as mentioned by Arzu is not something giving words every four or five years. But unlike it, like this Democracy Forum, it starts from the local and hand in hand it needs to be reconstructed with urban councils, with cooperatives and such approaches must be reinforced once again. Because the risk that we're facing, especially the geography that we are in, is in geopolitics terms. And what the climate change and where the geography goes towards a drought implies us that these are our good days. And on one side our energy dependency, raw material dependency is trying to be diminished. And in order to get

our Republic to the next centuries and new development model must be developed starting from the locals, starting from the developments of local democracy.

And in that sense of course every citizens have home works and opportunities to … to use. We have local elections starting from the villages to the municipalities and metropolitan municipalities. We need to give submit our request from the politicians and what steps can be taken to do this. Thank you very much for your attention.

Ozan DİREN
TÜSİAD Board Member

Building the Future on Prosperity, Freedom and Justice

Dear Participants

First of all, on behalf of the Board of Directors of TÜSİAD, I greet you all with respect and affection. I am delighted to be with you in Mesudiye for the World Democracy Forum meeting. I would like to thank everyone, especially the Mesudiye Development Foundation, for bringing us together and hosting this lively exchange of ideas.

In our past experience, whenever Turkey has had a strong story and a predictable and stable economic structure, we have been able to realize significant investment spurts. For example, Turkey attracted large amounts of direct investment for a long period of time, thanks to the reforms it undertook after the 2001 crisis. There were two reasons for this: We had strengthened our institutions and financial system.

Our independent supervisory and regulatory institutions and our tight fiscal program were also effective in this process. The start of EU accession negotiations was an important step to ensure confidence and predictability.

Our research, discussions with our members and feedback from market players suggest that the erosion of predictability has been the main factor negatively affecting the business and investment environment in Turkey in recent years.

What we mean by predictability is this;

- it is very clear what the policy, what the targets are and how the legislation and related implementation will be realized,
- that the roadmap is clear and that legislation and implementation do not change abruptly,
- changes take place in a foreseeable, planned and publicized manner.

Predictability is crucial because it brings transparency and consultation with relevant stakeholders, and ensures that fair, accountable and consistent decisions and policies are put into practice.

Investors recognize the economic potential of our country. However, in order to attract more investment, we need to increase confidence in three areas in particular:

- – trust in institutions,
- – trust in the legal system and
- – confidence in financial stability.

In order to improve the investment climate, first and foremost, we need to continuously develop an environment where the rule of law is ensured and democracy and freedoms are expanded. We need to show Turkey's economic story to investors in a consistent and clear way. When we look at which indicators in the rule of law dimension are included in all indices and studies focusing on this field, whether it is the World Bank's Good Governance Index focusing on good governance or the World Justice Project's Rule of Law Index, we see the following;

- – trust in courts,
- – trust in law enforcement,
- – confidence in the performance of contracts,
- – crime and violence indicators.

When we think in terms of good governance, the situation of our country is unfortunately at mediocre levels or lagging behind in the general good governance indices and the rule of law.

Dear Guests,

It is critical to increase the capacity of our public institutions to design and implement policies in their respective fields. Where institutions are eroded, investments decrease and economic development cannot be achieved. It is absolutely necessary for the political authority and the public sector to work closely, but this should not be an obstacle to maximizing the technical and professional contributions of institutions. It is important to build meritocratic staff and maximize their contributions to policy-making processes.

Moreover, national, regional and local policy-making in all areas, including the economy, should not be seen as the sole purview of elected officials and public institutions. This perspective constitutes an obstacle in the transition to participatory and pluralistic democracy. This is because the stakeholders who will be addressed to these policies should be involved in the process as much as the institutions in the formulation of policies. Taking into account the views and suggestions of civil society organizations in policy and law-making and implementation processes is a good way to ensure social consensus and to make effective and efficient regulations.

It is very important that policies are prepared in an open, transparent, understandable and concrete manner. To this end, tools and platforms for participation in policy-making and implementation should be created and diversified at both local and national levels, particularly for civil society organizations.

Dear Participants

Producing more, creating employment, making investments and increasing innovation capacity are primarily the responsibility of entrepreneurs, that is, of us as the business world. However, we also know that a reliable economy cannot be built without democracy and the rule of law. Securing fundamental rights and freedoms is essential not only for the quality of democracy, but also for competition, investment, employment, entrepreneurship and innovation.

In order to make progress on an issue, it is necessary to proceed with a holistic perspective that includes all variables that are directly or indirectly related to that issue. Only in an environment where fundamental rights and freedoms are secure can you expect innovative and outlandish thinking to flourish. Where there are no innovative and extraordinary ideas, it is very difficult to talk about innovation.

In a place where there is no trust and equal competition, even if you develop the most innovative ideas in the world, you cannot ensure the emergence of entrepreneurs who will turn those ideas into reality. When you don't have entrepreneurs who shape the economy, shape the business world and have a high global impact, you have to face economic dead ends.

At this point, we should add that the strategic value of entrepreneurship and innovation for countries is increasing day by day. Despite the problems in our investment environment, we are witnessing that many of our startups are contributing to the development of our economy on a global scale with the foreign investments they attract from abroad as well as the value they create domestically. From this perspective, we see that Turkey's entrepreneurship ecosystem has gained significant momentum in recent years and we attach importance to taking steps to support its rise among global centers.

In this context, we also care about establishing stakeholders and developing collaborations, and we work to support young people. Our youth are both our hope and the present and future of our country. With the "TÜSİAD Bu Gençlikte İŞ Var!" entrepreneurship program, we support young people and bring them together with processes ranging from training to mentoring, from financial support to product development. Launched in 2011, "TÜSİAD Bu Gençlikte İŞ Var!" entrepreneurship program today touches young people from 81 provinces in Turkey and 20 countries around the world.

As TÜSİAD, we believe that the young entrepreneurs we support will achieve success not only in Turkey but also on a global scale. We strongly believe that the achievements of young entrepreneurs will play an important role in shaping not only the business world of our country, but also economic, social and environmental transformation in the global arena.

Dear Guests

When we talk about youth, we have to think about the future as well as today. We must remember our responsibilities towards tomorrow as well as today, and work towards this end. How we position ourselves on key issues such as inclusive economic growth, democratic standards, sustainable development, digital and green transformation will determine the future of all of us.

Our studies show that the main determinant of prosperity today is neither underground resources nor physical capital nor unskilled labor. The most important determinant of prosperity is intangible resources. We can summarize these intangible resources in three words: people, science and institutions:

- – People, i.e. the development of the competencies of our people, who are our future, and especially of our youth.
- – Science, i.e. the penetration of science, technology and innovation into every aspect of our lives.
- – Institutions, meaning that institutions and rules in all areas from economy to democracy and social life are reliable and inclusive.

As long as we rely on these elements, we will be able to realize the dream of a "developed, respected, just and environmentally friendly Turkey" in the second century of our Republic. As we march towards this goal, we believe that quality education and free and creative thinking youth constitute one of the most important pillars of development. In this context, we also believe that there is a need for a reform that increases the quality of the education system.

Education is the most fundamental issue for both the self-realization of the individual and the social and economic development of the country. Our education system must be able to provide all our children and young people with the skills needed for the 21st century.

We believe that economic growth is necessary but not sufficient, and that in parallel

- – increasing national income per capita,
- – the redistribution of income,
- – eliminating the development disparities between regions,
- – achieving gender equality,

- education,
- participation in political life,
- participation in business life,
- issues such as democracy and human rights

We believe that these efforts are vital to building Turkey's future.

As stated in 1997 in the preface to our report "Democratization Perspectives in Turkey", "the institutionalization of economic and political democracy is not an obligatory process that Turkey will eventually undergo. It can be a product of the uninterrupted efforts of those who believe that democracy is the only way forward for the bright future of the country."

Based on our legacy of the struggle for democracy, we envision a prosperous Turkey in the second century of our Republic, where everyone lives equally and freely without any discrimination, where democracy has become a way of life, where the rule of law has been established, and where Turkey is one of the rule and value-oriented democracies at the global level.

Along with democratic institutions and the rule of law, factors such as income justice, balanced regional development, competence of the education and health system, and a clean environment increase social trust.

These elements reinforce the will to live happily and peacefully together and make it possible to overcome difficulties and build a prosperous future.

With this in mind, at the end of last year, we launched a series of workshops entitled "Entering the Second Century of the Republic". We have left a hundred years behind. We aim to unite on a common future that includes the hopes and dreams of all, by talking, listening and understanding each other, regardless of our thoughts and social groups.

We see the need to listen and talk to each other in society. We have been holding workshops since April. We are looking for answers to these four questions:

- How do we strengthen the Republic and democracy together?
- How will we position our national strategy in the face of global transformations?
- How will we achieve development in harmony with the environment?
- How will we ensure fair distribution while increasing prosperity?

We will share the outcomes of our workshops with the public in December. The formation of a common dream of Turkey built on democratic values will depend on the contribution, representation, hopes and dreams of each and every citizen. Thank you for listening to me.

Ertan KARABIYIK
Development Workshop Cooperative

Wolking on Broken Glass- Ensuring Human Rights in the Supply Chain

The struggle for human rights has a long history, and the protection and promotion of rights have been ensured through various national and international regulations that impose obligations on states. However, since the second half of the twentieth century, it has been realised that this approach is insufficient to protect economic, social, and cultural rights, and the need to regulate the responsibilities of the business has been felt. Globalisation has made the role and responsibility of companies visible along with states in ensuring and protecting social, economic, and cultural rights.

With globalisation, the economic activities of companies are growing and transcending the borders of nation-states, resulting in direct and indirect violations of rights and irreparable damage to people and societies. Global economic activities can devastate working and living conditions, the environment, and public health. Since the protection of individuals economic, social, and cultural rights constitutes a guarantee for the protection of civil and political rights, the effects of human rights violations in the business world are not limited to the direct impact mentioned above but also cause adverse effects on social peace and democratic institutions. Therefore, the responsibilities of business in the field of human rights have become an influential agenda of human rights studies.

To ensure the protection of human rights in working life and to eliminate human rights violations, it is necessary to establish policies that prioritise human rights in the business world, to ensure fair production and fair trade, to monitor all supply chains, and to ensure the active participation of companies in this chain in the process.

Today's working life is still characterised by modern slavery, forced labour, job and income insecurity, long working hours, low wages, gender-based inequalities, child

labour, and the lack of organising opportunities to address these problems. A safe working environment, decent working conditions, fair and decent wages, freedom of association, and prevention of child labour, which are essential components of production under human rights, are among the most critical areas being fought for the observance of human rights in the business community. The fact that international and national regulations to support fair production are determinative in terms of principles and that they are generally not linked to result-oriented sanctions shows that this area still needs improvement.

Globalisation has increased production based on cheap labour and the associated human rights violations. Yet, it has been concluded that human rights law is insufficient to protect against business rights violations. Legal guidelines that encourage fair production, trade, and protection of human rights have gained weight in recent years. The United Nations (UN) formed a commission in 1973 to investigate the rise in human rights violations and draft a code of conduct for businesses. The issue of fair production, fair trade, and labour rights has been brought up by international organisations, including the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the European Union (EU), non-governmental organisations, and governments. The World Economic Forum, organised by the United Nations in 1999, invited the business world to support the improvement of social, economic, cultural, and environmental problems to contribute to the sustainability of the global economy. This call, called the Global Compact, was formalised in 2000. The Global Compact[1] has published ten fundamental principles for private sector organisations in human rights, labour, environment, and anti-corruption. In 2011, the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights were adopted, including principles on the responsibility of companies to respect human rights.[2]

In 2011, the European Commission adopted the Corporate Social Responsibility Strategy 2011-2014, introducing a new corporate social responsibility approach.[3] In 2015, with the Trade for All Strategy, it announced a trade and investment strategy built on efficiency, transparency, and EU values.[4] In 2021, it published the European Charter of Social Rights, which includes the 2030 Goals to "increase the provision of employment, early childhood education and care for the entire working-age population, thus contributing to better reconciliation between professional and private life, support stronger participation of women in the labour market and improve the employment prospects of young people."[5]

In 2018, the OECD published the Due Diligence Guidance for Responsible Business Conduct to help the business world fulfil its responsibilities, following the Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises on Responsible Business Conduct published in previous

years. It emphasises that businesses can significantly contribute to economic, social, and environmental progress when they minimise the negative impacts of supply chains and other business relationships in their operations. Building on the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the 2030 Agenda sets an overall framework for achieving the global eradication of poverty and sustainable development by 2030. As the first international agreement to form a universal and comprehensive agenda for action, the 2030 Agenda includes seventeen sustainable development goals and 169 targets, mobilising all countries and stakeholders to achieve them and influencing national policies.

On March 10, 2021, the European Parliament agreed to discuss the Corporate Sustainability Due Diligence Directive (CSDDD), which provides recommendations to the European Commission.[6] The Directive covers the identification, prevention, management, remediation, and reporting of human rights violations and environmental risks in the value chains of businesses. It is also an essential step towards standardising legal regulations and practices, which have been drafted differently across the EU member states. The Directive submitted to the EU Parliament was adopted on May 31, 2023.

The growing recognition of corporations as essential in safeguarding human rights in producing goods and services points to the necessity of multidimensional and multilateral interventions based on social development. In this context, the business world is expected to bear responsibility for promoting human rights, providing fair working conditions, and adopting a responsible attitude in the use of resources.

On the other hand, in recent years, it has been observed that some countries have made regulations in their national laws to prevent human rights violations by the business world. Although these regulations are national, they are expected to have global impacts. For example, the Netherlands, one of the countries that pioneered these developments, announced with a law in 2019 that it would not allow products with child labour in the production process to enter the country.[7] Similarly, Germany has announced that it has begun work on the need for a law to monitor the supply chain.[8] These examples are essential in showing the versatility of the struggle.

One of the most critical business and human rights components is the struggle against child labour. The results of the Child Labor Force Survey 2019 conducted by the Turkish Statistical Institute show that 720 thousand children in the 5-17 age group are engaged in economic activity in Türkiye.

The Development Workshop Cooperative (DW) has struggled with child labour in the industrial and service sectors for about 20 years, especially in seasonal agricultural production. The DW began addressing its activities from a human rights perspective in 2015. In this regard, it has concentrated on ending child labour with

a focus on human rights while addressing problems related to the adult labour force, such as social security and protection, wages, and poverty. DW also began emphasising upholding human rights in the supply chain in 2015. Significant progress was achieved in this direction in 2017 when the DW translated the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights into Turkish. Since 2020, the DW has carried out several projects that included developing guidelines and monitoring models and preparing training materials in this area in response to the accelerated studies on respect for human rights in the supply chain, the promotion of fair working conditions, and supply chain analyses.

Almost all of the activities carried out by the DW since its establishment have focused on children's rights and human rights. In this context, it has attempted to understand the issues in depth, inform the relevant parties, mobilise those with roles and responsibilities to fulfil them properly, develop model practices, and build capacity. Since 2013, the activities of the DW, which first focused on preventing child labour in agricultural activities and then in the industry and services sector, have become relevant to the business and human rights context, which has been at the centre of the human rights struggle in recent year...

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Samet AKTAŞ
TÜRKKONFED Board Member and
DOKASİFED Chairman

Strong Society, Strong Economy and Strong Democracy in the second Century of the Republic of Turkey

Dear Friends, Distinguished Participants, Dear Representatives of the Press;

On behalf of the Board of Directors of TÜRKONFED and the Board of Directors of DOKASİFED, a member of TÜRKONFED, I greet you all with respect and love. I am very pleased to be with you at the World Democracy Forum 2023 meeting in our beautiful Ordu, the pearl of our Black Sea region.

In the 2-day event organized with the main theme "For a Safer Planet", valuable experts expressed their thoughts and ideas. It is difficult to speak at the last session of a participatory marathon of ideas. But it is also advantageous. Because we are in front of you with very valuable opinions, evaluations and analyzes and a large pool of information. I would like to express my gratitude to everyone who contributed to the Forum under this important and meaningful theme.

Dear Friends

As today, we have prepared for the 100th anniversary of our Republic with great enthusiasm, knowing that "Every voice, every color and every thought is our greatest wealth." As TÜRKONFED, we have prepared for the 100th anniversary of our Republic with great enthusiasm, with the awareness of representing 31 federations (26 regional, 5 sectoral), 340 member associations and more than 60 thousand business people. century of our Republic, we aim to mobilize the unique potential and human wealth of Anatolia for the Turkey of our dreams. For the last year, we have been coming together with TURKONFED Chairman Süleyman Sönmez and our Board of Directors with the business world and urban actors from region to region and city to city to make Anatolia the driving force of development.

Anatolia has been the geography where new ideas and new civilizations have been born and developed since its ancient days. In the new century of the Republic of Turkey, we know that the path of development from local to national and global will once again pass through Anatolia.

Today, the definition of a developed Turkey is clear: A country that digitalizes companies of all sizes that make up the business world; a country that reduces the current account deficit and increases its competitiveness in new export markets with resource efficiency in water and energy thanks to the green transformation; a country that internalizes an advanced democracy for an advanced economy and puts all layers of society, from education to women, from youth to entrepreneurship, at the center of transformation...

In the last month of last year, at our summit in Adana, we talked about the Turkey of our dreams, a country shaped around common dreams for a common life, based on democratization and equal opportunities in all areas. We dream of a Turkey where all people living in each of our 81 provinces have equal opportunities in life, education, career, employment, economy and entrepreneurship, regardless of whether they are men or women, young or old.

In this process, as TÜRKONFED, we continue our projects, events and activities, which we call 3 Ds with a focus on Digital, Green and Social Transformation, with the effort to create a common mind with business people who come together independently and voluntarily in every region of Anatolia, who create and produce value for their country.

Dear Friends, Dear Participants;

We want to make the world and Turkey better, both for ourselves and for humanity. The new rhythm of life, where complexity and uncertainty are essential, necessitates a new path and mind map. At a time when anxiety, worry and tensions are widespread, we need safe paths, strategies and policies. We need to be a guide, not a follower of the change agenda of the new era.

