

GLOBAL RELATIONS FORUM

Global Relations Forum (GRF) is an independent, nonpartisan membership association in Turkey founded in 2009 by Turkish leaders who have assumed prominent roles in international fora and have received international recognition for their efforts throughout their careers. The founding members include former secretaries of state, university presidents, central bank governors, ECHR justice and retired ambassadors as well as leading business leaders, scholars and artists.

GRF is committed to being a platform for engaging, informing and stimulating its members and all interested individuals in all matters related to international affairs and global issues.

GRF undertakes policy work on current global challenges ranging from energy to trade and from security to rule of law by launching Task Forces and publishing Policy Reports which synthesize the contributions of its members. In our Track-II Studies, GRF members work with distinguished counterparts from other countries such as the Russian Federation and India to contribute to foreign policy processes and public diplomacy. And in our international projects, GRF members convene with distinguished policy and industry leaders of the world to tackle international challenges that threaten the global order.

GRF invests also in communities of young thinkers as the main driver of its search for long-term thinking and resilient policy processes. The presumption is that young thinkers are better suited to this intellectual effort as they are less conditioned by current habits and paradigms of traditional thinking. With this vision, GRF has developed programs for young thinkers from its inception, including college-level students, and intellectually-committed, accomplished young professionals.

More detailed information about GRF is available on our website, www.gif.org.tr.

GRF YOUNG ACADEMICS PROGRAM 2019

The Young Academics Program brings together a select group of Turkish and international academics from a variety of disciplines with the intent to encourage and enable the mutual accessibility of academic research and policy thinking. The Program is carried out with the participation of young academics who are either in the last year of their doctoral studies or have completed their PhDs within the last three years.

The Young Academics Program aims to culminate in the preparation of a paper authored by the young academic. The paper is then published as part of the Policy Paper Series or the Analysis Paper Series. While both series are concerned with thoroughly analyzing a topic of interest, the former additionally includes policy recommendations.

With this program, GRF takes an important step to nourish Turkey's nascent policy community and to facilitate an informed encounter amongst bright thinkers from around the world.

The Program welcomes academics from a wide range of disciplines, and the papers published within its framework are written with a general audience in mind. The recommended length of the papers are approximately 15-20 pages. In return for their contributions, GRF presents an honorarium to the participants whose papers are published by the end of the program.

The GRF Young Academics Program consists of two meetings held in Istanbul.

First Stage Meeting: March 6-8, 2019

During the first meeting, all participants of the program come together to present their proposed paper topics to the rest of the group. A discussion follows each presentation. This stage allows the participants to clarify and improve their theses based on the feedback they receive from their peers.

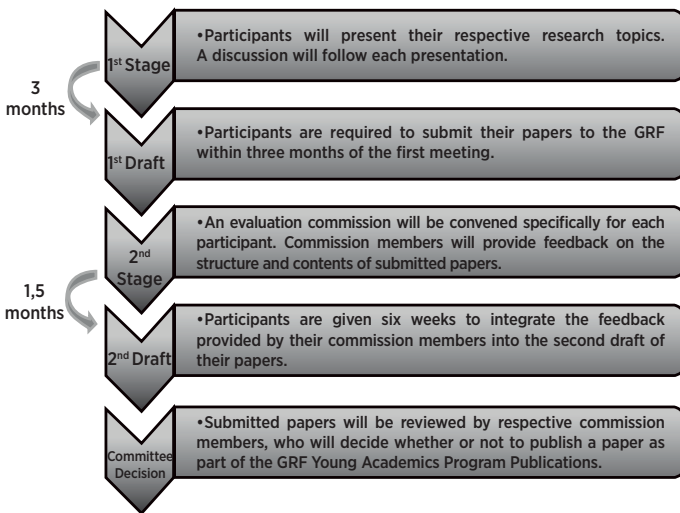
The participants are required to submit the first draft of their papers within three months of this meeting.

Second Stage Meeting: To be held separately for each participant

The second meeting is an opportunity for the participants to benefit from the expertise of GRF members who have assumed leading roles in academia, state institutions or the business world. At this stage, GRF convenes a different evaluation commission for each participant, tailored specifically for his/her research interests. These commissions ensure that the papers are well-suited to the interests and needs of the policy community.