In the economy, we need permanent treatment, not temporary dressings. We believe that the way to achieve this is through structural reforms in both the economic and democratic spheres. We should not forget that there is a direct, not indirect, relationship between the economy and democracy. International investors also look for universal values such as high democratic standards, rule of law, freedom of opinion and expression. With reforms, we can strengthen our democracy and economy and reduce uncertainties. To do so, we must take steps to break out of the traps of "Middle Income-Middle Democracy and Middle Education" that surround our economic and social life.

After 2001, the reforms we carried out with a focus on European Union membership, a global integration project, brought the economy to a very good point for 10 years and showed that we were on a path where the middle income trap was almost overcome. At the same time, our democracy index was rising.

This trend started to decline after 2011. Along with the "middle income trap", unfortunately the "middle democracy trap" has also become one of our targets of struggle. "While Turkey reached the level of 5.70 in the "Democracy Index" assessment, which could be considered as the level of full compliance with the Copenhagen Criteria, that is, at the point of rising to the "6 points above category", it declined to 4.35 points in 2021. In order to become a "full democracy", we need to enter the "above 8 points" category in the "Democracy Index".

Raising the national income index requires raising the democracy index, which in turn requires ensuring the rule of law and accountability. Just as the more participatory, transparent, accountable and fair the management of successful companies, the higher their success and profitability, so, too, in countries where the rule of law is supreme, where everyone actively participates in management, and where rules and accountability prevail, society's ability to produce and develop increases and this increases welfare sustainably.

As a result, the only way for our companies, civil society organizations, public institutions and all segments of society to overcome the middle income trap is to have a better judicial system that will ensure the rule of law, transparency and accountability in all segments of society, especially in the judiciary and public sector.

Dear Friends, Distinguished Guests;

According to the 2022 Rule of Law Index, which measures countries' commitment to the rule of law, Turkey ranks 116th among 140 countries and last in its region. According to the report, which emphasizes that the rule of law is in danger worldwide and that violence, corruption and impunity affect millions of people globally, the weakening of institutional structures also weakens democracy.

It is pointed out that the institutional mechanisms needed to ensure accountability, fair application of the law and protection of human rights have weakened, while 61 percent of countries have seen a decline in adherence to the rule of law in the last year.

A well-developed democracy and legal system, and a fair, transparent, accountable and merit-based state administration are indispensable parts of the recipe that will turn Turkey into a prosperous society. If we want to raise the welfare level of our country, increase our gross national product, and spread Turkey's development goals to the grassroots, we must be a country that adopts high democratic standards with the rule of law, not a "middle democracy" country.

Accountability and the rule of law are essential for sustainable growth and sound economic development. In a country where the legal and democratic structure is not strengthened, it is almost impossible to achieve social welfare and a sustainable economic structure.

Turkey's ability to escape the Middle Income Trap by achieving economic growth and sustainable GDP growth depends on getting out of the Middle Democracy Trap. At this point, it is important to make the judiciary fully independent, accountable, effective and efficient, to make the rule of law and accountability prevail in the public sector, and to ensure fairness in representation in elections, including elections within political parties and professional organizations.

No matter how good our economic indicators are, if there is no rule of law, it is not possible to achieve our development goals. For this reason, we say that Turkey must get out of the middle democracy trap as well as the middle income trap. And we add the middle education trap, which deepens both traps.

Dear Friends, Dear Participants;

The world is in a mental squeeze between the dilemmas of security and freedom, prosperity and democracy. Governments and policies shaped solely according to the preferences of the majority are not enough to solve today's problems.

In a world where political, social, cultural and economic demands are so diverse and differentiated, coexistence is only possible through a democracy that nurtures and even encourages the coexistence of all these different demands. Democracy that strengthens the will to live together is no longer a preference, but a basic condition for sustainable life. We must not forget that every voice, every color and every thought is our greatest wealth. For local development, we need to redefine local governments and build local democracy.

Our main goal should be to democratize our democracy, that is, to make it a way of life. It should not be forgotten that democracy does not mean that whoever gets the majority of votes in elections held every four or five years comes to power. Constitutional fundamental rights must always be respected. A libertarian constitution with a good understanding of republican values will support economic growth by providing a safety net for those in need, reducing poverty and inequality, and promoting social mobility.

Moreover, strong institutions are necessary to create a stable, predictable, and transparent environment conducive to economic growth and development. A strong institutional framework will help foster investment, innovation, entrepreneurship and good governance, which are critical for economic progress. Therefore, another

pillar of our Dream Turkey is "justice". I believe that together we will build a Turkey that is a global pioneer in policies to fight injustice and poverty.

We are working for our country to successfully pass through the era of multiple crises we are in with our power to transform the changing rhythm and color of life by looking from the spirit of time and society. As TÜRKONFED, I would like to conclude my speech with the photo of Turkey in our dreams in our New Term New Horizons Vision Document;

- It has started an economic breakthrough in harmony with the earth and green transformation;

- Rebuilt a social, secular and democratic state of law;

- Restored the separation of powers, checks and balances mechanisms;

- Established the full independence of the judiciary;

- It has drafted a new and civilian constitution for the new era through social and political compromises;

- became a full member of the European Union;

- Increased belief in the rule of law and achieved a strong social transformation,

- Developed policies that are sensitive to gender equality, and achieved a social and state consensus where there is no discrimination, marginalization and polarization, and where the welfare and peace of society is the basis;

- Institutionalized and guaranteed the right to a dignified life;

- Turkey is a country that has become one of the global pioneers in the fight against injustice and poverty.

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Aziz Ekşi, President of the World Democracy Forum, and all the stakeholders who supported the realization of the event. I would like to thank the speakers who believe that the path to a secure future passes through democracy and who shared their valuable ideas for 2 days, and to you, dear participants.

With respect and love...

WORLD DEMOCRACY FORUM

WDF'2023

September 14-16, 2023

MESUDİYE - ORDU - TÜRKİYE

DEMOCRACY AND PARTICIPATION/INCLUSION

Prof. Dr. Seda DEMİRALP
Işık Univesity

Competing with Populism: Inclusive Democracy

The issue of inclusive democracy has found a wider place in political and academic discussions over the last 20 years. There are two main reasons for this situation. First, for the last 20 years, whether in the established democracies of the West or in semi-democracies such as Turkey and Hungary, those who feel unrepresented and excluded have taken over politics mainly via populist movements. Yet, as populism produced its own exclusionism, democracies have regressed and became shallow. Democracy is in recession throughout the world (Diamond, 2015).

Secondly, these populist movements and actors achieved their positions via democratic tools, especially elections, even though they embraced only the majoritarian side of democracy and rejected its liberal premises, that is, individual rights and freedoms, and often ended up building regimes resembling "tyrannies of the majorities". When these populist, majoritarian movements and actors defined themselves as democratic, because they owe their power at least to some extent to democratic channels, it became necessary for more progressive actors and parties to distinguish themselves. At that point, the need to use democracy by adding some adjectives increased. For example, we have begun to use the concept of "liberal democracy" more frequently to describe democracies in which minorities are not oppressed by the crowds. Or, we started to use refer more often to the concept of "inclusive democracy" to draw attention to the need for political systems that do not suffice by telling the voters "I will represent you" but instead they say "come and do politics" and they actually create space for more political participants.

Having established our increased need to talk about "inclusion" today let us talk about how we got here so we can have more perspective on how to get out of here.

The populist movements of the 2000's and the resulting democratic recession we have been observing in the world, can be summarized as, voters' feeling of exclusion

by representative democracy producing another form of exclusion (Demiralp & Cengiz, 2023; Moffitt, 2016: 72). The fact that modern democracy does not fulfill its promise of representation, and that it actually is quite elitist and exclusionary despite its promises of equality, was problematized perhaps most strongly by feminists, long before the populistst wave (Pateman, 1988: 78). However, the impact of the feminist movement was limited.

In the 2000s, reactions to modern, representative democracies became more widespread and massive. It is possible to talk about roughly three reasons for this. First, the economic inequalities caused by globalization and the austerity policies in the 1990s increased the reactions against democratic institutions and politicians (Rodrik, 2018). Second, the perception that interest groups dominate state institutions has grown. Third, the perception that democracies are slow in solving problems has increased. Examples of authoritarian but fast growing countries such as China that can rapidly build dams, roads and rail systems, while democracies such as the USA fail to pass a law to renew infrastructure for years, increased such perceptions. As a result, trust in governments and other state institutions decreased, voting rates dropped, and a situation that can be described as democratic disillusionment occurred.

A strong reaction to the failures of representative democracy came from the populists. Charismatic, anti-heroes who promised to by-pass the slow, ineffective or elitist institutions and provide quick and short solutions to big and complex problems started to come to the fore as leaders (Mudde, 2007; Hawkins, 2010). In many corners of the world, masses, feeling left out and disillusioned by democracy and thus, determined to take over politics, lined up behind populist leaders and brought them to power.

Yet, as suggested above, majoritarian populist policies created their own exclusionism. Populist leaders conceptualized societies as consisting of "self and other" categories and embraced policies, discourses, and performances that display an exaggerated and narcissistic love for those who are similar to the "self" while presenting a hysterical anger towards those who are dissimilar, or "others" (Demiralp & Cengiz, 2023). We saw this narcissistic love in the love- songs sung to the voters in the political rallies. Who the "others" were varied from society to society, but they often included feminists, intellectuals, ethnic minorities or LGBT groups.

If this is the situation we face in many parts of the world, what can we do for the future of democracy and freedoms? This is the question democrats inevitably ask themselves today. They look at themselves and question where they made mistakes, and think about how they can cope with and push back against populism while not repeating the old mistakes of economic and political elitism that brought them to this situation in the first place.

In fact, we have seen such efforts in the anti-populist opposition politics in Turkey in the 2023 elections. We have seen Turkish opposition displaying self criticism about past economic approaches and focusing on the economic needs of the average voters. Similarly, we have seen secularist politicians embracing self-criticism about identity politics (such as regarding the headscarf issue) and showing efforts of reconciliation and alliance formation with pro-Islamic actors. However, this attitude has been shaken after the election failure and we observed essentialist reflexes among various opposition actors.Many concluded that this entire effort to open up to the "others" and meet with them half ways was wrong.

But the truth is that this would be too hasty a conclusion. Inclusive democracy is not an easy goal to achieve and involves a learning curve. We can say that we are at the beginning of this curve in Turkey and perhaps even in the world. We have to continue to consider way to achieve more inclusive political systems.

In this regard, we can say that one important goal for inclusive democracy is to increase women's political participation, in Turkey and elsewhere. One of the most frequently mentioned solutions to this problem has been to institute women's quotas. However, no sufficient results have been obtained in this regard so far. For example, although quotas were instituted for women in the parliamentary elections, as highlighted widely, often women were nominated from the back rows and as a result, women's representation did not increase at a sufficient level.

On the other hand, sometimes even though women come across suitable positions and opportunities, they fail to seize them. Unfortunately, as a result of the patriarchal pressures they have internalized for years, many women hold themselves back instead of applying to or fighting for positions of power. They other decide they were not "good enough" or "ready" for such positions even when they were, or they hesitate to step forward for such positions, worrying about some family responsibilities. Consequently, women fail to make the most out of the limited opportunities available to them. Thus, to reach a more inclusive democracy it is important to prepare women emotionally for more active roles in politics. In this context, I am proud of the work carried out by some institutions, including Işık University, that seek to increase women's public courage and desire for participation "from the inside", that is, by touching the right emotions.

As another method to increase participatory democracy, let us remember the suggestion made by Kofi Annan at the Athens Democracy Forum in 2017. Annan had suggested that members of the legislature to be elected not by voting but by "sortition", that is, by random methods from a representative pool, just like jurors in US courts. Thus, it would be possible to ensure that participation was not limited to certain classes. There can be disagreements about the actual applicability of

Annan's proposal, but we can say that the proposal clearly reveals the problem of representation in representative democracies.

Increasing intra-party democracy is also a way to increase trust and interest in parties, and therefore interest and participation in politics. Because, as voters' trust in political parties' ability and intention to represent and deliver to voter interests decreases, voters' appetite for political participation also decreases. We must say that this is a main problem we face in Turkish politics these days. As I suggested earler, the decline in trust state institutions (such as the judiciary, parliament, or the army) strengthened political leaders who presented themselves as supra-institutional. Today, we are experiencing a similar story regarding the declining trust in parties in Turkey. As a matter of fact, it is not difficult to think that the declining trust in parties would strengthen supra-party or trans-party political leadership models. In sum, any institution that fails to be inclusive, seems to be destined to get by-passed in today's political environment.

I started my speech with feminists and stated that they presented one of the earliest criticisms of modern democracy. The call for inclusive democracy was made by feminist, way before Western democracies were challenged by populists governments. So, let me finish by taking inspiration from feminist politics again.

Here I would like to mention Juliet Mitchell's concept of "mother's law" (1992).

Feminists often explain politics with the metaphor of family. Accordingly, patriarchal, or patrimonial, order is defined by the law of the father, and modern democracy is defined as the regime of brothers who rebel against the father and overthrow him (MacCannell, 1991). Continuing with these metaphors, my colleague Feyda Sayan and I defined populism as the seizure of power by the tyrant brother (Demiralp & Sayan 2023).

Mitchell suggests that while the father and the brothers have their own laws, the mother also has one, and reaching a solution to the conflicts and problems between family members can only be achieved with the institution of the "mother's law" (1992). The mothers law secures a system in which all siblings are "different and equal", they have their own place, and no one's rights are imposed on others.

Now, what is really the difference between the mother's law from the father's or the brothers'? The law of the father, that is, the patrimonial legal system, was about securing vertical relations, that is, the relations between the state and the citizens, defining a highly hierarchical state-citizen relationship. Modern democracy, or the brothers' law, was also focused on this hierarchical relationship and tried to reform it, by reducing its hierarchical shape. More specifially, its aim was to increase the rights of citizens against the state.

When the "bully brother", or the populist leader, emerged, his main addressee was not the father or the state. The bully brother said, "My rights are not as much as those of other brothers!" The "bully brother" or the populist, has a problem with horizontal relations. This is where the mother's law comes into play because it regulates horizontal relationships. Recalling Cas Mudde (2018) who suggested that populists asked the right questions but gave the wrong answers, we can say that the "bully brother" entered the picture from a point that was truly problematic, namely inequalities in horizontal relations, but his own approach was also problematic. Then we can say that the problems that we have a hard time solving today actually arise in the relations between citizens, that is, in horizontal relations, rather than in the relations between the state and the citizen.

Our conflicts today mostly take place in areas such as economic inequalities, violence against women, anti-LGBT attitudes and policies, and citizen-refugee relations. For this reason, today's inspiring politicians should distinguish themselves, offering their vision and solutions about horizontal relations.

A more feminine politics that respects sibling law, rearranges the borders in this area, and protects everyone's place and rights can inspire the new generation of democrats.

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Gender and Political Identity in Democratic Elections

Abstract: This chapter overviews selected key findings of the academic literature on gender and political participation in elections. It then discusses the application of these findings using a comparative lens. The chapter concludes with recommendations for political parties in utilizing gender as a recruitment frame in future elections.

Keywords: gender, elections, political parties

1. Introduction

I have lived in Washington, D.C. for almost 20 years. In Washington, although we are often divided by politics, we have a common phrase: bumpy roads lead to beautiful places. When a question during the forum arose about what speakers would change about Mesudiye, that saying came to mind-the road up the mountain to get to Mesudiye from Ordu had many bumps. The residents of the area are anticipating the highways reopening after the repairs are complete. For me, the warmth of Mesudiye, the engaged conference attendees, and the panelists' insights were the wonderful rewards of a rough road.

My work examines when and how women participate in democratic politics. Often, people ask: how can we get more women to participate in democracy through elections, running as candidates, and working on campaigns about political issues that are important to women? Political scientists regard increasing the percentage of women participating in politics -through voting, volunteering for parties, and serving in parliament- as "good" for democracy and a sign of democratization (UN Women, 2023; Carnegie, 2016; Inglehart et al., 2002). Conversely, a decline of women's participation is seen as "bad" for democracy and a sign of democratic decline (Ortiz et al., 2023; UNOCHR, 2023; Roggeband and Kirsán, 2020).

2. Theory

One theory to explain women's participation or lack thereof is that parties drive participation through recruiting women to vote for them. Under this theory, the party is driving change, encouraging women's political involvement. In this view, the number of women increases as the moderates in a party prevail over hardliners, with moderates "either hold[ing more progressive views towards women or recogniz[ing] the utility of promoting women's participation to gain votes and/or appease domestic and international critics" (Clark and Schwedler, 2003, p. 293). An alternative theory is that women look for opportunities to participate in politics; women participate when they see an opportunity. Under this theory, women are likely to participate only where the possible benefits of participation outweigh the possible costs. In this vein, Tajali argues that "while some …women's rise to political office may still be a strategic move on behalf of the party, it is important to note that many women themselves have also been agitating for their rise to power" (2016, p. 20).

3. Context

The Justice and Development Party's (AKP) kadın kolları point to the explanatory power of Clark and Schwedler's theory. In 2021, the party stated that there were 5,273,000 members of its women's branches and announced its goal of increasing membership in the women's branches to six million (Özmuş, 2021). Although the women's branches members include both covered and bareheaded women, many of the headscarf-wearing women have volunteered with the party for a long time. When the headscarf was banned, the ban limited headscarf-wearing women's ability to earn an education and work in public sector jobs and narrowed the private sector job opportunities covered women could compete for. With limited opportunities, the women's branches of the AKP and its predecessor parties were spaces for headscarf-wearing women to participate in society (White, 2002). By 2010, the AKP stated that its women's branches were the largest political organization for women in the world (Adalet ve Kalkınma Parti Genel Merkez Kadın Kolları Başkanlığı, 2010).

The women working for the AKP through the branches were visible as volunteers, at party congresses, and out canvassing during campaigns. A small number of women rose through the bureaucracy of the party's women's branches to be named as parliamentary or mayoral candidates. In contrast, other Turkish political parties with women's branches, such as the CHP, did not devote significant time to increasing the numbers of women in those branches or channel the resources to building the branches that the AKP did. Some women asserted that other parties' women's branches seemed less welcoming. In many AKP women's branch offices, bareheaded and veiled women worked together, and the volunteers represented a mix of ages, ethnic backgrounds, socioeconomic levels, and religious backgrounds. Other

parties' smaller women's branches were more homogenous. Until recently, the CHP's women's branches consisted overwhelmingly of unveiled women. In 2008, the CHP was involved in organizing protests to protect the ban on headscarf-wearing women from entering institutions of higher education, military institutions, and government buildings, after the AKP and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) tried to lift the ban. Opposing lifting the ban on headscarf-wearing women entering these facilities ultimately meant that the CHP had fewer potential women to recruit as voters, for support in volunteering and campaigning, and to run as political candidates.

Media coverage in 2008 highlighted parties' positions on the headscarf (Özcan, 2019). This portrayal was both emblematic of reality and not. The parties' had deep-seated divides that centered on women's bodies and the headscarf. The attempt to remove the headscarf bans in early 2008 resulted in a closure case against the AKP. This is because AKP and MHP leaders worked together to remove the ban after MHP leader Mehmet Bahçeli "intimated possible collaboration towards the elimination of the headscarf ban, which led Erdoğan to move towards the constitutional change…" (Cindoğlu and Zincirci, 2008, p. 803). Following party leadership, MHP and AKP supporters protested for the ban's removal, with CHP supporters advocating for the ban to remain in place. In short, women who protested on either side may have been advocating for their own beliefs, but the fact that the protests were going on at that point in time and that women were protesting against each other on the streets was because of conflicts among male party leaders.

Media's framing of its coverage of the issue furthered the "othering" and polarization. News coverage focused on two sides. The media framed the sides as the "secular" side and the "religious" side. Other views were largely left out of coverage, and individuals who were not vocal in supporting one side or the other were also overlooked. The division was portrayed as being so deep that those on opposite sides did not interact at all.

The situation on the ground demonstrated otherwise, though. Although many women said they did not know women who fell on the other side of the divide, this was largely untrue. Many uncovered women had sisters, mothers, in-laws, or household help that covered. And many covered women had family who were uncovered and knew uncovered women who were their doctors, teachers, and friends.

In short, both the media and political parties overstated divides over the headscarf in 2008, likely further contributing to polarization. This also erased the complexities of women's lives, where they maintained relationships while negotiating this complex social climate, inaccurate media coverage, and assumptions about their political ideologies. Listening to women express their frustrations over these issues– for instance, women who wore the headscarf felt mischaracterized as opposing

secularism and democracy because they wore the headscarf and wanted to attend university--illustrated the headlines' negative consequences on women. It also raised questions about assumptions researchers like Göle (1997) expressed, equating a woman's political ideology to whether she was veiled or not.

It seemed that the complexities of women's lives in Turkey and throughout the Middle East were not well represented in politics, in the media, or in academic research. Despite a growing literature, there were only a handful of studies that captured the intricacies of women's considerations about covering their heads or being uncovered and the social, political, and workplace contexts women navigated (Arat, 2005; Özdagla, 1998; Hatem, 1994). In the late 2000s and early 2010s, parties were content with the groups of women supporters they already had, and had women turn out to support the parties when the parties needed. Parties did not try to actively increase the number of women that supported them through changes to policy platforms.

4. Application

Political science literature often focuses on the extremes of the political ideology spectrum. Consequently, the full stories of people's lives and how they relate to their political ideologies and actions often remains unexplored. Media coverage is similar—the most extreme viewpoints are written about most frequently, while any viewpoint other than the extreme viewpoints often go unmentioned. Furthermore, both scholarship and news coverage also tend to focus on men's experiences, often not meaningfully examining the differences between men's and women's political involvement.

These observations translated to application in American politics when America entered the "Trump era." For many, the day Trump got elected was significant, either a day of rejoicing or a night of painful disappointment. Although ideological and party divisions had been important in American politics for decades, once Trump won the presidency, it seemed as if swing voters in the United States had disappeared. Many Americans started to say "they [the other side] don't like us" and "they think XXX." Media reports of families with political divisions ceasing to talk or marriages ending in divorce over differences in political opinion were frequent (Emery, 2017).

Turkey had already demonstrated that often there was space between the extremes, even when the media and political science research were not discussing it. Some people asked—why look for the middle? I had found many people in Turkey who talked to their friends and family with different viewpoints on the headscarf; these conversations seemed to moderate people's stances, not further polarize them. And even if moderation did not occur, these long-standing relationships were something complicated by politics, but rarely resulted in these relationships being completely

severed. Media coverage and scholarly research concentrating on the extremes while failing to examine the middle ground attracted an audience but was not an accurate representation of reality.

In America, this portrayal became problematic because it made change seem unlikely. But change happened. The United States saw people who had voted for Donald Trump for President in 2016 vote for Joe Biden in 2020. Most of these people were swing voters, not consistently aligning with any one party (Florida et al., 2020; Provenzano, 2020; Igielnik et al., 2021; Shino et al., 2023).

Some swing voters were explained through the policy positions Biden campaigned on. Many issues that were important to voters in the 2020 campaign were reflected in Biden's policy positions. Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg died in the fall of 2020, and some voters were frustrated with the judge who replaced her and the timeline through which Ginsburg's replacement was named. Biden promised that if elected, when he had the opportunity to nominate a new Supreme Court justice, he would nominate the first Black woman to serve as a justice on the Court. Many viewed this promise as an attempt to attract support from Black voters, particularly Black women (Chung et al., 2022). Student loan concerns had not often been a key component of Democratic presidential candidates' platforms. But Biden was aware of young voters' angst over loans, promised to address student loan issues, and ultimately received broad support from young voters (Minsky, 2020). Similarly, Biden promised to ease the burden of the cost of childcare on families during the campaign, a platform that appealed to young women. Childcare costs had not been a significant political issue for several presidential campaign cycles but were pushed onto the 2020 Democratic nominee debates through Elizabeth Warren's candidacy for the party nomination (North, 2019).

This is to say: in a possible contrast to the 2016 elections, the Democratic nominee and the Democratic Party in 2020 were listening and responding to voters through policy platforms that addressed voters' concerns. When Biden assumed office, there was action taken to turn many of these platforms into policies. This also represented a change. For many years, in the U.S., as in Turkey, it seemed that if a person voted once for the Republican Party or the Democratic Party or for the AKP or the CHP, the party thought that they could count on the support of that voter in the future. But the 2020 election demonstrated that importance of swing voters. Because the election was decided on these voters' votes, Biden needed to deliver the promised policies.

Some of the voters who switched from voting for Trump in 2016 to Biden in 2020 did so due to policy positions. Others did so based on conversations they had with their families and friends over several years, ultimately being persuaded to change their vote. Some switched because they were influenced by both policy and friends. And

this confluence of influences leading to a switch in voter support is not unique to America.

In May 2023, there were three women wearing çarşafs campaigning for the CHP for hours every day in Kadıköy ahead of the 14 May elections. The CHP's stance on women's clothing had changed since 2008. The trio was very engaged and talked to many people who would come with questions. When asked, the women stated that they were not historically CHP supporters. Rather, they had committed their support "in order to protect democracy," explaining that they had been recruited to support and volunteer for the party by a friend who was a long-time CHP supporter. When their friend appeared, she was a bareheaded woman, about the same age as the three çarşaf-wearing volunteers.

For these women, the party's platform had been one compelling factor in their votes and volunteer hours transitioning to a different party. Their friend had ultimately sealed their change of parties—at least for that election.

5. Conclusion

Parties may be able to encourage these transitions of political allegiances. To effectively do so, they need an understanding of people's unmet needs. This requires listening to citizens, sending citizens' needs up the party hierarchy, and developing political platforms that are feasible to address the needs. It is difficult to do this in conservative, liberal, or moderate parties where policies come from the top down.

In addition to a party structure where information moves both from the top down and from the bottom up, to attract new voters parties can effectively harness the relationships and networks of existing supporters in discussions about voting. In order to be most effective, such conversations are not begun in the immediate run-up to elections. Instead, these conversations build over time in the years between elections. It seems that shortly before elections, directly questioning whether someone will move parties for a single election can solidify a change in voting. Parties should not count on continued support from such voters.

In short, to be effective and win elections, parties need to be responsive to citizens and involve citizens in the parties' decision making. Parties who pursue only top-down policy development must contend with lack of change and little interest from new voters. Finally, in Turkey, gender has long been an area where voters have longstanding concerns, such as violence against women, lack of available childcare, and workplace inequities. These gender-based concerns overlap with stress from the economy, which affect women differently than men. This is because women's social roles are heavily intertwined with the rising cost of food, housing, and transportation. Parties looking to increase support from voters may do well to ask women what

specific policy changes are needed on these issues. Seeing parties respond to the problems they face may result in women becoming more active in politics.

For parties, responding to women's concerns through articulating responsive political policies could sway a significant number of swing voters. Such policies may also attract first-time voters. In both Turkey and the United States, the combination of first-time voters and swing voters constitutes a large enough percentage of the vote share to sway elections.

Frequently in political science, the path to democracy is treated as straight and linear-with democracy as the ending point. Research is beginning to realize this conceptualization of democracy is incorrect. Democracy is not the ending point of the road. Instead, democracy is how the road gets built, who builds the road, and how the plan for the road is decided; every few years, democracy becomes the decision-making process of how repairs to the road occur. Political parties can help build and repair roads by listening to and responding to citizens' concerns, especially women's concerns. Greater representation of women means greater participation and greater democracy. Although the level of democracy tends to vary over time, political scientists and citizens are realizing the road to democracy is often full of bumps.

Like the road to Mesudiye, bumpy roads often lead to beautiful places.

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Democracy and Participation of Women

Introduction

Democracy is not only a form of government but also a reflection of the belief in human rights, equality and freedom. Democracy aims to ensure that every individual has a voice and participates equally in governance. Historically, however, this principle has been lacking for women, and their voices and contributions have been ignored.

When we evaluate world history from the perspective of women, I think it would not be wrong to title it as follows;

''History of exclusion and neglect''

Historical Process

In Ancient Greece and Rome, the first practices of democracy, there was an understanding of democracy that did not include disadvantaged groups, including women. The fact that exclusion existed even in what is considered to be the basic reference point of democracy revealed that democracy was a problematic concept from its very birth.

In the idea of the social contract that would be put forward in the following centuries, the exclusion of women was continued by placing it in a legal framework.

The 1789 French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen states in its first article that "human beings are born and live free and equal in rights", but the concept of human being does not include women.

According to the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. However, women are

again not included in the definition of human beings in this text. This is because equality is a concept aimed to be achieved only for men.

In the following years, with the contributions of many women's organizations, women gained their constitutional rights in modern democracies, but the problem was not solved.

Today

People all over the world have the same inherent rights simply because they are human beings. These rights, just like the idea of human rights, include the rights granted to women without any discrimination. The right to education, the right to live a life free from violence, the right to fair and equal pay, the right to own property, freedom of expression, the right to vote and be elected are some of the fundamental women's rights.

However, in many countries around the world, women's rights are violated in various ways and to varying degrees. There is almost nowhere in the world where women are not discriminated against. Women's access to education is restricted in many places, they lack fair and equal pay in terms of economic rights, they have limited access to health services, they face more violence and security risks, they are more exposed to harassment. Problems such as child brides, forced labor, sexual exploitation, harassment, physical violence, deprivation of education, discrimination in employment and access to political participation are among the main violations of women's rights.

There are various reasons why women are subjected to rights violations or deprived of their fundamental rights. These reasons are directly linked to geographical, religious, cultural and economic conditions. There are many issues around the world that violate human rights and women's rights, such as the restriction of education for women and girls in Afghanistan, the headscarf protests in Iran, campaigns in various European countries demanding maternity leave and equal pay for equal work, and the abduction of girls for sexual exploitation.

According to the UN global gender gap report, by 2022 the global gender gap is 68.1%. A study conducted in 2022, covering 146 countries, identified differences in practices between men and women in various fields. According to the results of the research, the gap in health was 95.8% and the gap in education was 94.4%.

According to the research conducted in the field of equality between men and women, although no country has yet fully implemented the norms determined within the scope of gender equality, the country with the smallest gap is Iceland with a rate of 90.8%. Iceland is followed by Finland (86.2%), Norway (84.5%), New

Zealand (84.1%), Sweden (82.2%), Rwanda (81.1%), Nicaragua (81%), Namibia (80.7%), Ireland (80.4%) and Germany (80.1%).

Education

While children in many countries face various difficulties in accessing education, the barriers are much higher, especially for girls. According to United Nations experts, more than 130 million women and girls in the world are deprived of education. Of these, 32 million do not even have the opportunity to attend primary school, while 30 million girls in secondary school and 67 million girls in high school do not have access to education. When women deprived of university education are added to these numbers, the number of women and girls deprived of education exceeds 130 million.

There are various reasons why women are deprived of their right to education. Poverty, child marriage, physical and sexual exploitation, conflicts and climate change are some of the main reasons. These barriers and reasons for denying education vary across countries and societies. While the Taliban government's policies are the main reason why women and girls in Afghanistan are deprived of education, for women and girls in Somalia, conflicts and migration due to climate change can be the main reasons that prevent education.

Work and Working Life

Worldwide, 47% of women of working age are in the labor market, compared to 74% of men. This figure has remained almost unchanged over the last quarter century. The regions with the lowest female labor force participation rates are South Asia, North Africa and West Asia. The labor force participation rate of women in these regions is reported to be below 30%. Globally, on average, women have only three-quarters of men's legal rights to work.

Political Representation

As of September 19, 2022, 30 women were serving as heads of state/government in 28 of the 193 UN member states. Looking at the representation of women in other important political positions worldwide, 21% of ministers, 26% of parliamentarians and 34% of councils in local governments are women politicians. UN reports suggest that if the current pace continues, equal representation in parliaments worldwide could be achieved by 2062.

As can be seen from these figures, women's visibility in the political arena, their representation in parliaments and ministries, and their presence in positions such as the head of state/government of a country have fluctuated over the years, but it can be said that women's presence in political positions tends to increase.

Violence against Women

In democracies, the government, which comes to power through elections in which every individual participates equally in the government, must protect and observe the constitutional rights of individuals that guarantee their fundamental rights and freedoms. It is one of the primary duties of the state to protect the security of life and bodily integrity of every individual constituting the society. However, the continuous increase in cases of violence against women around the world shows that states are unable to fulfill this duty.

Women all over the world are subjected to physical, psychological, economic and sexual violence, regardless of their education, income or age. Worldwide, 736 million women - almost one in three - have experienced physical and/or sexual violence at least once in their lives. It is estimated that 60% of violence goes unreported. 30% of women over the age of 15 have experienced violence. These figures do not include cases of sexual harassment. The most common form of violence is violence perpetrated by a woman's husband or family members. Most acts of violence against women are perpetrated by current or former spouses or intimate partners. More than 640 million women over the age of 15 are known to have experienced such intimate partner violence.

The most extreme form of violence against women is violence resulting in death. Studies reveal that 137 women are killed by a family member every day in the world.

Although 153 countries around the world have laws on violence against women, legal gaps and deficiencies in implementation make it difficult to prevent violence. North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa and West Asia are the most problematic regions in terms of legislation.

In 2021 alone, more than 45,000 women and girls worldwide were killed by family members or partners. This means that 1 woman is killed every 11 minutes, or 5 women every hour. Considering that this figure only includes women who are known to have been killed by their family members or spouses, and excludes other women who have been subjected to violence, it can be more clearly understood how devastating the real figure is. accordingly, the number of women and girls intentionally killed in 2021 is estimated to be 81,100.

The fact that legal regulations on violence against women do not exist in many countries or are not implemented effectively enough and that there is no universal legal regulation on this issue stands out as an important deficiency in preventing violence against women.

If we look at the issue from the perspective of Turkey;

According to the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Inequality Report for 2022, Turkey ranks 124th among 146 countries in gender equality. Although there have been some improvements in women's human rights in areas such as education, health, labor market status, political representation and civil rights, there are still various forms of discrimination.

The most pressing issues related to women's rights in Turkey are the prevention of violence against women and underage marriages.

Turkey became a party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1985 and ratified the Optional Protocol to CEDAW in 2002. It was also the first country to sign (2011) and ratify (2012) the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, also known as the Istanbul Convention. On March 20, 2021, Turkey announced its withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention, in violation of the Constitution, with a decision taken by one person in the middle of the night and as a result, an anti-democratic practice. Considering the increasing and widespread cases of violence against women in Turkey, the abrogation of the Istanbul Convention has made it difficult to solve the problem at the legal level.

In the report published by the We Will Stop Femicide Platform on femicides in 2022, it is stated that 334 women were murdered in 2022 and 245 women were found dead in suspicious circumstances. It is noted that 50% of the women were killed by their husbands from whom they were in the process of divorce. This figure reveals that a woman was murdered almost every day throughout the year. The perpetrators of the murders of women in 2022 were mostly husbands.

Turkey is the OECD country where 38% of women are victims of violence. The increasing number of acts of violence against women creates serious unrest in society. Many campaigns are organized to prevent violence. Although the 2022 Action Plan on Combating Violence against Women announced by the General Directorate on the Status of Women of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies is seen as a positive step in this direction, it is clear that serious legal arrangements are needed to protect women's rights, prevent violations and prevent acts of violence.

In conclusion;

Women in various parts of the world are subjected to rights violations in different ways depending on the current political, economic, cultural and geographical situation of their region. Although these rights violations vary according to geography, women all over the world are subjected to serious rights violations.