When preparing the second draft of their papers, the participants are expected to integrate the feedback provided by their commission.

The deadline for submitting the final drafts is six weeks after the second stage meeting. The final drafts will then be sent to respective commissions for approval. The commission members have the final say in deciding whether or not to publish a paper as part of the Young Academics Program Publications.



Criteria for the Young Academics Program Publications

Successful papers are expected to fulfill the following criteria:

- Research topic should be unique and should have practical aspects;
- Presented data should be reliable and the analysis should be accurate;
- Flow of thought should be clear and structured;
- For policy papers, policy suggestions need to be balanced and applicable.

PARTICIPANTS

Cevat Giray Aksoy

Principal Economist, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)

Ph.D. in Economics, Royal Holloway College - University of London
&

Orkun Saka

Postdoctoral Research Fellow, London School of Economics

Ph.D. in Finance, Cass Business School - University of London

“Do financial crises have an effect on social trust?”

Ari Heistein

Senior Analyst, the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

“How the Arab Spring changed great power relations”

Choon Hwee Koh

Ph.D. Candidate in History, Yale University

“Applied History: Fighting Islamophobia and Teaching Media Literacy through History Lessons in Singapore”

Klaus Kotzé

Ph.D. in Rhetoric Studies, University of Cape Town

“New forms of extra-Western multilateralism: Possible scenarios for BRICS Plus”

Angélique Palle

Research Fellow, L'Institut de recherche stratégique de l'École militaire (IRSEM)

Ph.D. in Geography, University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

“The integration of the Turkish grid into the European power network, and its impact and implications for Turkey and the European power network”

Cem Tecimer

Ph.D. Candidate in Law, Harvard Law School

“Constitutional Law as the Law of Constitutional Interpretive Communities”

Asaf Tzachor

Ph.D. Candidate in Science and Technology Policy, University College London

"You Harvest What You Sow: Dependencies, Famine and other Catastrophic Risks of the Global Food System, and a Mitigation Strategy"

Aslı Unan

Ph.D. Candidate in Political Economy, King's College London

"The political economy of reform reversals"

Claire Yorke

Kissinger Postdoctoral Fellow, International Security Studies and the Jackson Institute for Global Affairs at Yale University

Ph.D. in International Relations, King's College London

"How empathy in international relations can help policy-makers better engage with the public and navigate contemporary challenges"

DO FINANCIAL CRISES HAVE AN EFFECT ON SOCIAL TRUST?

Cevat Giray Aksoy

Principal Economist, EBRD

Ph.D. in Economics, Royal Holloway College - University of London

Orkun Saka

Postdoctoral Research Fellow, London School of Economics

Ph.D. in Finance, Cass Business School - University of London

In this project, we ask the following question: “do financial crises have an effect on social trust?” More specifically, we will be investigating the causal relationship between crises and social trust both on the short- and long-term horizons. For this purpose, we will be integrating three main datasets: Gallup World Polls, IMF Financial Crises database and Claessens & Van Horen database on bank ownership.

The first one, Gallup World Polls, provides a unique survey-based dataset of individuals from more than 150 countries spanning from 2005 to 2017. The IMF database is one of the most commonly used datasets in the literature on banking crises and has recently been updated to include 165 countries over the last four decades. The Claessens & Van Horen database on bank ownership extracts information from Bankscope on individual banks located in each country and manually lists the country of origin for each one. The combination of these three comprehensive datasets will give us a uniquely global picture of social trust, financial crises and the cross-country banking linkages, the latter two of which we will be using to create an exogenous shock that measures countries' ex-ante exposure to financial distress. Furthermore, we will examine the heterogeneity in our results by focusing on socio-demographic characteristics at the individual level as well as country characteristics. In this respect, we will, for instance, check whether the loss of social trust following a financial crisis is concentrated more on the younger generations who are more likely to suffer from job losses or on the unemployed portion of the population who might find it harder to go back to the job market after a financial crisis. Hence, through such subsample checks, we aim to get a more nuanced picture on the mechanisms through which crises may influence social capital.