The steps to be taken at the international level to solve this problem can be listed as follows:

- International conventions for the protection of women's rights should be disseminated, their implementation should be checked in the countries that have ratified them, and sanctions should be imposed on countries that violate them.

- The education of women and girls should be supported. This is crucial for preventing underage marriages, forced marriages and violence, and for strengthening socio-economic well-being.

- Activities for women's economic empowerment need to be increased.

- Political representation of women should be increased to enable them to better articulate their problems.

- In order to end violence against women and girls, there is a need to increase international assistance, particularly in regions where violence is more prevalent.

- Men should be involved in campaigns against rights violations and restrictions in order to create social cohesion in the protection of fundamental women's rights.

Taking all necessary steps to protect women's rights and prevent violations of their rights is vital for advancing women's rights and preventing violations of their rights globally. However, the realization of the solutions listed above can only be possible through changes in substance, not in words.

In the final analysis, what needs to be done is to change the masculine discourse that dominates social life, language and all written texts to be inclusive of both sexes and to reorganize these spaces in a way that women can be included.

The aim is not to exclude men or to emphasize women, but to take part together in a shared universe and thus end the subordinate role of women. In this context, women should take steps to realize this transformation without losing their own selves, that is, their femininity, and create a collective women's consciousness. Only by spreading this consciousness throughout the society will it be possible to get rid of the male-centered perspective and thus steps will be taken to overcome the problem of women's marginalization.

Women's Rights and Atatürk on the 100th Annıversary of the Founding of the Republic of Turkey

Before concluding my remarks, on the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey, I would like to pay tribute to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk while talking

about the human rights of women, one of the most important achievements of the Republic.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the Founder of the Republic of Turkey, was not only a genius commander who liberated his country from enemy occupation, but also a visionary leader who set out to leave a country for future generations that respects universal law, where freedoms are protected and women and men have equal rights. After creating a fully independent and sovereign nation state within the national borders defined by the "Misak-ı-Milli", Atatürk's second goal was to raise society "above the level of civilization".

Atatürk was of the opinion that women, who had remained idle in many areas, should henceforth walk, work and progress in all areas of society, especially together with men. As a newly established state, he tried to create the image of a woman who was identical with the perception of the state and society and who was characterized as the "woman of the republic".

 The "Woman of the Republic" was regarded as an individual who was aware of the basic adoptions of the society, was informed accordingly and was included in the same education process as men in terms of gender equality. He made revolutions to root the image of the "Woman of the Republic".

The separation of religious affairs from state affairs, the establishment of a secular state and the adoption of the civil code led to innovations in women's rights. In the first phase of the Republic, the granting of social and political rights to women was a breakthrough that could be considered rapid compared to that period.

It is a duty of conscience for women living in Turkey today, regardless of their worldview, faith, sect or ethnic origin, to read and try to understand Atatürk without prejudice and to show his memory the respect it deserves.

I would like to thank all the members of the executive and advisory board, especially Aziz Ekşi, who contributed to the realization of the World Democracy Forum, our esteemed guests and you, my esteemed fellow Mesudiyeli citizens, with my belief that the result of this forum will contribute to the history of World Democracy on September 15, World Democracy Day…

I offer my respects.

Dr. Halil ECER
Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University

Youth Corridor for Participatory Democracy: Capital Youth Assembly Experience

While civil society has to be civil by nature, non-governmental organizations have to move away from the civil sphere by nature. Because while civil society describes the non-governmental society, it is also the civil society that constitutes the government. In this respect, it has an inherent difficulty in negotiating the contradiction. Still, it is necessary to make new inferences about the civil society that transformed in the early 1970s and its reflection today. It is essential to focus on the transformation of civil society in countries like Turkey rather than its theory and practice. Because the civil society structure in Turkey is moving away from civilization, unlike the rest of the world. The sustainability situation, which is fundamental in Civil Society, has been reduced to economic sustainability and a "professional" group called civil society experts has been formed. However, in the nature of this civil field, there is no specialization or profession. Of course, operating in the civil field requires certain expertise, but since everyone is already included in the civil society structure with their own field of expertise, extra civil society expertise is contrary to the spirit of this field. To say at the beginning what needs to be said at the end, the civil sphere that is gaining momentum for a sustainable society is itself far from sustainability. These unsustainability situations are shaped around several different dynamics.

The Civil Society field needs economic support and this support mostly comes from outside the country where civil society activities are carried out. This situation forms the basis of the "funder" approach, which is frequently emphasized in Turkey. Because there is an effort to create public opinion while covering civil society advocacy, lobbying and campaigning. Especially countries that cannot provide their own national wealth in the world economic market turn into a fund-dependent area due to the exchange rate difference. For example, while 250,000 units are valued in each country's own national market, the unit of another country turns into a serious

budget when compared to the unit of another country. When this unit in Europe comes to Turkey, it is multiplied by 25 on average. In this case, the civil society field is forced to copy the agendas of the source countries when determining its own agenda. And thus, it strives to deal with a problem other than its own local problem and find a solution to it. In this respect, civil society structures in underdeveloped and developing countries can often be labeled as "funders".

Another contradiction of the civil society field is that although it stands against elitism, it cannot avoid turning into an elitist structure. Civil Society field of activity is a field in which an individual engages voluntarily outside of his or her own professional pursuits. Because of this contradiction, although national governments develop the unions formula, unionism takes on a character other than being a direct field of civil endeavor. It requires sufficient economic power and, more importantly, time to operate in the civilian field. Time and money are often two interdependent factors. In other words, individual money and time are needed to operate in the civil sphere and to make these activities sustainable. But especially the latest developments and economic situation in the world show that; Time is also needed to make money, and at the end of this chain, the one who has money can have time. Then, when a profile operating in the civil field is created, a different picture may emerge. The person or people who have money, time and motivation to operate in the civil sphere become actors in the civil sphere. There are two exceptions to this: the first is young people (students) and the second is neighborhood organizations.

Since young people have not yet fully entered the employment market and are economically dependent on their families, they do not yet need to spend time earning money. Especially as the modern university becomes increasingly unskilled, national governments become a mechanism to balance unemployment rates. Young people who study at university for two to six years - and their numbers often exceed millions - are not counted as unemployed. Since these educated young people are also not included in the employment market, they are considered as "zero" in job or unemployment statistics. Considering young people - mostly between the ages of 15 and 30 - as "petty bourgeoisie", that is, they do not participate in the production process but only consume, liberates them in certain areas.

In the context of civil society and democracy, young people need to be reconsidered both as a theoretical background and as a practical field. It seems that it is possible for young people to be more creative in using and operating the tools of democracy with new technological developments. Young people's demands for rights often arise independently of any ideology, religion or partisanship. The demand for the "right to the city", which began to appear in the literature in 1968, is the shelter of young people today. The right to the city, as it first appeared, is not just a slogan but the

primary goal of young people in their participation in life. Especially with the capacity of cities to create a global impact, young people's living spaces, plans and dreams are based on the city. They build public spaces in cities where they can feel safe and free. When they cannot find space in cities, they create a space for themselves in the virtual world. In this respect, young people's demand for freedom emerges differently from the previous generation and progresses in different forms.

Moves to get rid of the structural crises that democracy is experiencing are progressing in a traditional and structured way. Because traditional democracy approaches are nourished from roots without technology. But today, the main determinants of life form are cities and technology. At this point, young people demand and experience democracy differently. First of all, nationality is being lost and locality is gaining value. Young people want to experience democracy with active participation at the local level and develop strategies accordingly. That's why the focus is on local elections rather than general elections. Because the fact that the national is structured and follows tradition is far from appealing to the new world of young people. Then a systematic formula is required!

The Capital Youth Assembly[1] has been producing new democratic tools for the local participation of six thousand young people in Ankara since 2020 to empower young people in all areas of life. Student communities of universities, together with local youth groups and NGOs in Ankara, are changing the face of the city around the themes of housing, accessibility and participation, which are the basic needs of humanity in the 21st century. It comes together with local decision makers and produces solutions to solve the housing crisis. It uses its quantitative and qualitative influence to mobilize local decision makers. While activating the local decision-making mechanism, it applies peer education models to develop the culture of democracy in young people. It is building a position "above political parties" in order to prevent the decorative use of young people by political interest groups and the manipulation of young people. It comes to the fore as a pressure element for local youth units of national governments and youth units of local administrations to carry out their activities specified in their regulations and allows the empowerment of young people.

While the Capital Youth Assembly creates its own institutional structure, it is organized on a horizontal hierarchy and the process progresses with sub-working groups. The Culture-Art Working Group produces structural solutions with decision makers to ensure young people's access to cultural activities and art. In places where decision makers are blocked, cultural and artistic activities are carried out by the voluntary

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[1] https://genclik.ankarakentkonseyi.org.tr/

formations of its young people. The Statistics and Data working group establishes the scale of youth disadvantages and monitors whether political parties produce policies according to youth programs. It periodically publishes reports called "conditions of youth" in Turkey and collects statistical data to establish the rights demands of young people. The Sustainable City Working Group designs projects and activities to address decision makers with an interdisciplinary approach in the space-society and politics trilogy in order to ensure the sustainability of urban life. R&D and Innovation Working groups create training modules and guides for decision makers to change old public management approaches and rejuvenate the decision-making mechanism. In addition, the Career and Employment Working Group constantly keeps the fragile nature of young people in the labor market on the agenda and implements anti-insecurity programs. All these processes are carried out voluntarily by young people.

When the Capital Youth Assembly was established, Ankara was ranked 10th in the University-Friendly City Research[2] but it rose to 2nd place within three years. This rise has been made possible by the transformation in the policies implemented by local decision-makers along with the participation of young people in the decision-making mechanism. The participation of young people in the decision-making mechanism started with the 1992 RIO Earth Summit and then the work of the "Local Agenda 21" offices implemented in Turkey took on an institutional structure with the mention of city councils in the municipal law no. 5393 in 2005. The purpose of formation of city councils is to produce solutions to 21st century problems with local participation. Even if it has unsustainable structures, it draws important frameworks for the development of participatory democracy. City councils, which were established to ensure that every citizen is included in the decision-making processes of the city they live in, have remained far from producing the desired outputs due to the elitization of civil society and the polarization of politics mentioned above. Due to its structure, the activation of working groups that seek solutions to local problems, as well as youth assemblies and women's councils established within the city councils, is left to the mercy of local administrations.

The Ankara City Council, which was established in 2019, and the Capital Youth Assembly,which was subsequently established with a record-breaking general assembly[3] created a third path in Ankara, a city full of politics and bureaucracy. He prioritized that traditional democratic demands do not work in the new world and that negotiation tables to be established with adults should be made functional. Established by young people, managed by young people and acting with young people, the Capital Youth Assembly aims to ensure that political parties become

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[2] https://www.uniar.net/odus

[3] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kwy6NPWx-00

democratic by adding the skills of the new world along with the traditional experiences of adults, and to ensure that decision-making mechanisms develop policies with a participatory method. It also carries out advocacy activities and works to develop new democratic tools.

As a result, it is necessary to focus on the need to produce alternatives to the sterile policies that populism, which has influenced the whole world, has produced as a dead end. It should not be forgotten that civil society, especially in social and political structures such as Turkey, is not civil but is shaped around the views of a certain group. The efforts of both right-wing and left-wing ideology to produce their own civil society get in the way of democracy. In order to ensure that democracy is reorganized around new tools, dialogues that institutions with traditional democratic expectations and tools can develop with new youth movements will open new areas. On the other hand, the youth branch organizations of political parties do not progress through democratic processes and harm the democratic space by using young people as decoration. In order for young people to experience a democratic process in the political arena, empowering them to engage in politics in supra-political youth assemblies provides a more sustainable position. Finally, upon the demilitarization of civil society in Turkey, the "youth corridor for participatory democracy" model implemented by the Capital Youth Assembly needs to be disseminated. With this model, empowering young people in all areas of life will allow democratic institutions to get rid of the dust on them.

Nevzat SAYIN

Architect

Reflections on the Democratic Understanding of Space in University Campuses

We build the spaces, but the spaces also play a very big role in the construction of people; we build the spaces with what we know, we design and build them, but then we places become important data that make us who we are. We live in those places, grow up in them we are structured. We form memories in the places we know and live. And we look at places we don't know with the traces of these memories and try to understand them.

Architecture offers clear clues to help us make an accurate assessment of places we see for the first time, and thus, with the help of the memories we collect from urban, public spaces, we can gain a largely accurate idea of the people who lived there. University campuses are considered a kind of city, whether they are spread within the city or a campus outside the city. When they are part of the city, not only is the city more open to the university, but the city is also more open to the university. When they are a campus outside the city, these campuses are almost like a satellite city.

It would be more accurate to say that universities are 'private collective spaces' rather than 'public spaces'. Even though they are not public spaces open to everyone, they are 'private collective spaces' open to the use of university students. Therefore, how common areas are designed and how university students use these spaces are initially closely related to the understanding of democracy of the university administration, the designer architect, and ultimately the university students. That's why it's important what kind of places people in their 20s live in. Creating spaces for being together and the opportunities provided by these spaces is the most important issue of being together without expelling or homogenizing the 'other'.

There are 206 universities in Turkey, 77 of which are foundation universities and 129 public universities. And 122 of them also have architecture faculties. When the spatial

setups of these schools are examined in terms of the opportunities they provide for the development of democratic thought, we encounter a strange reality. In most of the places you will not see any protest posters or graffiti. This strange silence on university campuses attracts your attention, but you cannot fully understand the reason !.. Is it because these people in their 20s are so satisfied with their lives? Or is it the fear of oppressive university administrations, which are extensions of the oppressive central authority? Or is it because there is concern that the protests will negatively affect education?

Spacious spaces where many users can spend their free time; conferences in large auditoriums where they can feel the corporate identity and togetherness and are open to asking questions; studios and workshops where different working groups can organize themselves and monitor others; alle where relationships between faculties can be established to develop interdisciplinary understanding; accessible professor rooms; walls for protest writings and posters; A library and study spaces open 24 hours a day, equipped with large/small, audio/silent reading rooms, and study spaces are the most important data that determine how people in their 20s view themselves, others, the city, the country and the world

Today, university students in Turkey do not live in a truly democratic society, so they have no experiences and therefore no memories of a democratic space. Maybe that's why they don't feel their absence. Because in order to feel the lack of something, you first have to have it and then lose it. How can we describe something that has never been owned? A good way would be to explain the relationship between architecture, sociology, politics and art comparatively and to try to design spaces equipped with the mediated effects of these narratives. Architecture, defined as "the art of taming endless time and unlimited space", assumes responsibility in this context and if it can design 'tamed spaces' with this responsibility, it will fulfill a significant part of what is expected from it.

WORLD DEMOCRACY FORUM

WDF'2023

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MESUDİYE - ORDU - TÜRKİYE

PANEL 6

DEMOCRACY AND
LOCAL LIFE/LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Dr. Mehmet Hilmi GÜLER

Mayor of Ordu Metropolitan Municipality

Local Life and Local Governments an the Context of Democracy

Welcome… In this session today, democracy, local life and local government will be discussed. That's the title, of course there are very valuable speakers; Prof. Dr. Vivien Lowndes, Prof Rabia Karakaya Polat, and Prof. Mine Eder... We will evaluate the issue together. Welcome again…

Of course, we are meeting here in a relaxed environment, away from protocol, on a tired afternoon and on the last day of a week. That's why we will discuss it freely. The subject is interesting and Mesudiye is experiencing one of its truly historic days. It is a district where the culture of democracy is deep-rooted and where freedom is high. It is like this historically and has a tradition that has continued since Ecevit. In fact, it dates back much further... It is a district that has raised valuable politicians, scientists, and valuable administrators. In this respect, it is important and of course the good thing is that the people of Ordu are the second population in Istanbul and the people of Mesudiye are making themselves felt there too.

While representing Turkey on behalf of local governments in the Council of Europe, we also come across many Mesudiye people in Strasbourg. This is the beauty of Ordu. It surprises you and you see that they are all from Ulubey and Mesudiye. You are from Fatsa, you are going to Japan. The Japanese even think that Fatsa is a country. Therefore, there is such a beautiful unity. I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity in this beautiful place where there is a culture of democracy. I will be moderating and also moderating some of the conversation. Of course, three very valuable ladies are university professors and extremely important scientists. We will each speak for 15 minutes, then we wiil wait for contributions, criticisms and thoughts of audience. So I think it will be a nice session.

I was born in Ordu, I went to primary school, secondary school and high school in Ordu. Then I got into Middle East Technical University. It was a different test then. We entered university at the same time as the late Kahveci. We entered from the Black Sea region

and he entered from Turkey with a very good rank. At that time, of course, we were the 68 generation. I just watched him explain the intricacies of democracy in the last session. I have already said that I did not attend yesterday's meeting, but hopefully we will have a meal in Ordu tomorrow. We will also have a ship tour. If it's not wavy, the Black Sea. Together we will have the opportunity to see Ordu from the sea. Of course, at that time, Middle East Technical University was a really important center in terms of student movements. Student movements in France were later reflected in METU. We experienced a lot in dormitories and forums. Occupations of the roads, other things, and at that time there was the idea of a Free Thought Club, and there was also a left unity. Everyone except the left was in the Free Thought Club. Then the Ülkü Ocakları emerged from among us, and the left of the center emerged. Of course, we saw all such things in the ancients. Of course, Ordu is already a special place during these studies. Fatsa was talked about a while ago. I don't know if the Village-City practices here have been mentioned, they were very good practices.

We are now trying to implement a similar, more modernized one. Of course, later on, I worked as a student assistant there for a while, and then I worked as a lecturer and assistant at Gazi University. We worked in the aircraft industry before TÜBİTAK, and we saw the relationship between democracy and the power of states in the aircraft industry. Power, security, technology and democracy. Some subtleties during our subsequent work in the aircraft industry forced us to evolve a little more.