***Cevat Giray Aksoy** is a Principal Economist in the Office of the Chief Economist at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in London, a Research Fellow at London School of Economics and a Research Associate at IZA Institute of Labor Economics. His current work mainly focuses on applied labor economics with a strong focus on labor market inequalities, family formation, migration, and globalization. His research has been covered by local and international media outlets, including Bloomberg, Financial Times, Reuters, The Telegraph, The Times, Wall Street Journal and Washington Post, among others. He was also selected as a Leader of Tomorrow by The St. Gallen Foundation. In 2017, he completed his Ph.D. in Economics at University of London, Royal Holloway College.*



***Orkun Saka** is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). His research revolves around financial crises and political economy of finance. So far, he has worked on the measurement of financial contagion in the European sovereign debt markets, the lender-of-last-resort role of the European Central Bank, sovereign debt home bias in European banks' balance sheets, and the political lending cycles in developing countries. His research has been presented at many leading central banks around Europe including the Bank of England and the European Central Bank. He holds a Ph.D. in Finance from Cass Business School, City, University of London and an MSc (Finance) from the LSE. During Ph.D. studies, he also worked as a research consultant at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and was a visiting researcher at the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (CBRT).*

HOW THE ARAB SPRING CHANGED GREAT POWER RELATIONS

Ari Heistein

Senior Analyst, the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

This paper will explore the degree to which the Arab Spring transformed great power relations, focusing on how the events of 2011-2015 altered perceptions of national interests and the means to achieve them among decisionmakers in Washington and Moscow. It addresses the following key themes and topics:

1. The ability of hard power (military intervention) to influence events;
2. The promotion of human rights and democracy abroad;
3. The value and importance of alliances.

These subjects will be explored in terms of both American and Russian regional policies (i.e., the reality on the ground) as well as discourses among foreign policy elites (i.e., desired outcomes).

The significance of this research is two-fold. First, adopting a great-power perspective reveals how the Arab Spring shaped or influenced foreign policy discourses beyond the Middle East. While the Middle East remains a key focus of my presentation and the geographical locus of the Arab Spring, it is nonetheless useful – and vital – to consider how the “lessons learned” affected both Russian and US foreign policies and their interactions far beyond this regional context.

Secondly, on a practical level, this focus sheds light on aspects of foreign policy that might be useful to officials in Washington. In addition to addressing ongoing policy debates regarding the Middle East by elucidating and adding nuance to the shift in policy discourse that has taken place over the past eight years, this research has the potential to help moderate or more appropriately apply any misunderstood or “over-learned” lessons in this arena.

Ari Heistein is an independent consultant focusing on issues of policy and strategy. His current projects include assessing national security strategy for an Israeli think tank, advising on foreign policy issues, and conducting research for a regional technology enterprise. Previously, he was the Special Assistant to the Director at the Institute for National Security Studies in Israel and a Research Associate at the Council on Foreign



Relations in Washington, DC. He earned his BA from Princeton University and MA in Middle Eastern Studies from Tel Aviv University. His MA thesis focused on medieval interreligious polemics.

APPLIED HISTORY: FIGHTING ISLAMOPHOBIA AND TEACHING MEDIA LITERACY THROUGH HISTORY LESSONS IN SINGAPORE

Choon Hwee Koh

Ph.D. Candidate in History, Yale University

My policy paper, *Applied History: Fighting Islamophobia and Teaching Media Literacy through History Lessons in Singapore*, argues for the use of history to create a uniquely Singaporean script that bolsters its social compact, most pertinently, of racial and religious harmony.

In an age where ease of transnational mobility, politically-motivated reimagination of religious identities, and the rapid production of decentralized new media have reconfigured our self-conceptions, preferences, and even our imagined histories, how can states bolster their citizens' loyalty and sense of unity? While the westernizing impact of Southeast Asia's colonial past, as well as China's rise and its growing cultural influence on Southeast Asian society, have been amply discussed in Singapore, the Middle East and its power to generate new political identities and intense emotional loyalties have not. This became especially pertinent with the rise of ISIS and its spate of attacks in European and US cities, which generated alarm among Singaporeans – of which 20% are Muslim— both online and offline.