After that, I transferred to TÜBİTAK. We also carried out rocket studies at TÜBİTAK. We saw the relations between the General Defense Industry and the balance of power of the countries and democracy. After that, I was the General Manager of MKE for a short period, then our President won the municipal elections in Istanbul, we started together in the municipality in 1994. I took over İSKİ first. I became the head of İGDAŞ right after the İSKİ scandal. Istanbul was suffering greatly from air pollution. We solved air pollution there. We made Istanbul livable. We saw some subtleties there too.

We saw democracy, balance of power, public participation in local governments, participants in government, students, universities, in all their intricacies. Of course, I am a member of the party. I saw how democratic delays occur and I was among the founders. I was the vice president responsible for R&D there. I explain these well because they are all within the scope of this democracy and Turkey's democratic developments. Of course, I forgot to mention, the family experienced May 27 and military interventions. My uncle used to argue with information stating that the view was very beautiful. My father is a former democrat, from a People's Party family, everyone was a People's Party member, then he was in the house of the Democratic Party. We saw these discussions afterwards. I continue the discussions about Yassıada from my childhood. After that, the interventions, the military interventions, the free thought club at METU and everyone there was against the idea of free thought and it was seen as an election club with one vote, fairytale elections. Then they were divided and divided and became more different.

I rewind again and again, because life is lived forward but understood backwards. From time to time, in our rewinds like this, I saw life a little better. Then, during the establishment of the party, we were asked what was needed in Turkey as an institutional structure, and we chose the name justice and development as the concept at that time. We saw that justice and development were the greatest needs, and from there the concept of white emerged. The characteristic of being white is sanity, in the face of darkness, in the face of injustice. Then it transformed into a corporate structure. Later, as luck would have it, I became the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources. At the same time, between countries, here are the Blue Stream negotiations with Russia, energy equations... As you know, ministers in the Republic of Turkey also share countries in their service areas. In my field there was Russia, Iran, India. I'm not counting other countries. We had the opportunity to examine their structures. While I was studying at METU, I took elective courses because there was already a very broad education. In addition to compulsory courses, there were also elective courses. That's why we've always lived side by side, left and right. That's why I think we trained very well. I think we were able to analyze well. We also saw these in TÜBİTAK. Science policy was under me when I was vice president. I entered TÜBİTAK with a scholarship and became vice president and member of the scientific committee. I mostly worked in defense industry projects. As I said, it happens piece by piece, but in the end, in the Ministry of Energy, especially natural gas, pipelines, the status of the Caspian, the fact that the Caspian is a lake is expressed by another law, the fact that it is a sea is expressed by another law. Meanwhile, we have experienced the Iran and Iraq wars, we have experienced the responses to interventions and memorandums.

Therefore, we saw democracy in practice as well as in books. Here's what I see. Of course, there is an official opinion, and as the driver from Diyarbakır expressed, there is also a normal opinion. In other words, official views and normal conscientious views may differ, and I have seen this: no matter how democratic you are, the law of the powerful is valid. It's power, but power needs to be described. Whether it is the power of honesty, the power of money or the power of technology depends on how the balance of power is formed. In other words, hawks determine the freedom of flight of sparrows. Theirs is also determined by eagles. Being strong, the balance of power, the power formula, that is, who is rich, who has technology, who has democracy, or who has money, who is strong, all of these need to be taken into consideration. Is the one who has land strong? We experienced these, we experienced them. For example, METU taught us idealism. Ideal behavior, its subtleties, virtue, our friends on the right, our friends on the left, all worked for the salvation of Turkey. One from the right and one from the left. Now I'm wondering who was among them? For example, if Sinan Cemgil had lived, maybe the Turkish left would not have been like this, it would have been much different. We've seen it all.

I'll move from here to this. We need to analyze very well. Türkiye is very strong in every aspect. Very rich. The culture of democracy is also very high. A lot of things happened to him. The current geopolitical situation is one of the natural reasons for this. There is

a famous cliché. Because geography is also destiny. Indeed it is. All religions originated here, all conflicts emerged here, the first agreements were made here. All laws, including Hammurabi, were made here. Therefore, this place has a feature and Anatolia is a melting pot, a complete melting pot, all things are melted here. Very nice mixtures came out of this. This place's understanding of humanity, understanding of history, understanding of civilization and belief is very different. We don't need to imitate anyone.

There is no need to talk about clichés or things. I have more than 50 years of professional life. I have a biological life of more than 70 years. That's why I'm telling you, my fellow countrymen here, an enlightened audience, not the memorizations, but what we've filtered. So, for example, the blue stream agreements and negotiations we had with Russia, the negotiations with Iran... We have a lot in common, but when we talk about interests, something else happens. This is the same with neighbors, the same with the balance of arms, the same with the balance of power. That's why I think that we, as Turkey, Anatolia, Mesudiye, Ordu, need to look at the events with real scientific objectivity and a moral understanding. You cannot take sides against the facts here. Eventually you hit your head on those facts. For example, there is the balance of power, the balance of power of the countries; With its population, land area, technology, nuclear power and academic power. You put them all in a balance of power and a power emerges. So they have different theories, coefficients, formulas, it turns out like an engineering calculation. There are countries that we are equal to. But for example, Turkey is one of the places that I have thought about all my life. If I were born again, I would study Africa and experience Africa. Africa is being treated very unfairly. So imagine there is a Congo. Its name is Belgian Congo. It was funny, the name Belgian Congo. Belgium's Congo, the West is doing this. It makes it the cradle of democracy. He says that while you are in MKE, you can produce this weapon, but you cannot sell it to this place. Then don't produce, then don't produce weapons, ban them all if you can, energy balance. The reasons for the Ukrainian-Russian war are, if you look at it from the sea, enter from Ordu coast, if you go straight, you will see Ukraine, if you turn the steering wheel a little bit, you will see Russia, if you turn a little more to the right, Georgia. And here the war is being fought. We are holding a forum here, talking about democracy. So we need to analyze all of these very well. Energy, then food, then water, whenever we talked about a water issue, we encountered water going beyond the border. A complete energy diplomacy.

You care about the environment. When you look at the bans, a protest group appears, a lobby emerges behind it, an environmentalist lobby. So coal, for example, we know coal as a very bad fuel, but it is the main source of Turkey and Anatolia, and if burned, it is a clean fuel. If you burn it with fluid fuel technology, it is pure white and most countries use it. But for example, we can discuss nuclear, should we go into nuclear or not? We use nuclear technology in engineering, medicine and agriculture. For example, this needs to be discussed. Water security, these are all together and they all have to do with democracy. Democratic mass organizations are involved in this. He enters from the

side, he enters from the right, he enters from the left, he enters rightly, he does not enter wrongly. Everyone has a choice, but every choice is also a giving up.

After all this, it was luck. I became the Mayor of my own hometown. I looked and saw that the biggest deficiency here was equality of opportunity. Now, I am involved in equality between men and women, young people, universities. We have established 19 women's cooperatives since I arrived. We put it into production. They are currently producing. Hazelnuts, most of the people from Ordu in this hall have hazelnuts, but the price of hazelnuts is not determined by Ordu residents. Ask the woman, aunt or sister selling parsley in the market, they will tell you the price of parsley, but you cannot determine the price of hazelnuts. Now, in this period, we have just started to do these things. And we got into the topic of activated carbon. We entered chocolate production. If you make and sell hazelnuts as hazelnuts, it will be 2 billion dollars. If you sell it as chocolate, it will be 8 billion dollars. Does Switzerland have cocoa or not? Does it have hazelnuts or not, but it has chocolate, Belgium has chocolate. These are all related to democracy, democracy does not happen on an empty stomach. Equality of opportunity needs to be implemented very well. But Turkey has not had a tradition of politics based on science. We are trying to do this.

As the vice president responsible for R&D and also as someone who comes from the METU tradition and grew up there, I saw all of this by looking at our losses and gains from the right and left, by rewinding the movie and sometimes fast forwarding it. I saw it during my ministry, I still see it now. The reason for wars has both a deception and a real part. They told us something about optics, called virtual image and real image. In the optics of this democracy, there is both virtual and real. Therefore, we need to understand this well. We shouldn't go with clichés, we need to live and take part. The best part of democracy is being directly elected. Come and be chosen. Generally, politicians are considered bad in a pejorative sense. No, politics is not a bad thing. By chance, I wrote Turkey's energy policy. We sit down and talk about what I have implemented now and what we have written now. Science policy, agricultural policy… Politics is not a bad thing, just criticizing is not a good thing either. Come and be chosen. Take charge, get involved in this job. The most important duty of intellectuals is to ask the right questions. Surprise him with the right questions, but also take charge. There is no shooting from the rim like in basketball. Maybe 3 shots from a distance provide a lot of profit, but you will get under the basket. You will also receive an offensive foul, you will exit and re-enter. That's why there is a very different style in Turkey. I see Turkey's future very well. There is a very strong youth. There is a team that plays directly to the goal and this is our advantage. At the same time, something that comes from our belief is actually the protection of the mind, the protection of the generation, the protection of life, the protection of property and the protection of faith. Five basic features of our faith. We need to protect these five; that is, mind, generation, property, life and thought. We are in a place called Anatolia. Hacı Bektaş is here. Yunus Emre is also here. Sufi buildings are here. Next week is the Ahi week, here is the morality, the practice of democracy is here. All sincerity is here, we will discuss all of these.

Prof. Dr. Vivien LOWNDES
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Democracy Across Tiers and Spheres of Governance

1. Introduction

When we talk about democracy, the focus is generally on national parliaments and presidential elections.

Most democratic measurements are applied at the national level. We refer to whole countries as more or less democratic.

But I'm going to argue that a focus on local government tells us not only what's possible at the municipal level…. but also provides a lens through which to reflect upon broader democratic principles.

I'll explore the potential contribution of local government to achieving democratic health.

I'm also going to locate local government within a much larger network of relationships – what I call the 'tiers' and 'spheres' of governance.

Negotiating these relationships requires a new outlook and a new skill set for local government.

2. The role of Local Government – in Theory

Starting off, we can identify four rationales for democratic governance at the local level, all of which resonate with key republican values.

2.1. Civic

–   The civic rationale is based upon a simple proposition (based upon the insights of Mill, Rousseau and Tocqueville) - that local units of governance provide more opportunity for citizens to participate effectively in decision-making.

– Quite simply, for reasons of geographical proximity, local governance is more physically accessible to citizens.

– Local units also contain fewer citizens, which makes direct participation more feasible.

– Citizens have incentives to engage because it is at the local level that they consume public services and experience pressing issues.

– At the local level, individual citizens are more able to put their voice forward and exercise choice over options put to them by elected politicians.

– Locally, citizens can also develop collective viewpoints via social movements and civil society organisations.

2.2. Social

Moving on, we have the social rationale, which argues that local government is the most appropriate arena for a citizen-focused approach to governance.

The locality is the place, after all, where the family or household 'touches' the realm of governance.

At the local level, it's more possible for politicians to see governance from the standpoint of the citizen - to identify what works well… but also to pick out the blockages and disconnects that get in the way of serving the public, and expressing their democratic will.

The municipal arena offers the best prospect for 'joining-up' state action – for coordinating those different interventions that affect citizens' lives.

Having many different local governments can provide an engine for innovation – providing different sites where varied approaches to democratic debate and public services can be designed, piloted and evaluated.

2.3. Political

Next, we have the political rationale for local democracy. There are three key propositions underpinning this, each of which reflects key republican values.

First, citizens can access local government more easily than is the case for national government, and they are more likely to be knowledgeable about the issues at stake.

Second, political leaders at the local level are more likely to be responsive to citizen views, and to have direct experience of the matters at hand.

Third, citizens are better able to hold leaders to account - because leaders' deliberations and actions are more visible to citizens, as are their consequences.

These propositions are based on the fact that local units are accountable to a smaller citizenry than nation sates, and are physically closer to the citizens they serve.

Going back to the origins of republican theory, Plato and Aristotle maintained that all citizens should be able to assemble in one place and hear a speaker.

2.4. Economic

Finally, we have the economic rationale for local government, which is based on the argument that local units can make more efficient and effective use of available resources. This runs contrary to conventional assumptions that big government is always more efficient.

Actually, local units should be better able to identify and limit waste in organizational processes. They are also better placed to identify diverse citizen needs and provide appropriate services.

In contrast to classic arguments linking large units to economies of scale, the emphasis here is upon economies of scope – the benefits of integrating or 'bundling' services, including creative synergies and the avoidance of duplication.

Finally, the famous Tiebout hypothesis from economics argues that small units of governance tend to be more efficient than larger ones because they offer increased transparency in terms of what services citizens receive in return for their taxes.

3. Governing across Tiers and Spheres

In practice, local government does not stand alone, and often has limited control over the political, social and economic environment in which it acts.

Local government is actually embedded in a dense network of governance relationships.

The proliferation of such networks is an international phenomenon. It undoubtedly makes more complex the work of local mayors and public servants, but it also offers great opportunities – opportunities to maximise the potential of local government to deliver on the rationales outlined above, and to address old challenges in new ways.

But to exploit these opportunities, local governments need to develop new capacities and new skills – focused upon relational rather than bureaucratic principles.

To understand these new governance networks, we have to focus upon both vertical and horizontal relationships. I call these tiers and spheres of governance.

3.1. Tiers

To develop and deliver public policy, municipal mayors and public servants need to operate across many different tiers (Figure 1).

Delivering effective public services and fostering active citizenship requires municipalities to work 'downwards' with neighbourhoods or villages within their own locality – communities that may vary considerably in terms of their needs, resources and levels of engagement.

Fig 1. Tiers of governance

Learning from neighbourhood or village leaders can improve the quality of municipal governance, as well as make policy implementation smoother.

It can also deter local politicians from running elections that focus only on national issues – something I know Rabia will touch upon in her talk, and is certainly an issue in the UK.

Many of the republican values outlined earlier in my talk actually require much smaller units than the municipality itself. The neighbourhood or village is the ideal location for public debate and the nurturing of local leaders – whether through the Turkish system of mukhtars or via parish councils in the UK.

Where the municipality is well connected to the neighbourhood level, citizens are less likely to be apathetic or cynical, and more likely to exercise their democratic rights.

Working at the neighbourhood level can also help overcome the challenges for minorities or disadvantaged citizens, whose voices may be drowned out at the wider municipal level. It can be an ideal location to build confidence among these groups – to engage in local issues and consider standing as party candidates.

But municipalities need also to work upwards, relating to provincial, regional and national governments. Municipalities have to work within legal frameworks and resource flows established at higher levels.

Cultivating close relationships 'upwards' can be difficult where political allegiances are at odds - but is vital to prevent municipalities becoming isolated or missing out on opportunities.

Local governments have the potential to be custodians of republican values, protectors of constitutional expectations and norms.

They have a responsibility – often a burdensome one – to lobby higher levels of government for the benefit of their own citizens… but also to act as 'checks and balances' within the political system, exposing (where it is safe to do so) autocratic tendencies and corrupt practices.

The work of municipalities is also influenced by decisions at higher levels than national government. Municipalities have to work 'upwards' to meet their responsibilities to transnational bodies (like the EU or the UN) and international agreements - as in the case of climate change protocols, world health goals (as we saw with Covid) or migration policy (an area where Rabia and I have researched the necessity of multi-level governance in Turkey).

Indeed, transnational arrangements can only work if they themselves reach down to the level where public policy is actually implemented.

Working across vertical tiers of governance can help municipalities overcome capacity challenges - through accessing new funding packages, technical assistance, and learning networks.

3.2. Spheres

Overlaid across the tiers are different spheres of governance – public, private, and civil spheres (Figure 2).

Working across these three spheres of governance means that municipalities need to become adept at generating and managing horizontal as well as vertical relationships.

Fig 2. Different spheres of governance

Within the public sphere, municipalities can benefit from building horizontal linkages with other local governments - across their province, region or nation.

Facilitated by municipal associations, often supported by international grants and know-how, local government networks can transmit best practice and offer opportunities to innovate, pilot and evaluate new approaches to local democracy and public service delivery. (Rabia and I saw this in our research on local government approaches to migration in Turkey.)

Banding together can also help municipalities develop a stronger voice at the national (and international) level, and be more resilient to political and financial challenges.

In the UK, we have seen a bottom-up movement to develop Combined Authorities – regional collaborations of municipalities, which agree to work under a new, additional 'super mayor'. Combined authorities have the chance to negotiate a Devolution Deal, in which central government devolves additional powers and funding, subject to an annual monitoring of outcomes.
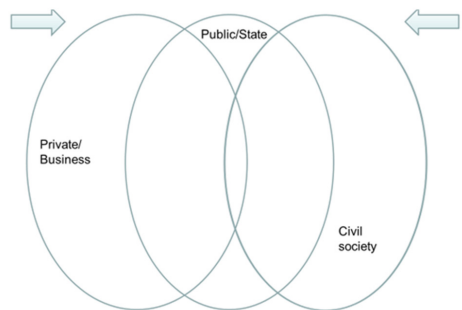
It is an unusual arrangement because it doesn't cover the whole country (municipalities aren't compelled to be involved) and because devolution deals vary in size and content across the UK.

Increasingly, municipalities also work in collaboration with businesses in the private sphere to deliver services on a contractual basis, or one-off projects in construction or economic development. Such arrangements mean that small municipalities can leverage the capacity and technical competence of large companies.

Challenges, arise, however in terms of guarding against corruption, avoiding service failure when companies go out of business, and protecting the role of the municipality itself as a local employer – one that is committed to high standards of welfare and fairness for workers.

UK municipalities have developed what we call a 'commissioning cycle', in which specialist officers start by assessing local needs, go on to design services, attract potential providers via tenders, and then monitor and evaluate service outcomes. This data, in turn, feeds into the next round of needs-assessment.

We have legislation in place – the Social Value Act (2013) – that requires municipalities to look beyond the financial cost of a contract to consider how the services they commission can improve the economic, social and environmental wellbeing of a community.