The Singapore government has adopted a vigorous interfaith approach to treat the divisive social effects of terrorist attacks. Yet, adopting an interfaith approach assumes that the “terrorist” problem is essentially a religious problem, and fails to convince people searching for real answers, who are then forced to turn to the internet and social media.

Using what I call “applied history” in schools and in public awareness campaigns achieves three goals:

1. Engages the immediate problem of Islamophobia;
2. Offers a method of teaching media literacy in the age of “fake news” and unregulated social media;
3. Reimagines the social compact in Singapore, that centres on racial and religious harmony, by cultivating a society sensitive to history and by fostering a uniquely Singaporean culture of responsibility of speech, as opposed to American and Western European emphases on freedom of speech.



Choon Hwee Koh is a Singaporean Ph.D. candidate at Yale University working on the eighteenth-century Ottoman post station system. She received her B.A. (Hons) from the National University of Singapore (NUS) in Philosophy and South Asian Studies in 2012, and her M.A. in Mamluk history from the American University of Beirut (AUB) in 2014. Her interest in public policy and education policy in Singapore began with the

wave of Islamophobia in the 2010s, as her friends, colleagues, and students approached her for answers and tools to help them understand the spate of terrorist attacks in the west and their relationship with Islam. Instead of focusing on Islam and religion, Choon Hwee presented a historical and geopolitical framework to help students and working adults in Singapore understand current events in the Middle East region. Since 2013, she has tested and refined her approach at over 20 secondary schools, junior colleges, and private business associations in Singapore, giving talks on media literacy and the Middle East. She has also briefly engaged the Ministry of Education in exploring possible curriculum reforms, and written op-eds in Singapore newspapers to engage the wider public.

NEW FORMS OF EXTRA-WESTERN MULTILATERALISM: POSSIBLE SCENARIOS FOR BRICS PLUS

Klaus Kotzé

Ph.D. in Rhetoric Studies, University of Cape Town

The global order is undergoing fundamental change, and new forms of multilateralism will increasingly restructure global governance and geopolitics. My Doctoral research finds BRICS to be a rhetorical body advancing global organizational reform; it is an extra-Western intergovernmental regime, a modality through which to appraise evolving power dynamics and an avenue that leads from the present international order to that which is to come.

My proposed paper for this program aims to explore the recent conception of BRICS Plus. BRICS Plus presents a possible incubation of an organisational order, transcending the focus on dominant systems through rhetoric and into expanded, participatory design; facilitating functional global integration modalities beyond its present five-member grouping. Its broader inclusivity will potentially provide for a more active and audacious design; from a regime in the broader network to embodying the network itself.

This study will employ rhetorical analysis to produce possible scenarios for the manifestation of BRICS Plus. To do so it will assess how BRICS constitutes and informs BRICS Plus through its official documentations (available in English). The paper will employ Keohane's (2014) concept of "contested multilateralism" to examine BRICS Plus' potential challenge to established multilateral institutions. Proposing possible scenarios of the form and approach it adopts will be illustrative. BRICS Plus presents an operation to legitimate power and leadership. It provides strategic tools for reaching beyond the foreign policies of states, to redefining collaborative, global norms.

This paper will contribute to exploring and discerning how emerging/re-emerging states are innovatively shaping global governance according to its interests, altering the international order towards increasingly state-centric intergovernmentalism; an emergent new form of networked sovereignty. Through this project I wish to provide further insight of the evolution of the emerging international order from an extra-Western orientation.

Klaus Kotzé is an imminent Doctoral graduate at the Centre for Rhetoric Studies, University of Cape Town. In his Doctoral dissertation, Klaus employs rhetorical analysis to explore the official strategic communications of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) intergovernmental regime. The study informs on BRICS' strategies of persuasion; showing that BRICS pursues legitimization and recognition for networked state-centrism by rhetorically incarnating the reformed multilateral international order.



Klaus' research interests include global power relations; national and international strategy (strategies of persuasion); new/extra-Western forms of multilateralism and emerging forms of multipolarity.

Klaus holds a BA (Social Dynamics) from Stellenbosch University and a BSocSci Honours (Political Communication) from the University of Cape Town. In 2014 Klaus completed his MA (Global Studies), cum laude, at the Global and European Studies Institute, Leipzig University. For his MA, which discussed China's charm offensive into the African mediasphere, he was awarded a European Commission (Erasmus Mundus) scholarship; he is also a recipient of the A W Mellon Foundation Doctoral scholarship. Before commencing his Doctorate Klaus was the Operations Officer at the FW de Klerk Foundation, a public advocacy advancing South Africa's Constitutional democracy and national accord.

THE INTEGRATION OF THE TURKISH GRID INTO THE EUROPEAN POWER NETWORK: IMPACT AND IMPLICATIONS FOR TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN POWER NETWORK

Angélique Palle

Research Fellow, L'Institut de recherche stratégique de l'École militaire (IRSEM)

Ph.D. in Geography, University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

My paper is on the integration of the Turkish grid into the European power network. In 2010, the European Network for Transmission System Operators for Electricity (ENTSO-E), that gathers representatives of all the transmission system operators (TSO) of the European power network, started testing the possibility of a network and market coupling of the Turkish power network with the European one. In 2015, a long-term agreement has been signed between the ENTSO-E and TEİAŞ, the Turkish TSO.

This interconnection implies quite a lot for both Turkey and the EU. But while most of the political attention is focused on the gas connection (TANAP, Blue Stream, Turkish Stream), power connection attracts a lot less the political eye and seems to stay at commercial and technical levels.

The paper aims to assess and map the impacts of this integration for Turkey and the 36 ENTSO-E countries and compare this somehow quiet and technical energy interconnection with the very political gas topic. The point here is to show how the electrical interconnection builds ties that might well be as important as the gas ones.



Angélique Pallé holds a Ph.D in geography from the University of Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, which she did on the integration of European power networks and the building of an Energy union. Angélique worked on the technical, political, normative and policy aspects of this project, within her university but also with other research teams from different academic fields, whom she visited for a few months each: political scientists at

the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies (UK) and engineers at the School of electrical and computer engineering of Cornell University (USA). Angélique completed her academic training with a postdoc at the French Institute of Petroleum and Renewable Energies (IFPEN) on the integration of variable energy sources into power networks and she is now a research fellow at the Research Strategic Institute (IRSEM), where she works on both energy and strategic materials aspects.

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AS THE LAW OF CONSTITUTIONAL INTERPRETIVE COMMUNITIES

Cem Tecimer

Ph.D. Candidate in Law, Harvard Law School

Constitutional law cannot be reduced to constitutional text, although text forms an integral part. Even so, text requires interpretation. Interpretation, in turn, necessitates actors tasked with generating constitutional meaning. I will refer to these actors collectively and call them members of a constitutional interpretive community. Constitutional interpretive communities are composed of people and institutions that roughly share the same basic normative commitments (eg “free speech is a desirable good”) and that are more or less of the same cultural and economic background.

Constitutional interpretive communities generate constitutional meaning by explicating constitutional text, especially when it is considered to be vague and unhelpful. Instances where there is reasonable contestation over a constitutional meaning demonstrate more clearly the work of constitutional interpretive communities as the makers of constitutional law: where constitutional meaning is reasonably contested, multiple constructions of constitutional text are possible and within the confines of acceptable constitutional argument. What determines the widely accepted constitutional meaning generated after contestation is the consensus or the considerable agreement that emerges in any given constitutional interpretive community.

Then, given that most crucial issues of constitutional law depend on interpreting relatively vague constitutional stipulations that could be construed to mean multiple and potentially opposing things, constitutional law is essentially the consensus or near-consensus arrived at by constitutional interpretive communities.