Some of the most productive relationships are located in the overlaps between spheres of governance, where the best of both sectors can be combined. A public-private partnership, for instance, can harness the capacity of a commercial business with the citizen-orientation, and democratic transparency, of a municipality.

But they carry risks too. The collapse of a company called Carillion was one of the UK's biggest corporate failures in decades. The outsourcer collapsed with £7bn of debts in 2018, resulting in 3,000 job losses and causing chaos across public sector projects, including schools, roads and prisons. It delayed the construction of two new hospitals, resulting in the projects running hundreds of millions of pounds over budget.

The third sphere in this web of governance relationships, is the civil sphere. Here there are opportunities for elected municipalities to partner with civil society organisations – faith groups, community associations, social movements, not-for-profit companies, charities and so on.

Republican values of 'active citizenship' require a citizenry that is mobilised and engaged, and has access to community leaders, who can act as interlocutors with elected politicians and public servants.

Building relationships with associations can help local governments better understand diverse voices and stave off community tensions… although elected politicians may have a tough role to play in arbitrating between demands and allocating resources.

Reflecting the republican value of 'practical politics' (Arendt), civil society has enormous capacity, in terms of designing and delivering local services – it has resources of local knowledge, time, energy and passion for a cause.

In the UK, we have a drive to 'co-produce' local services. Here, the users of public services work with local government professionals to develop services that are better matched with local needs and preferences.

Civil society can be an engine of innovation, developing new approaches that are outside normal professional and bureaucratic mindsets.

In my home city, we have a project aiming to improve care for people with dementia through co-production. Trained volunteers have visited service users to explore the challenges they face – for instance, in getting a diagnosis or accessing treatments. People with dementia, and those who care for them, have since been involved in setting up 'Dementia Connect' - a single point of contact for all relevant services.

As well as the resources of volunteering and collective activity, civil society associations often have access to financial grants and technical assistance via project bids to international agencies.

Municipalities can benefit from the extra capacity generated in these sorts of ventures. But they also need to support civil society associations in bidding for funds, and ensuring high standards of project management, staff employment and outcomes for citizens.

3.3. Tiers and spheres

We have seen that it isn't possible for municipalities to focus just on vertical or horizontal relationships. Tiers and spheres are laid on top of each another, adding further complexity to the municipal landscape. Service contracts may be with multinational companies – spanning tiers as well as spheres – and local civil society organisations may be part of international forums and networks.

Yes, my diagram looks a bit of a mess! – but messy governance is the reality… and negotiating the mess is the key challenge.

4. Relationships and Skills for Network Governance

So, to realise the democratic potential of local government, it's necessary for mayors and local public servants to negotiate across different types of organisations.

They need to build 'vertical' relationships across different tiers of activity... and mesh those with 'horizontal' relationships across different spheres (Figure 3).

To meet these challenges, municipal public servants need to develop a new repertoire of skills – skills that are a long way from the pen-pushing, following-orders, image of the archetypal bureaucrat.
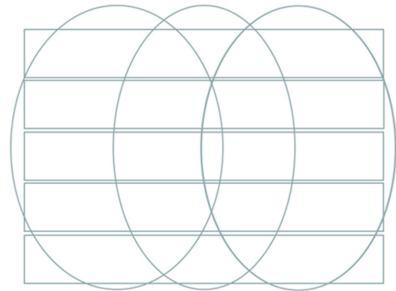
Fig 3. Tiers and spheres of governance

They need to be commercially aware and entrepreneurial, culturally sensitive, and skilled at negotiation and inspiring trust.

For elected politicians and mayors, their role becomes increasingly one of meta-governance – that is, coordinating interactions with (and between) public, private and civil actors.

Given their democratic mandate, this is not just a technical task. Elected politicians remain 'first among equals'. Their role is to provide democratic anchorage for a wide range of partnerships and collaborations.

In accordance with republican values, mayors need to design and regulate these new relationships in such a way as to ensure accountability, citizen engagement and the absence of corruption.

They need to demand comprehensive, informative and accessible accounts of all activities, ensuring that these are open to scrutiny and public dialogue.

Mayors and local politicians have key roles to play in activating partnerships, regulating their activities, and synthesising the activities of networks into a meaningful whole. This requires the development of innovative partnership structures and protocols.

New leadership skills are required too – the skills of the convenor and the reticulist (or relationship builder). These skills may be social, cultural and inter-personal as much as technical. And they are very different from those associated with old-fashioned 'command and control' politics!

Political parties, municipal associations, and municipalities themselves, need to invest in building these new skills and capacities.

In this way, local government will be enabled to fulfil its democratic potential within the new landscape of 'tiers' and 'spheres' of governance.

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Political Participation, Representation and Democracy in Local Governments

1. Introduction

Local governments, as public organizations outside of central governments, are the units of public administration that provide the closest service to citizens. The concept of local government is used together with the concepts of democracy, decentralization and governance (Ka-Der, 2021:10). The aim of local democracy is to ensure that local policies reflect the needs and preferences of local communities. Effective local democracy can facilitate public participation, improve service delivery, empower communities and improve development outcomes. Turkey, with its strong state tradition and over-centralized structure, has always been a country where decentralization and decentralization proposals have been viewed with suspicion. The majority of local services are provided by central government units. While in developed democracies the provision of local services is transferred from central to local governments, we observe that the over-centralized structure continues in Turkey (Keleş, 2020).

However, especially in a huge country like Turkey, geographical, human, and economic differences are inevitable. It is not possible to understand and manage these differences from a single center and to provide services according to local needs. As a matter of fact, the earthquakes of February 6, 2023 showed us the problems caused by excessive centralization and the concentration of all authority and power in one place. As a result of excessive centralization, local governments cannot take enough initiative and produce policies, especially in crises such as earthquakes, pandemics, and migration. For example, local governments, which have no say in international migration policies, provide services to the migrant population living in their regions,

which in some cases amounts to 20-25% of the local population, and receive no additional budget for this (Lowndes and Polat, 2021; Polat and Lowndes, 2022).

Having said that, excessive decentralization can lead to uneven and fragmented service delivery, especially where the powers granted to local governments exceed their capacity to deliver services. Decentralization can also create local oligarchies or local autocracy, where unaccountable powers are exercised without real democratic representation or accountability. However, it is still possible to establish mechanisms to prevent decentralized powers from being used in corrupt, partisan, or ineffective ways. In an environment where the powers of local governments are very limited, it becomes difficult to talk about local democracy. Local democracy cannot be realized with central appointees because in such a structure, accountability is upwards/ centralized rather than downwards/to the people.

Citizen participation in political processes is a sine qua non of democracy. One of the most important sources of legitimacy for local governments is that they provide opportunities for and facilitate political participation. In Turkey, local governments are mostly perceived as executive institutions. Citizens see municipalities primarily as institutions that build roads, collect garbage and deal with zoning. In such an environment where the culture of local democracy is weak, expectations from municipalities in terms of participation and representation remain insufficient.

2. Local Government and Democracy

Normative theories of local government argue that local government enhances the political education of citizens and contributes to an informed and vibrant society (Hill, 1974). Stoker (1994, 1996) argues that local government should be considered first and foremost as a field of political activity. Local government has a "democratic primacy" over central government because it "enables more people to participate in their own governance" (Sharpe, 1970:160). The regularity of local elections and the multiplicity of other methods of participation also contribute to this primacy. It gives voice and expression to the uniqueness of local communities (Wilson and Game, 2002:40). Empirical evidence strongly supports the normative proposition that local government facilitates and encourages participation (Parry et al. 1992; Verba et al. 1995).

Debates on political participation have long been ongoing from classical political theorists to modern political theorists (Rousseau, 1968; J.S. Mill, 1910; Pateman, 1970; Barber, 1984). Discussions of participation and democracy give a central place to local participation because of its educational role (J.S. Mill, 1910), its contribution to creating and sustaining a sense of community (Rousseau, 1968; De Tocqueville, 1946), and because it provides a strong sense of political efficacy (Almond and Verba,

1980). It is argued that participation is easier and more meaningful at the local level of government, which is more accessible and relevant to people's lives than national government (Phillips, 1994). Although participation in elections is lower at the local level than at the national level, there is evidence that people have more contact with politicians and officials at the local level (Parry et al., 1992).

Local governments are responsible for the provision of a range of services. However, they are also political institutions that derive their power from local elections. Within the parameters of national legislation and the political context, different emphasis can be placed on the role of local governments. Local governments can be seen only as a body that provides local services. Local governments can also be seen as political institutions for local self-governance that go beyond service delivery.

The main arguments defending local democracy and participation in the literature can be summarized as follows:

2.1. Proximity to the public

Local governments deal with issues that directly affect the daily lives of citizens, such as education, public safety, transportation, and zoning regulations. Having a say in these matters ensures that decisions are made in accordance with local needs and preferences.

Local governments enable citizens to actively participate in decision-making processes. This participation creates a sense of belonging and ownership, leading to stronger, more integrated societies. Local democracy provides a platform for citizens to be informed about local issues, candidates, and policies. This encourages a more informed and participatory electorate.

2.2. Accountability and transparency

In a local democracy, officials are more accessible and accountable to citizens. Citizens can attend public meetings, voice their concerns, and hold elected representatives directly accountable for their actions and decisions. In systems with different levels of government (local, regional, and national), local democracy serves as an important check and balance on higher levels of government. This ensures that decisions taken at a higher level are in line with the needs and preferences of the local population.

2.3. Customized solutions

Local governments can create policies and solutions according to the specific needs and characteristics of their communities. What works in one place may not work in another, so local democracy allows for this customization. Local governments can act as sites of experimentation. They can test policies, programs and approaches

and determine the best method or solution for their community. Successful local initiatives can then serve as models for other regions.

2.4. Variety of perspectives

Local governments often reflect the diversity of their communities in a way that larger, more centralized governments cannot. This diversity of perspectives can lead to more inclusive and representative decision-making. Local governments can respond quickly to rapidly evolving problems and changing circumstances. They can adapt policies and programs without overcoming the bureaucracy of large government bodies.

In sum, local democracy is vital for creating an inclusive system of governance that is responsive to the needs of local people. In this way, citizens can play a role in influencing both their own lives and the future of their communities.

3. Local Government and Representation

Does decentralization automatically bring democracy? For example, is political participation higher in local governments than at the central level? Can it be said that local governments are in a better position in terms of representation of different groups? In Turkey, we see that women's representation is lower at the local level. This contrasts with the literature and the situation in Western democracies. Various hypotheses can be put forward to explain this situation. For example, the fact that the achievements of Turkish modernization, especially secularism and gender equality, have not sufficiently penetrated the local level may be an explanatory reason.

A closer examination of women's participation in local governments reveals some interesting findings. One of the most basic indicators of women's representation in politics is the rate of women parliamentarians. One of the first indicators that is looked at to understand the situation regarding women's representation in any country is the rate of women parliamentarians. In Turkey, after the parliamentary elections in 2023, this ratio was 20%. In other words, 121 of the 600 deputies in the Turkish Grand National Assembly are women. Based on this ratio alone, it is expected that the representation of women in local governments should also be at least 20%. Indeed, in many democracies, women's participation is higher at the local level than at the national level. For example, in the United Kingdom, the rate of female representation in parliament is 34%, while in municipal councils it is 41%.

However, the rate of women mayors in Turkey remains at 3% (KA-DER, 2021b). Only 2 of the women mayors are metropolitan mayors. Similarly, when we analyze municipal council members, we see that only 10% of elected municipal council members in Turkey are women (KA-DER, 2021b). To reach more elected women representatives,

it is obvious that political parties need to nominate more women as candidates. According to the 2019 local elections, the Equality, Justice, Women's Platform reported that out of 8,263 mayoral candidates nominated by political parties, only 652, or 7.89%, were women (Sivil Sayfalar, 2019). This shows that one of the most important obstacles to women's representation is political party preferences.

The situation of further decline in participation from the national level to the local level also applies to mukhtars' offices. Out of more than 50,000 mukhtars in Turkey, only 2% are headed by women (KA-DER, 2021b). Moreover, when we look at their distribution, we see that metropolitan cities and some districts on the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts are at the forefront. There is not a single woman muhtar in Bitlis, Şanlıurfa, Muş and Sinop.

4. Conclusion

Despite very strong normative arguments on the relationship between local governments, representation, and democracy, we see that local governments in Turkey are quite inadequate, especially in terms of women's representation (KADER, 2021; TESEV, 2017). From a more positive perspective, we can also say that there is a huge potential here and with the right approach, women's representation at the local level can be significantly increased. In this context, in the run-up to the 2024 local elections, it is essential for political parties to create more inclusive candidate lists and develop a gender-sensitive approach to increase representation and participation at the local level.

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Prof. Dr. Sadiye Mine EDER
Boğaziçi University

Rethinking Democracy Through Everyday Life: The Role of Local Governments

First of all, I would like to thank the organizers for bringing us together by organizing such a conference and the Mesudiye people for hosting us in a such magnificent way. I would especially like to bow with respect in front of the magnificent women of Mesudiye and all their efforts. I am very honored and proud to be here representing one of the three generations of academics here from my own professors to my students.

My presentation has two separate sections. The first one is related to the concept of democracy, the tensions and problems inherent in the concept of democracy. Second theme is the question of what we can do the face of these problems and tensions do, what kind of politics should we produce and what is the role of the local government in this process.

Of course I don't know the answers to these questions, myself, but asking these questions and opening these topics for discussion is the first step to thinking together, to thinking creatively. That is why in this presentation you will find a list of questions and things we need to discuss rather than sharp and clear answers. It is just as important to be able bring up the issues that largely remain unspoken and under-discussed. In his opening speech, Prof. Ersin Kalaycıoğlu talked about the problems of democracy and the tensions within the theory of democracy. I will start from these tensions, take these tensions to the local level and proceed discussing both the problems and possible solutions that these democratic tensions generate at the local level.

I would like to mention two important academics/philosophers who have helped me in this quest. The first is Michael Oekeshott, a British thinker and political philosopher. He made me rethink the tensions and contradictions inherent in democracy. The second is Henri Lefebvre, who made me think about the politics of space. He is actually an urban sociologist, but he is an important thinker who asks questions such as what is a "space",

how do you politicize space, how should spatial politics be defined. When these two thinkers are considered together, we can generate very interesting questions regarding the implications of these democratic tensions on local governance. In fact, the question of what can be done in politics is not something we are directly interested in as political scientists. We rather identify problems and focus on the question of which problems need to be solved as a priority. The rest is often seen as the duty of politicians. However, in this conference, while we are generating new ideas, we are also looking for answers to the question "what can be done". Therefore, thinking about these two thinkers in connection can generate new questions and solutions.

Michael Oakeshott argues that there are inherent tensions and contradictions in the functioning of democracy. In a democracy there are two poles. On one pole, which he calls "politics of faith" (but this faith politics is not necessarily about religion) there is political participation, political mobilization, passion, vision, mobilizing the masses, creating excitement and motivation and encouraging them to speak out. Clearly, democracy cannot be separated from participation. But just as important as political participation is what he calls "politics of skepticism." Skeptical politics is seriously concerned about the failure of institutions and individuals to function properly and about the overpowering (aggrandizement of power) indifferent institutions. Therefore, it focuses on ensuring that institutions and those in power are transparent and accountable, and that power is not concentrated too much in one institution, person or center. The greatest help in this process is the rule of law, which operates above even the most powerful institutions and individuals. The rule of law not only prevents excessive centralization of political power, forcing institutions and individuals to be transparent and accountable in terms of how powers are exercised, but also establishes a mechanism of checks and balances by limiting the powers of all. All these are as important as participation in a well-functioning democracy.

But according to Oakeschott, in a well-functioning democracy there is tension between both poles and it is essential that this tension be managed. If the pendulum of democracy swings too much from one pole to the other, the functioning of democracy is jeopardized. That is to say, if you exaggerate the politics of faith and focus only on that pole, there is a danger of the emergence of "I have the participation behind me, everything I do is legitimate, I won the election, I won the majority, I can do whatever I want" syndrome, which means the domination of the majority and the prospect of suspension of individual rights and liberties. That is the risk of elimination of all accountability and transparency requirements at the other pole.

However, if the pendulum swings to the other pole by ignoring participation, it creates completely different problems. The rule of law may provide transparency, but there is a risk of a "tutelary" democracy. Even if the judiciary is completely independent

(which is actually very difficult, the risk of politicization of the judiciary is present in every government), it can still dominate participatory democracy. "We know what we are doing, this is what the rule of law requires" syndrome emerge and gradually the participatory dimension may be ignored. In short, in a functioning democracy, such tensions are inherent to the concept itself. When the pendulum swings too far to one of the two poles, democracy becomes hollow and meaningless.

How do we understand these tensions theoretically and find this balance in practice? Here, too, we need to understand Henri Lefebvre and the politics of space. If we think about this problem in terms of space, on a smaller scale, important questions emerge: how do we find this balance in local governance, how do we ensure transparency, accountability, rule of law on the one hand and participation on the other? Lefebvre says that in order to understand a space, we need to look at three different dimensions at the same time. The first dimension is the physical situation: bridges, buildings, (we have talked a bit about the architecture of the buildings here, that too is very important), hence the nature of physical space. How do you invest here? Of course the question of how resources are used is crucial. Think of Mesudiye's bridges, buildings, roads, the physical layout. The second dimension is the sociological structure of the space, because spaces are also social spaces at the same time; does the space allow people to socialize, what kind of encounters and discussions are there, are local problems discussed, do the owners of the space come together? The third and perhaps the most important dimension in Lefebvre is daily life, the rhythm of daily life, how do people use that space in their daily lives, what is and what is not possible in their daily lives?

Prof. Rabia Polat explained the importance of representation in local government very well. Through Michael Oakeshott and Lefebvre, I think that one of the most important responsibilities of local government is to touch the everyday lives of the people and to be able to balance the democratic tensions I described above and aim to solve these inherent tensions in democracy as they apply them to the everyday life. Bu how do we do this empirically and concretely at the local level? One example we talked about is the participatory budget. You need to solve the participation part: you need to ask to the stakeholders, you need to discuss, you need to decide what to prioritize by hearing the voices of the owners of the space in shaping the local budget. But the other pole, transparency and accountability, is just as important as participatory budgeting. You need to be transparent and accountable about where you are spending the budget, what you are prioritizing. As I mentioned earlier, this pole is just as important as participation.