Viewing constitutional law as such has several implications. First, it dispenses with the orthodox narrative that constitutional law is a set of rules and principles that should be clear to all (or at least clear to the legally educated). On the contrary, constitutional law thrives on contestation over meaning and is an argumentative practice. Second, constitutional law is not fixed: as the consensuses formed by constitutional interpretive

communities shift and change over time, so does constitutional law. Third and relatedly, viewing constitutional law as the law of communities may help explain the current constitutional movements observed in polities thought be moving forward in an authoritarian direction and may help explain why polities with supposedly “liberal and democratic” constitutions are experiencing drifts and “constitutional crises.”



Cem Tecimer studied law at Koç University (Istanbul) and completed his Master of Laws (LL.M.) at Harvard Law School as a Fulbright Scholar. Currently, he is a second-year doctoral candidate in law at Harvard Law School. His primary areas of research include comparative constitutional law and democratization. Cem has published in the International Journal of Constitutional Law (Oxford). He is a member of the New York State Bar.

YOU HARVEST WHAT YOU SOW: DEPENDENCIES, FAMINE AND OTHER CATASTROPHIC RISKS OF THE GLOBAL FOOD SYSTEM, AND A MITIGATION STRATEGY

Asaf Tzachor

Ph.D. Candidate in Science and Technology Policy, University College London

It is a tragic irony that one of the harbingers and hallmarks of modern civilization may bring about its demise: the system of global agriculture. The quest and current configuration of the global food production and trade system to deliver food security results already in deforestation of unprecedented scale, in climate change, in the exhaustion of ecosystem services, biodiversity and habitat loss, and in the collapse of fisheries.

From a socioeconomic perspective, the organization of agriculture as a “global system” of trade and commerce in cash crops breeds asymmetries, distortions and anguish. Currently, global food security – the provision of sufficient, safe and nutritious food for all people, at all times – hinges on international trade of just three staple crops; wheat, maize and rice which, together, account for 60 percent of the global caloric intake. These crops cannot be cultivated across all geographies: they require certain climatic conditions and fertile soils. Some states are therefore entirely dependent on others to provide food security for their people.

Such international dependencies also inspire land grabbing of spectacular proportions. China, for illustration, with 20 percent of the world’s population but only nine percent of the world’s arable land and just six percent of the world’s fresh water, purchased 250,000 hectares of land across Africa to feed its own people.

In the interim, the global food system fails on its most basic promise: to prevent shortage and starvation. In 2016, the Food and Agricultural Organization registered 815 million people, or 10.7 percent of the world population, suffering from chronic undernourishment.

Since most countries are locked-in in the global agricultural system, few other topics than food security present a challenge that threaten the international order to such an extent.

This paper will present the global food security challenge in its non-linear complexity, highlighting the agricultural system’s core constraints and vital vulnerabilities. It will discuss how the food system manufactures dangerous dependencies, and engenders a host of catastrophic risks; ecological, social and economic. It will then assess and analyze alternative

configurations to the current system design, focusing, primarily, on the viability of advanced, decentralized, food production systems. From the perspective of a sovereign national state (any state), the paper will examine what measures can be taken to cut agricultural dependencies, curtail food insecurity and mitigate ecological risks.

Asaf Tzachor is the incoming Lead Researcher in the Food Security and Global Catastrophic Risks Project in Cambridge University's Center for the Study of Existential Risk, where he also undertakes his post-doctoral studies. He completed his doctoral work on socio-technical transitions in monocultures in the Department of Science, Technology, Engineering and Public Policy (STePP) at University College London (UCL). He is a



Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. Asaf was a Research Scholar at Columbia University in the City of New York. He studied Environmental Sciences at Balliol College, Oxford University, and was a member of the Weidenfeld-Hoffmann Scholarships and Leadership Program in Oxford.