Within this framework, it is actually possible to define a good local government. My suggestion is that the ideal local administration can be defined as one that best balances the tensions within democracy, that ensures participation on the one hand,

and transparency, accountability and fair sharing on the other, those that have solved the balancing problems. This concretely raises many questions about the politics of space at the local level: Are you able to touch the three dimensions of local space, namely physical infrastructure, sociological structure and daily life? Are we able to manage participation, transparency and accountability?

Unfortunately, our biggest problem in our contemporary politics is the challenge of "living together in peace and tranquility". How are to manage to live together with our differences in local politics? Do we stay away from the practice of not excluding people because they are not from us, not allowing them to use resources because they are not from us? Prof. Ersin Kalaycıoğlu underscored the unwritten norms in democracy. Treating everyone equally and fairly in the management of a space, the internalization of the norm that the law actually applies to everyone, the acceptance of this norm both by the people living together in the space and by those in power, becomes of utmost priority. To what extent can we internalize this as local governments?

Another problem is the decision-making processes themselves. Is there a belief in the practice of making decisions about spaces with a collective deliberation or not? The question of "who makes decisions about a given space and how" is very important. I conducted a study on the Tophane neighborhood. There was a serious conflict over the question of who owns the neighborhood. "Tophane is ours" was written on all the street walls, but of course it was not clear to whom the neighborhood really belonged, as this was highly contested with no conversation or effort to create common language or a commitment to living together. Then one of the most important questions to ask when managing a space is: Since we are in Mesudiye. Let me use this place as an example and phrase the question like this: Do the people who indicate "Mesudiye is mine, I represent Mesudiye" come together and engage in collective deliberation regarding local decisions or do we say, ‹brother, Mesudiye is mine and this place will be under my hegemony'?" This is a very important question, it is a question about the commitment to a culture of "living together" and how much we respect people who are different from us, people who think differently. It is also directly related to how we prioritize the sharing of public resources, what we spend and how we spend it. Social dialogue was also mentioned at this conference, but there is a very serious problem with this: polarization. Unfortunately, we live in a society where our political identity turns into a social identity. We have all our ideological divisions. We have emotional polarization. Our partisan identity is very, very important, and there is an incredible political intolerance. Maybe it's a very unpleasant subject, but this is real and we have a problem of marginalizing everyone who is different from us and who thinks differently. Not listening to others and not respecting others who think differently from you is a prevalent problem. Unfortunately, this kind of polarization makes it impossible to produce politics through space, to solve problems through dialogue and to prioritize

the public interest. The hegemonic political approach, "I am the majority, then I am the owner of the space, then what I say goes," becomes entrenched and serious tensions and fault lines are created.

Finally, there is also the problem of what we call post-truth politics, which involves prevalence of false "packaging." This post-truth and otherization is wide spread that we often lose our perception of reality. Therefore, local governments have a very important responsibility here: Can we stay away from the tension inherent in democracy, can we balance the two poles, can we stay away from sectarianism, partisanship and otherization? Can we create social solidarity? Can we really cross the bridges and focus on the question of how to ensure plurality of voices in a space, how to ensure an environment of discussion, how to ensure that the space is shared fairly? Can we establish the idea that there is no single owner of the space and that the space cannot be dominated by any group? We also talked about migrant issues in this conference which is directly related to the question of how do we learn to live together? Who owns this park, who will live in this park? Will we be able to freely discuss these very controversial issues openly? Will we be able to hear different voices? If we can't, if we don't talk and openly discuss these issues, we are heading in a very dangerous direction. Because the biggest danger is that everyone will be drawn to their own pole. If we concretely define this in terms of the politics of space, it is everyone retreating to their own quartier; it is a situation where we cannot touch each other at all.

For example, here in Mesudiye, I learned that the two sides of the river are very different from each other. Are those bridges being built or is everyone retreating to their own side? Retreating into our own shells is big concern. Istanbul is a bit like that. For example, a certain profile of people has all retreated to Kadıköy and Beşiktaş. Beyoğlu is still a bit mixed, but everyone lives in his or her own quartier. There are very few such mixed spaces left now and I think this is a very dangerous development, because dialogue is disappearing. You don't understand the other person, you don't have human contact, and when you start to marginalize and "package others", you are faced with a very serious problem.

The result of this kind of polarization also creates institutional decay. There is no need for collective deliberation and collective decision-making, top-down governance prevails. Most importantly, the concept of "public interest" disappears. Here, everyone starts to pursue their individual rents, and the mechanisms of making decisions together for the public good by using common sense disappear, which is very dangerous. This means the collapse of democracy at the micro level as well. In short, local governments have a very serious responsibility here. How do we create this culture of living together? How do we ensure social dialogue without resorting to violence, without trying to establish hegemony? Here I would like to give an example of what we experienced

at Boğaziçi University. Boğaziçi University, as a model of local democracy, a university that long governed itself through collective deliberation faced the problem of top-down appointment of an unwanted rector. Unfortunately, for nearly three years, we have been dealing with an administration that has been trying to govern us with a top-down approach. We have lost both poles of democracy, there is no participation, no transparency, accountability and no rule of law. But I believe that we can solve this by creating solidarity among ourselves and by objecting, because no one will silence our voices. We do not give up on our dream of creating a space that is different, free, but most importantly, a space based on multiple voices and collective decision-making, a real university space. As Ersin Kalaycıoğlu stated in his opening speech, democracy also requires a culture of objection. Therefore, we will continue to express our objections. Maybe then, despite all its tensions, we can establish real democracy both at the central and at the local level. Thank you very much again for inviting me.

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DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Mehmat Ali ÇALIŞKAN

Director of the Reform Institute

The Rise and Fall of Civil Society in 21st Century Turkey

The civil society session shed light on the role of civil society in Turkey and the world, discussing its significance for societies, politics, and the private sector in fostering effective democracy.

In Turkey, there are approximately 150,000 organizations organized as associations, foundations, cooperatives, and informal civic initiatives. Although it may be relatively smaller compared to Western societies where they can reach millions, Turkey possesses a fairly advanced civil society sector on a global scale. Research on civil society and civil society organizations reveals three interrelated characteristics:

The first is their potential to discover issues and topics. Civil initiatives are often the first to discover issues emerging in the social and environmental domains. The primary reason for this is their continuous presence in these two dynamic areas and their role as the initial witnesses to emerging issues and grievances. For example, individuals with disabilities become part of the agenda of those without disabilities because they highlight access problems stemming from their physical conditions. Women bring gender-related issues to the forefront because they express their inability to participate in employment, their vulnerability to male violence, and their unequal and unfair participation in representative mechanisms. The environmental and health damage caused by conventional agriculture, fossil fuel-based energy, and consumption-driven industrial life raises environmental and climate issues. We enter the discussion on the climate crisis as younger generations define themselves as climate victims. Beyond discovering issues/topics, the motivation to go beyond knowing them is also a characteristic of civil society.

The second characteristic brings civil society from the domain of knowledge production to the decision-making arena: agenda-setting. Civil society gains momentum by placing the discovered issues on the agenda. After identifying issues,

civil society strives to bring them into the decision-making world. This is done through awareness campaigns aimed at informing citizens about the identified issues. Civil society employs various communication tools and tries to make news, establish its own channels for information dissemination, and use communication and advocacy skills. The awareness of citizens transports civil society from the realm of knowledge to the realm of decision-making.

The third potential role of civil society, which identifies issues and brings them to the forefront, comes into play in the solution domain. Civil initiatives develop policy recommendations and implementation models for solving issues. They reveal the problem by making the grievances and dimensions of grievances visible on one hand, and on the other hand, they propose policy recommendations to remedy the grievances and develop implementation examples. NGOs generally demonstrate this through project development and performance in the implementation field. For instance, an NGO that documents its findings on food production processes in the field of ecology can transfer its expertise on the issue to the government's decision-making mechanism by conducting small-scale alternative ecological food production practices. The organization can recommend the expansion of the practice on a larger scale or advocate for it. Similarly, an NGO advocating for the right to native language development, if they achieve successful results in the development of children through small-scale native language education, can strengthen their advocacy with the successful results obtained in children's development. They can rationalize the proposal that it should be widely disseminated in decision-making circles. The potential to discover issues, make victims and grievances visible, develop policy recommendations and implementation models, differentiates civil society from academic knowledge production practices and the problem-solving scale of politics and the private sector. This differentiation makes civil society unique and effective to the extent that it differs from the above-mentioned areas.

Hande TURAN

Vice President of Vote and
Beyond Association

Turkey's Largest Civil Society Movement : Vote and Beyond in 2023 Elections

1. Mission and vision of Oy ve Ötesi (Vote and Beyond) Association

Since its establishment in 2014, Oy ve Ötesi (Vote and Beyond) Association has been carrying out projects for the establishment of participatory democracy in Turkey, bringing together people from different segments of society, with different beliefs and views, and working for a single purpose.

While we feel the responsibility of thousands of volunteers, the public and our mission, we prioritise our values of independence, integrity, **transparency** and protection of information above all else. We continue our integrative and **solution**-oriented work by prioritising the interests of the society in every project we are responsible for, without deviating from our behaviour in accordance with ethical rules. Each success and the experience gained by these successes will motivate us to work harder in the next project.

2. What has Oy ve Ötesi done so far?

As Oy ve Ötesi, we have contributed at various points of the election process in order to ensure that the elections are held in accordance with the legal legislation and transparency with the accumulation of election experiences we have taken part in since 2014. While calling voters to the polls, we supported those who will work at the polls with our observership trainings, and with T3, we supported the comparison of the result minutes with official data and thus the objection processes of political parties. From day one, the starting point and sole basis of Oy ve Ötesi was the Election Law No. 298 and the circulars and decisions of the Supreme Election Board, which regulates every step of the election process based on this law. Because we knew that

a truly impartial and transparent election process could only be possible if everyone, from political parties to voters, from High Election Board officials to observers, acted within the framework of these laws and circulars. We have always made this call to our volunteers; we have always emphasised this point in our trainings. We would especially like to emphasise that the fairness and transparency of elections concerns not only the election day but also the campaign process covering the entire election calendar. As a non-governmental organisation with a great deal of experience, we have always believed that in order for elections to be fair and transparent, the criteria framed by the law must be fulfilled both on election day and in the period before.

3. Oy ve Ötesi in the 2023 Elections

We started to prepare for a democratic election process worthy of the centenary of our Republic in 2022. However, on the morning of 6 February, we all woke up to a completely different Turkey. We supported the earthquake region to heal the wounds with all the volunteers and other NGOs that civil society connects with invisible threads.

In our country, where the average participation rate in elections is over 84%, we had set a target of 100,000 volunteers to observe the ballot boxes on behalf of political parties on election day with the communication campaign we planned, thinking that the most important new player in the 2023 elections will be Generation Z, who will vote for the first time in general elections.

The uncertainty regarding the participation of young people in the democratic process, who were most affected by the pandemic and then the earthquake disaster, was also striking in all the researches conducted.

With the spirit of unity and solidarity that comes with the losses and deep wounds caused by the earthquake, the Oy ve Ötesi Association was ready on 14 May with 71,936 volunteers and on 28 May with 175,685 volunteers to act as observers on behalf of political parties and to confirm the results of the elections. 65% of the volunteers are women and young people who volunteered for the first time.

In the second round elections held on 28 May, the highest number of minutes were entered from Istanbul, Izmir, Yalova, Eskişehir and Kocaeli, respectively.

The fewest number of minutes were received from Yozgat, Ardahan, Erzurum, Ağrı and Gümüşhane, respectively.

As it has been for 9 years, our biggest contribution to the 2023 elections was election trainings. Together with our volunteers from 80 provinces, members of political parties, citizens and hundreds of thousands of voters from all segments participated in our face-to-face and online trainings.

The common result of all the interviews we conducted with our volunteers in the field is that the reasons why volunteers increase their participation in the democratic process through Oy ve Ötesi are that it is equal to all political parties, that it does not work with and for any political party, and that its focus is solely and exclusively on the Election Law and the circulars and decisions of the Supreme Election Board, which regulates every step of the election process based on this law. Therefore, the contribution of transparency and impartiality to the process cannot be underestimated.

By integrating the developing technologies into our system, we read the election results from all over Turkey very quickly and shared them with the political parties.

In our country, where participating in the democratic process by voting is a real culture, we hope that citizens will take more ownership of the election process through political parties.

Source

https://oyveotesi.org/

Prof. Najet ZAMMOURI
Prime Vice President of the Tunisian
Human Rights League

How to Prevent the Backsliding of Democracy?

Tunisia under Dictatorship

Tunisia is often considered the cradle of the Arab Spring, a movement of protest and revolution that swept several countries in the Arab world from the end of 2010. This movement played an important role in the country's democratic transition and highlighted the importance of civil society in this process.

Before the Arab Spring, Tunisia was under the authoritarian regime of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, who had ruled the country for nearly 23 years. Growing discontent with political repression, corruption and lack of civil liberties has led to mass protests and mobilization of civil society. These protests eventually led to Ben Ali's flight in January 2011.

The Role of Civil Society in the Democratic Transition

After the fall of Ben Ali, Tunisia began a process of democratic transition. Free and fair elections were held, and a new constitution was adopted in 2014, establishing a democratic and pluralistic political system. Tunisia has also seen several rounds of legislative and presidential elections since then, further strengthening its democratic institutions.

Throughout this process, civil society organizations have played a crucial role, professional associations, human rights groups, feminist organizations and trade unions have helped shape policy debates, to defend fundamental rights and to monitor the actions of the government. They also played a role in civic education and political awareness of the population.

The role of civil society in the democratic transition in Tunisia has been crucial and essential as it has played a role of catalyst, defender of rights and safeguard

throughout the process of democratic transition. For example, it has contributed to:

1. Popular Mobilization: to express discontent with the authoritarian regime by organizing mass demonstrations and organized protest movements until the overthrow of President Ben Ali.

2. Political awareness and education: Civil society organizations have indeed played an important role in sensitizing and politically educating the population. They informed citizens about their rights, democratic processes and political issues, thus helping to strengthen citizen participation and political engagement.

3. Oversight and accountability: Civil society has been active in monitoring government institutions to ensure that they respect democratic principles and human rights. Civil society groups have denounced corruption, abuse of power and human rights violations, helping to maintain constant pressure on the authorities to act responsibly.

4. Defense of human rights: Human rights organizations have played a crucial role in documenting abuses and pushing for perpetrators to be held accountable. They also advocated for laws and policies that guarantee respect for fundamental rights, as well as the fight against all forms of violence against women.

5. Political Participation and lobbying: Civil society has actively participated in the processes of reform and the creation of new democratic institutions. Civil society groups have often been involved in the development of new laws and policies, helping to shape the political landscape of post-transition Tunisia.

6. Pluralism and dialogue: Civil society played a mediating role by encouraging dialogue and the peaceful resolution of conflicts between different political and social actors. It has helped create space for discussion and mutual understanding, which has been crucial in maintaining political and social stability.

Such is the example of the Tunisian Human Rights League (LTDH), which played a significant role in the democratic transition in Tunisia after the fall of the Ben Ali regime.

Indeed, it was one of the key organizations that participated in the mobilization of citizens against the authoritarian regime of Ben Ali. It has played a major role in organizing demonstrations and peaceful protests, helping to create popular pressure for change.

The LTDH has been a critical voice in denouncing the human rights violations committed by the Ben Ali regime. It has documented abuses, arbitrary detentions and acts of torture, helping to raise national and international awareness of the situation in Tunisia.

It advocated for freedom of expression and freedom of the press, key elements for a democratic society. It has worked to lift restrictions on freedom of expression and to ensure that citizens can exercise their fundamental rights.

It contributed to the political and civic education of citizens by organizing workshops, conferences and seminars on human rights and democratic principles. It encouraged the active participation of citizens in the political life of the country.

During the various elections that followed the fall of Ben Ali, the Tunisian human rights league played an observation role by monitoring the conduct of the polls to ensure that they took place in a free and fair manner. This contributed to enhancing the credibility of the electoral process.

The LTDH advocated for legal and institutional reforms to guarantee respect for human rights and the strengthening of the rule of law in Tunisia. It also advocated for the creation of independent institutions to monitor and protect human rights.

In 2013, it was involved in the national dialogue as a mediator and facilitator between different stakeholders. It has thus contributed to promoting the peaceful resolution of political conflicts and to encouraging mutual understanding between the various actors.

In short, the Tunisian Human Rights League has been a key player in Tunisia's democratic transition. its commitment to human rights, freedom and justice has contributed significantly to the consolidation of democratic values in the country. its contribution to easing tensions and avoiding violent conflicts was recognized by the Norwegian Nobel Committee, which awarded it the Nobel Peace Prize in 2015.

In sum, civil society in Tunisia has been a central pillar in the country's democratic transition. Its mobilization, sensitization, monitoring and advocacy efforts have helped shape the political landscape and consolidate the democratic gains made after the fall of the authoritarian regime.

However, despite the progress made, Tunisia also faced persistent challenges. The country has had to face economic problems, such as high unemployment, economic inequalities, the problem of migration which have fueled social discontent. In addition, political and social tensions have sometimes hampered the coherent implementation of democratic reforms.

On the political level Tunisia has known a series of governments and coalitions since the fall of the old regime. Political divisions and the multiplicity of political parties have sometimes hampered coherent decision-making and the implementation of essential reforms

Economic challenges, such as high unemployment and socio-economic inequalities, persist in Tunisia. Economic hardship can fuel social discontent and weaken support for democracy if citizens do not perceive an improvement in their living conditions. There are always groups of people who feel marginalized and underrepresented.