Asaf was Head of Strategy and Sustainability in the Ministry of Environment (Israel). He was chosen by the Office of Angela Merkel, the Chancellor of Germany, to serve on a cohort of 30 foreign advisors on Economic, Ecological and Social Transformation Processes. He advised the Government of Finland on capital governance. He was one of 30 global experts who were invited to lead the OECD's flagship initiative "Innovating the Public-Sector." Forbes magazine described him "one of Israel's top thinkers on sustainability." Asaf was elected one of 100 Global Leaders of Tomorrow by the St. Gallen Symposium in Switzerland. His work deals with sustainability sciences, sectoral transitions, technology and innovation. He conducted field studies in Japan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Jamaica, Costa Rica, Texas, Canada, and Iceland.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF REFORM REVERSALS

Ash Unan

Ph.D. Candidate in Political Economy, King's College London

Recent research suggests that while specific policies may not be detrimental to the economy, an increase in the variance of policies can generate grave economic inefficiencies (Fatas and Mihov, 2013). Despite evidence on the welfare implications of volatile policy-making, the distinction of policy volatility from functional forms of policy change and causal mechanisms leading to policy volatility remain obscure. What generates short and long-term policy volatility? What separates policy volatility from functional forms of policy change? Why and when do politicians backtrack on policy reforms, despite the effort put into their enforcement? This paper will explore these questions by working through (i) a formal model on policy volatility, (ii) an empirical model on legislators' policy productivity in the US and (iii) an empirical model on the mechanisms of policy-making in Turkey.

The formal model will investigate the circumstances under which volatile policy-making occurs, and demonstrate that the level of ideological polarization, uncertainty over the preferences of the electorate, and the presence of upcoming elections generate volatility in policy-making. Ideological polarization appears to be the main driver of volatility: Extreme ideological polarization leads an incumbent to implement policies far-away from her ideal point in the short-run, which she reverses in the long-run. Additionally, the heterogeneity of voter preferences and the existence of upcoming elections alter the policy-making calculus of the incumbents.

For the GRF Young Academics Program, I aim to combine my research on policy volatility, political polarization and electorate heterogeneity with policy-making data from Turkey, and transform my macro-level theoretical and empirical findings to specific policy recommendations that have potential welfare implications. By distinguishing functional forms of policy reversals from volatile policy-making resulting from political alternation, polarization and electorate heterogeneity, this paper intends to differentiate reversibility as a political tool from reversibility as a corrective tool for policy-makers.



Ash Unan is a Ph.D. Candidate in Political Economy at King's College London. Her work lies at the intersection of political economy and public policy. In her research, she uses formal game-theoretical modeling and econometrics applications. She is the recipient of King's College London Quantitative Political Economy scholarship. Previous to King's, Ash carried out research at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies and Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals. She holds a master's degree in Political Science from Sabanci University and a bachelor's degree in Political Science and Public Administration from Middle East Technical University. Ash is a research assistant for the Centre for the Governance of Change at IE University in Madrid and she teaches Microeconomics and Research Methods at King's College London.

HOW EMPATHY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CAN HELP POLICY-MAKERS BETTER ENGAGE WITH THE PUBLIC AND NAVIGATE CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

Claire Yorke

Kissinger Postdoctoral Fellow, International Security Studies and the Jackson Institute for Global Affairs at Yale University

Ph.D. in International Relations, King's College London

This paper will analyze and articulate how the role of empathy in international relations can help policy-makers to better understand and engage with the public, and navigate contemporary challenges. Empathy is defined as an attempt to understand the experiences, feelings, and perspectives of another. It is a process of projected identification and efforts to perceive the way in which another sees themselves. It is connected with emotions, and the need to understand the way they inform how people engage with and interpret the world. The paper will seek to demonstrate the utility of empathy and emotions in a general sense, and will use case studies to illustrate their practical applications.

Empathy is a timely concept. Many countries, including the US and EU member states, have experienced a growth in populism and identity politics. A rise in far-right groups, extremist views, and anti-Muslim and racist sentiments point to divisions and tensions within societies that suggest people are facing difficulties in understanding and engaging with others. These shifts suggest a need for a more nuanced understanding among policy-makers of the human nature of these dynamics and their implications for security, cohesion, and the general prosperity of societies.

Empathy and emotions are integral and yet underappreciated dimensions of international relations and foreign policy. Far from being signs of weakness, they can be strategic and political assets that can help policy-makers and politicians engage and connect with people more effectively and gain greater insights and understanding of the nature of current challenges and how people are experiencing them. Despite growing interest in the role and value of empathy in politics and public life, and a pressing need to find new solutions to address contemporary problems, there is insufficient understanding of what empathy looks like in practice. This research addresses this gap. It is designed to speak simultaneously to academia, policy-making, and public debate.