Threats of Democracy Regression

In July 2021, the current president known for his anti-corruption stance and his anti-establishment approach exercised unusual powers, including temporarily suspending Parliament, dismissing the Prime Minister, dissolving the High Council of the Judiciary which has sparked debates about the limits of his powers and the political direction of the country

Conclusion

Despite these challenges, it is important to note that Tunisia has shown remarkable resilience in its democratic transition. Civil society, institutions and the population have demonstrated their commitment to democracy and the rule of law. Collaboration between the different political and social actors, as well as the strengthening of democratic institutions, will be essential to overcome the challenges and consolidate democracy in Tunisia.

About Najet Zammouri

She is a Tunisian human rights activist since the 90's , fighting for the effective and total gender equality and the protection of the civil and political rights .Currently , the Prime Vice President of «La ligue Tunisienne des Droits de l'Homme « , an association which observes and defends human rights in Tunisia since 1976 , awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2015.

Necla YILMAZ
Head of Güzle Village Association

What is the Role of Village Associations in the Development of Mesudiye

Now, let's have the last speech all together. For two days you have been showing a great patience and devotion actually, because from beginning from the world we talked about the problems that we face in democracy and the raw material is the human being and we will complete it with the human beings. I was born in Mesudiye In 1970, why do I say that? Because this is the hometown of people and actually is … people on nature love the place that you were born. And we are here all together as the Mesudiye locals.

And yesterday in the opening speech, Oktay EKŞİ said that one day together with our mayor, we were looking at the vehicles at the side of the road and I was impressed by the story. And all the stories are in the same way. Why do they come to our hometown?

I asked. And with the mindset of collecting them and keeping them here, we held a meeting, and it was the emergence of the forum. It was the emergence of the democracy then. It was the idea.

And in the same way as Mesudiye people with same logic, with same soul, with the same soul, we are here because we were born in these lands. There are foundations, there are some roof associations, and those foundations are the smaller organizations of the NGOs, but they represent the villages how they were established years ago.

There are associations, of course there are umbrella associations. Associations are a small part of NGOs. But, as the president said, they are the organizations that represent the villages best. So how were they established? When I look at the stories and when I talk to people from the NGOs, I listened the same story years ago, 50 or 60 years ago. I see familiar faces here. By the way, there were people who took his suitcase in hand and went to his relative from the land where he was born to get a better education,

to live in better conditions and to earn better money, without knowing what will happen to them. And then those communities came together over time and created together social solidarity, which is actually very important to our society.

But before that, the most beautiful example of democracy is seen in the election of associations. Actually, it's really overlapping with the democracy. A person volunteers from the public and that person is elected by the public and now there is no expectation, financial expectation.

This is a total volunteering based. This is when for all the NGOs, by the way, I have experienced this, but when I say I, I am generalizing it. Because in Türkiye there are around 120 000 village associations and in Mesudiye there are more than 90 village associations. All were established with the same purpose and our activities are similar. As I said, the best election practices of democracy are carried out by associations.

Before that, headman elections dating back to the 18th century supported this. What are we doing? We become candidates on a voluntary basis, and a headman is elected for the local municipal, for the local administration, for the villages. We actually make the job of local governments much easier. We have all the complaints before they go to the local government. Everyone who does not have running water in front of their door, who has a knock under their car, or who has no electricity in their house, first reaches out to the headman, and then wherever they are, they reach out to you as the president of the association. I live in Istanbul, but I, along with the headman, am aware of everything that happens in the village. How do we contribute to the development of Mesudiye?

Actually, I did some research on what caught my attention the most. Mesudiye is one of the districts that gives the most importance to education... We provide student scholarships with the budgets we create in the pools on a voluntary basis. We care very much about the new generation. We even had a speaker from the new generation. In order to instill our traditions and culture to the new generation and to make them feel the love of home here, we turned our own village schools into cultural centers and we, as the village people, contributed to every expense of these. Of course, we also received help from outside, from our municipalities and the like. But we built cultural centers by creating most of the budget ourselves.

Plus, there are festivities going on. Nights and picnic organizations are organized in villages and in Istanbul to strengthen unity and solidarity, to promote and to be recognized. We are holding funerals again. As Mesudiye people, we have a lot to be proud of. Unfortunately, we do not even leave our dead bodies there, even if their families live in Istanbul. Our elders don't even make us pronounce this sentence. You know, I joke here sometimes… Let's take a place with a Bosphorus view. What are we doing in the village? It's deserted. I think I'll get bored there. My family will get angry.

We even take our dead bodies without leaving them in the big cities. We definitely bring our nation to our homeland. Because they want the burial there.

These are the things we can do. I mean, it's all we can do, but when I look at it, one of the best things we can do to this form of non-governmental organization is that we need to organize properly. Okay, we are a non-governmental organization, we raise money well. We provide this type of services well, but we need to internalize the logic of association and organization. First, we solve some of our problems within ourselves and then I describe that event as follows: You know, we will put our problem to the test, but we will discuss a lot and reap a lot. After that, we will take it to our local government with a spoon in our mouth and leave it there.

And my chair, I have such a problem. I have such a problem, but it is such a fragile egg that I cannot find a solution to it. "Can you help me here?" When I say this, we want to feel the presence of this local power behind us. Mr. Mayor is also here, we, as Mesudiye, are one of the hardest and slowest districts to receive service from this local power. You know, the logic of the one who is close to the fire gets warmer, Altınordu, Ünye and Fatsa have but never transferred to Mesudiye. I mean, the Ordu's streams also pass here, but we still have nothing. As far as I know, we are last in natural gas planning. And last one is the roads, we say "let's not complain" dear Prof.Aziz Ekşi, but the world complained, I was very impressed by something yesterday

I think the American speaker who attended via Zoom was Mr. I listened to Michael's translation and was very impressed. Actually, I was never going to talk about this issue, but I got strength from it, he said that the government should protect the water. Now my problem is of course water, my president looks me in the eye, I understand. Now I will look this way. It means that everywhere in the world there is this problem like us. He said; "We removed the grass in our gardens and planted something else to avoid watering. The speaker who spoke yesterday and connected via Zoom said so and said that the government should protect this.

I cannot understand this, I worked as a notary chief clerk for 30 years, I always believed that there was law and justice, but I was on this side of the table. When I got to that side, I realized that different things were happening here and in my association life for 2 and a half, 3 years. I'll fit it into 2 minutes. We have been struggling for 8 years to bring drinking water, I especially emphasize, from a plateau. We went to our presidents, the governor, many times, and what I don't understand is this, because I'm having a mental breakdown, please enlighten me. The State Water Autority says that you can allocate this water, and that institution goes and investigates. It measures flow. After a year's flow measurement, he says, yes, I will give you this many liters of this water. After that, we apply again, we ask the Pasture Commission, can we leave water here for animals to drink without disturbing the ecological balance? He says

yes, goes and the pasture commission does its inspection. And he says, yes, there is enough water for the number of animals we have here. He says we can give the rest to this village as drinking water. I don't understand why another organ of our state, namely the judiciary, decides to suspend the execution of my purchase of this water. We are meeting with the General Manager of State Water Autority. Such a decision should not be made, it says in the Official Gazette dated 1990, in accordance with its following article. This is really what I don't understand, I need help.

I think, we understand and know more or less the meaning of democracy here from this form of democracy. We talk about the problems, I think we can explain our troubles, but also the ones we cannot understand. We want someone who will understand us. My expectation from this forum is to truly listen to others, for others to listen to us and for our voices to be heard. We still have stabilized roads in our villages. We come from Istanbul. Our children are being told behind our backs not to go those roads. I mean, we love this country so much and we want to serve this country, I am speaking as all NGOs. Because almost all of the NGOs, 90%, have road problems and water problems. I'm talking to all my friends. We always talk about these problems with them. Either this shouldn't happen... I mean, we shouldn't do this in our country, you know, we shouldn't live in a legal system where the right loses but the wrong wins.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Rümeysa ÇAMDERELİ
Civil Pages

Inclusive Civil Society for a Democratic Turkey

One of the primary needs for effective democracy in Turkey and around the world is the empowerment of civil society. To achieve an effective civil society, it is imperative to make both the activities of civil society, including their interactions with each other, and activities directed towards civil society more inclusive.

This presentation provides a summary of both mechanisms and model examples directed towards civil society and policy recommendations for decision-makers to fulfill this necessity. Detailed content about example models can be found on the "Civil Pages" and "Meydanda" websites. Policy recommendations that can be examined in detail through the social media accounts of YADA Foundation can be summarized as follows:

1. **Freedom:** In order to increase the influence of civil society, comprehensive regulations should be made for freedom of expression and assembly.

2. **Reputation:** Civil society needs its reputation restored. Politics and decision-makers should engage with civil society without instrumentalizing it, emphasizing the civility of civil society and maintaining their distance.

3. **Accreditation:** The ambiguity in the answer to the question "Who do we call civil society?" should be resolved. An independent, impact-oriented accreditation system should be established for evaluations of institutions.

4. **Resources:** Civil society is under a financial burden from the beginning of its institutional existence due to existing legal obligations such as tax burdens. Bureaucratic processes in fundraising and resource management for civil society should be simplified.

5. **Participation and Collaboration:** Decision-makers need to take civil society and its recommendations into account in a comprehensive manner when

formulating policies. Procedures should be transparent, considering different political approaches and operating locally in various aspects.

6. **Standardization:** The approach of public institutions, especially the General Directorate of Relations with Civil Society and the General Directorate of Foundations, varies from one province to another. The relationship and operation between the public and civil society need to be standardized.

7. **Transparency:** An environment should be created where the state reports all its actions and savings in all areas and shares data collected about civil society transparently with the public.

8. **Visibility:** The equal utilization of all public dissemination resources, especially resources like public service announcements, by civil society should be encouraged.

9. **Self-Regulation:** Civil society views the state as an institution that oversees itself. However, oversight should be self-regulation, and civil society should be responsible and have a say in its own oversight.

10. **Voluntarism:** Civil society needs volunteers. To achieve this, both the restoration of the reputation of civil society and the promotion of active citizenship are necessary.

WORLD DEMOCRACY FORUM

WDF'2023

September 14-16, 2023

MESUDİYE - ORDU - TÜRKİYE

THE OUTPUTS AND DECLATATION OF THE WORLD DEMOCRACY FORUM

WDF'2023 OUTPUTS/HIGHLIGHTED TOPICS

The FIRST World Democracy Forum (DDF'2023) was held in MESUDİYE district of ORDU province in Turkey on 14-16 SEPTEMBER 2023.

Within the scope of the forum, 1 conference and 7 panels were held and papers were presented by 37 speakers from different countries. 29 of the speakers are from Turkey, 2 from the USA, 1 from Chile, 1 from United Kingdom, 1 from Tunisia, 1 from Ghana, 1 from India and 1 from Japan. Among the speakers, the rate of women was 41% and the rate of men was 59%; The rate of academics is 43% and the rate of NGO representatives is 35%.

This forum, which is open to the participation of everyone who is interested and everyone who participates has the right to speak, was watched face-to-face (offline) by 700 people and online by 140 people.

In the forum, the concept of democracy and its applications were evaluated from different perspectives such as current problems, participation and inclusiveness, local government and local life, business world , working life, civil society and ecology.

The problems, warnings and suggestions highlighted by the speakers in this forum which dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey and presented to the history of world democracy, are as follows:

• The world is going through a period in which the level of democracy is declining. The world democracy index, which was 5.52 in 2006, drops to 5.29 in 2022. Almost half of the world's population (54.8%) still lives in authoritarian or hybrid regimes. The proportion of free people decreases from 46.0% to 20.3% from 2006 to 2022. In other words, 8 out of 10 people live in a country where they are either partially free or not free.

• As democracy declines, negative developments are also experienced in economic, social and ecological terms. According to the reports of international expert organizations; the human development index is declining, climate change is knocking on our door, the living planet index is decreasing year by year, food security is not ensured, polarization is increasing and 6 out of 7 people are worried about their future.

• On the other hand, **the level of democracy** appears to be different in different parts of the world. The regions with the highest level of democracy are Western Europe, North America and Australia. The region where it is lowest is the Middle East and Africa. In South America, which ranks in the middle, authoritarian and democratic regimes coexist and there are transitions from one to the other.

- The low level of democracy in Africa is attributed to the after-effects of the colonial period and extreme poverty. As a way to overcome this obstacle, it has been suggested to create a system (fair trade certification) in which poor Africans will also receive a share from the added value created by the processing of raw materials (food, minerals, etc.) supplied from Africa.

- The period we live in requires us to remember what democracy is. The shortest and most common **definition of democracy** is "government of the people, by the people, for the people". Verification of this definition in practice depends on how much the public is involved or how influential they are in the decision-making processes that bind the society. This influence can be achieved through direct participation or through elected representatives. Opposition activities, which have the right to object to these decisions, are also a form of political participation.

- Although not perfect, democracy is also defined as "the regime in which human dignity is least damaged". In other words, human dignity can only be protected to the extent of democracy in society. At this point, it should not be forgotten that democracy is a system that is also open to regression as well as development. In order to maintain and develop the current level of democracy, the problems encountered need to be discussed and solutions should be found.

- **Globalization** is one of the main phenomena that prevents the development of democracy. By its nature, globalization relegates national economies and policies to the background. Trust in national authorities is decreasing. Indirectly, the impression is created that democracy, which is a national management system, does not work and instead of solving problems, it causes management weakness.

- **Populism** is emphasized as the most important current problem experienced by global democracy and defined as duplicitious contubernial assasin of democracy. Populism, which is seemingly perceived as democracy, actually divides society into two opposing groups: the people and the elites. Elites are shown as the source of the problem and an authoritarian, monist and non-pluralist system is proposed. The group of voters who do not go to the ballot box also facilitates the spread of populism.

- However, real democracy needs to be inclusive with a pluralistic approach. It is a fact that this ability, especially gender inequality, is a problem experienced worldwide, although it may differ in countries. For inclusive democracy, young people, like women, need to participate in decision-making processes.

- However, real democracy needs to be inclusive with a pluralistic approach. In this context, it is a fact that gender inequality, in particular, is a worldwide problem, although it differs from country to country. For inclusive democracy, young people, like women, need to participate in decision-making processes.

- One of the main pre-requirments for true democracy is **media freedom**. However, it seems that media freedom is not sufficient in most societies in the world. Media that is not free cannot be impartial, it can manipulate the reality and perceptions can prevail over the reality. Therefore, voters can be misled and democracy can turn into a different system.

- **Local governments** are important for the development of democracy. Because democracy actually starts from the local level and, direct democracy can only be implemented on small scales. In fact, local governments are often seen as implementers of central government policies and their potential to deepen democracy is ignored.

- **Non-governmental organizations** (NGO's) contribute to democratic life and social development by first discovering problems, then bringing them to the agenda, and then developing policy recommendations and implementation models. In order to increase this contribution, freedom of expression and assembly must be expanded, an independent accreditation system for civil society must be established, and bureaucratic processes in granting donations and resources must be facilitated.

- **Increasing social welfare** depends primarily on increasing investment, production, employment and innovation. Ensuring this is actually the duty of the entrepreneur, and its fulfillment is closely related to the level of democracy and the rule of law. Because innovative and contrary ideas cannot be expected to flourish in an environment where fundamental rights and freedoms are not guaranteed. Where there is no contradictory thought, there is no innovation. Therefore, in an environment where there is no democracy, the entrepreneur cannot see the future and does not consider investing.

- **The spread of social welfare** depends on the fair distribution of the created value. If employees do not have the right to freedom of association and collective bargaining, fair distribution cannot be achieved. According to 2023 data in Turkey, the unionization rate of workers is 14.8% and the rate of workers covered by collective bargaining agreements is 8.1%. While the rate of workers earning minimum wage is below 5% in Europe, it is around 50% in Turkey. Therefore, in order to ensure more democracy and people's sovereignty,

obstacles to employees' organization and pursuit of democratic rights must be removed.

- From an **ecological perspective**, greenhouse gas emissions and climate change are a close and very important threat to the future of humanity. Because; the amount of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere and the increase in temperature have begun to exceed danger limits. The share of China and the USA in greenhouse gases is around 45%. It is a common expectation of humanity that the 191 countries that were party to the 1915 Treaty of Paris, especially these two countries, fulfill their obligations regarding climate change.

- **Food insecurity** is another major problem that humanity has not yet been able to solve. While the number of people suffering from hunger in the world cannot be reduced below 800 million, the increasing number of obese people is approaching 800 million. Food security is expected to worsen with the impact of climate change. For this reason, fair distribution approaches need to be discussed as well as the transition to nature-friendly agriculture and food systems.

- Conscious citizens as well as country governments have a responsibility to make these changes happen.

WDF'2023 DECLARATION/CALL TO THE WORLD!

As a result of the DFF, which was a first and held on 14-16 SEPTEMBER 2023 in MESUDİYE district of ORDU province, it was found appropriate to make the following call to the Turkish and world public opinion:

ARE WE AWARE?...

The world is going through a period in which negative developments are experienced in economic, social and ecological terms, and it is clearly seen that these negative developments are related to the inadequacy or decline of democracy.

Therefore, we need democracy primarily for;
- preserving ecological balance and slowing down climate change by reducing greenhouse gas emissions,
- ensuring food security,
- increasing and spreading of prosperity
- decreasing polarization and improving dialogue,
- reducing anxiety and looking to future with confidence,
- ensuring the rule of law, and
- to live freely and humanely.

DO NOT FORGET!...

The way to a safer planet and a more beautiful future passes through more democracy. We want this to be known.

We expect all country governments in the world and all citizens from every country to heed this call from MESUDİYE, a small district of Anatolia.

We dedicate this first World Democracy Forum (WDF) to the 100th anniversary of Republic of Turkey and the history of world democracy.

Hoping to meet at the second world democracy forum...

PROF. DR. AZİZ EKŞİ
President of World Democracy Forum (WDF'2023)