Claire Yorke is a Henry A. Kissinger Postdoctoral Fellow at International Security Studies and the Jackson Institute for Global Affairs at Yale University. Her research explores the role and limitations of empathy and emotions in international affairs and diplomacy. In her thesis and book project, she uses archival materials to analyze the transformation of America's diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of



China during the Nixon Administration through this lens of empathy and emotion. More broadly, her research interests include the conduct and theory of international relations, grand strategy, international security, conflict resolution, negotiations, and literature. She received her Ph.D. in International Relations from the Department of War Studies, King's College London, and has a Masters from the University of Exeter, and a BA from Lancaster University, all in the UK. Prior to her Ph.D., Claire worked as Program Manager of the International Security Research Department at Chatham House and as a Parliamentary Researcher to a frontbench politician in the Houses of Parliament. She is a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Brent Scowcroft Center for International Security at the Atlantic Council in Washington DC.

GRF YOUNG ACADEMICS PROGRAM PUBLICATIONS

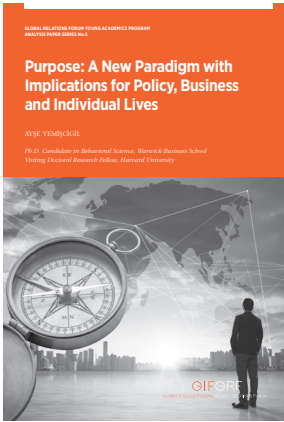
The *GRF Young Academics Program Publications* consist of policy and analysis paper series written by the participants of the Young Academics Program. While both series are concerned with thoroughly analyzing a topic of interest, policy papers additionally propose policy recommendations.

The Young Academics Program and its publications are directed by Burcu Baran Türem, GRF Director of Policy Communities.

GRF Program Director Selin Uğurtaş is the editor of the series.

For further information, please contact GRF at info@gif.org.tr.

Analysis Paper Series



No: 5

"Purpose: A New Paradigm with Implications for Policy, Business and Individual Lives"
by Ayşe Yemişçigil

Ph.D. Candidate in Behavioral Science,
Warwick Business School

Visiting Doctoral Research Fellow, Harvard
University

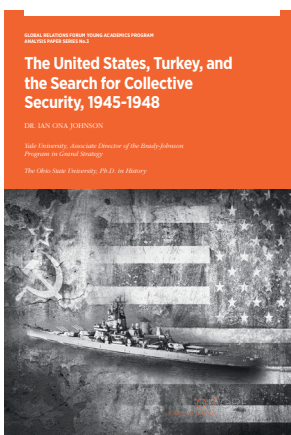


No: 4

"Scenarios for the EU's Future and Their Implications for Turkey"
by Dr. Ole Frahm

Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Ph.D. in
Political Science

University of St. Gallen, Postdoctoral Researcher

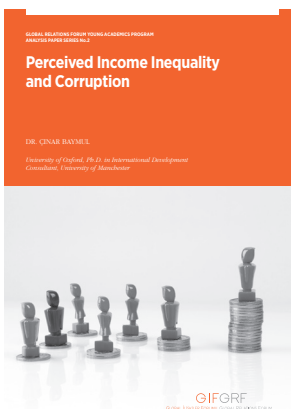


No: 3

"The United States, Turkey, and the Search for Collective Security, 1945-1948"
by Dr. Ian Ona Johnson

The Ohio State University, Ph.D. in History

Yale University, Associate Director of the Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy

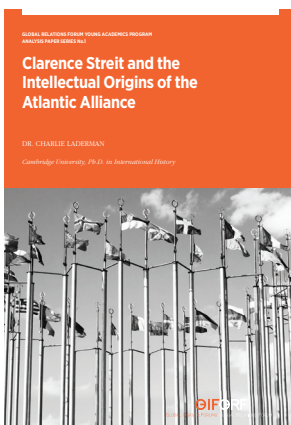


No: 2

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