

## 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](http://www.gif.org.tr).

# GRF YOUNG ACADEMICS PROGRAM 2021

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 currently pursuing 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 or covers costs of travel and accommodation for two meetings in Istanbul.

The GRF Young Academics Program consists of two meetings.

## **First Stage Meeting: November 19-21, 2021**

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.

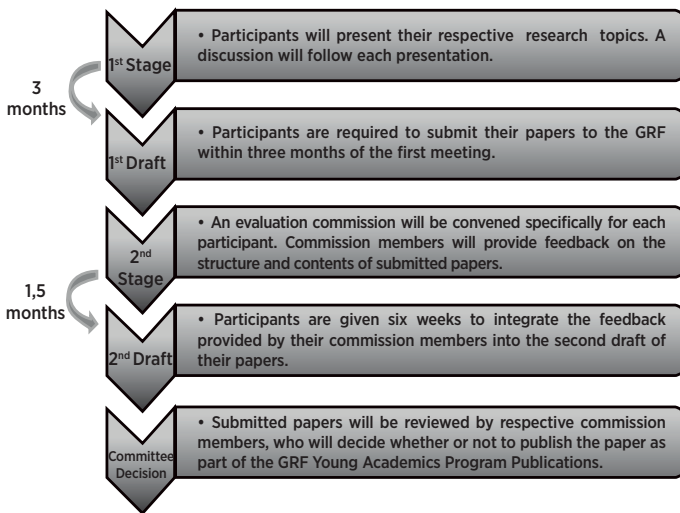
The participants are required to submit the first draft of their papers within three months of this meeting.

## **Second Stage Meeting: To be held separately for each participant (online or in Istanbul)**

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

## **Stephen Awoyemi**

Ph.D. Candidate in Environmental Sciences and Policy, Central European University (CEU)

*“Fostering Pro-Conservation Behavior on the Rugged Terrain of Cultural Impediments to Saving Biodiversity, Globally”*

## **Kerem Çelikboya**

Ph.D. in Law, Galatasaray University

*“Enhancing Creditor Protection through Solvency Test”*

## **İpek Çınar**

Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, University of Chicago

*“Beyond ‘mere words’: Rhetorical Stratagems of Democratic Backsliders”*

## **Efe Çötelioglu**

Ph.D. in Finance, Swiss Finance Institute

*“Do Mutual Funds and ETFs Affect the Commonality in Liquidity of Corporate Bonds?”*

## **Remi Daniel**

Ph.D. Candidate in International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

*“On Asymmetry, Realignment, and Regional Shifts: The Last Ten Years of the Turkish-Israeli Relations in Perspective”*

## **Fatin Reşat Durukan**

Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, University of Paris Panthéon Assas

*“Climate Lobbying as an Action to Strengthen Relations between the EU and Turkey”*

## **Tuğrul Özdemir**

Postdoctoral Neuroscientist, University of Oxford

*“The Neurobiology of Cognitive Rigidity and Irrational Decisions, and its Implications in Policy Circles”*

**Ogeday Rodop**

Ph.D. Candidate in Materials Science and Nano Engineering, Sabancı University

*“Towards Sustainable Food Production: Integrated Technologies and Policy Recommendations”*

**Emily Whalen**

Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Texas at Austin

*“Twilight States: Civil War and the Transformation of the State, 1980-2000”*

# FOSTERING PRO-CONSERVATION BEHAVIOR ON THE RUGGED TERRAIN OF CULTURAL IMPEDIMENTS TO SAVING BIODIVERSITY, GLOBALLY

**Stephen Awoyemi**

*Ph.D. Candidate in Environmental Sciences and Policy, Central European University (CEU)*

Biodiversity is under enormous pressure from illegal wildlife trade (IWT). Apart from economic factors, culturally motivated behaviors such as belief-based use of wildlife also drive the IWT. Belief-based use of wildlife has been reported in Africa, South Asia, and South America. Other cultural practices like prayer animal release (mercy release), a Buddhist practice that involves the release of captive animals back into the wild to gain good karma, are widespread in Asia and occur in the USA, Canada, UK, Europe, and Australia. Overall, these practices have been reported to be associated with potential risks to human health due to disease transmission and the spread of pandemics, population depletion of target species, loss of ecosystem services, etc.

This policy paper will discuss the context and importance of the problem of culturally motivated behaviors that drive the IWT. Three associated policy options in addressing the problem will be analyzed: regulatory enforcement, captive breeding, and behavioral change interventions. These will be followed by policy recommendations based on the option with the greatest utility as a policy choice to engender conservation success vis-à-vis cultural impediments.

*Stephen Awoyemi is a final year Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy, Central European University (CEU), Vienna, Austria. His doctoral research focuses on how sociological theory can help explain and solve the conservation problem of trade in vulture parts for belief-based use in Nigeria. He holds a master's degree in Conservation Leadership from the University of Cambridge and currently serves as the vice chair of the University of Cambridge Conservation Leadership Alumni Network Council. His research interests broadly include conservation social science, conservation policy, religion and conservation.*



*Before starting this Ph.D. program, Stephen worked with the Nigerian Conservation Foundation, the foremost conservation organization in Nigeria as Conservation Policy and Campaign Officer/Head of Abuja Office and has been a longtime volunteer with the Society for Conservation Biology (SCB). He served as President of two groups (Africa Section and Religion and Conservation Biology Working Group) concurrently, within the SCB, from 2015-2017. In September 2020, Stephen was awarded the CEU Presidential Scholar Award for academic excellence and leadership proficiency.*

# ENHANCING CREDITOR PROTECTION THROUGH SOLVENCY TEST

**Dr. Kerem Çelikboya**

*Assistant Professor of Law, Istanbul Bilgi University*

*Ph.D. in Law, Galatasaray University*

In a well-functioning market, companies' ability to pay their debts is crucial. One of the purposes of company law is to ensure that a company's ability to pay is not compromised by the distributions of the company's assets to its shareholders. Legal norms limiting such distributions play a crucial part in balancing the advantages of the principle of limited liability with the possible risks that the creditors are facing.

Such legal norms are applied depending on the financial position of the company. Most legal systems, including Turkey's, adopt rules which require maintenance of restricted equity comprising the capital of the company and legally required reserve funds. Provided that the company has assets exceeding the total amount of liabilities and restricted equity, this surplus amount can be distributed to shareholders. As this set of rules places the balance sheet in the heart of the legality of the distributions, the system is referred to as the "balance sheet test". The balance sheet test is generally considered to be the standard model in terms of limitations on distribution.

However, there are several grounds for questioning the efficacy of the balance sheet test. Firstly, the balance sheet test system is inherently backward-looking, as the balance-sheet values might not represent the current value of a company's assets, and non-realized profits that are reasonably expected to occur in the future are excluded in determining a company's capacity to make distributions. Secondly, the balance sheet ignores the nature of the assets and the solvency of a company which indicates the company's ability to pay its debts on time without liquidation of its assets.

This paper will question whether the balance sheet test provides adequate protection for creditors, or whether the law should focus more on the "solvency" of a company, which indicates its actual ability of payment on the due date.



*Kerem Çelikboya is an assistant professor at İstanbul Bilgi University Commercial Law Department where he has been working since 2011. Kerem graduated from Galatasaray University Faculty of Law in 2010. He completed his LLM degree with his thesis on “Transfer of Commercial Enterprise” at the same institution. In his doctoral studies, Kerem focused on company law and concluded his Ph.D. degree with his thesis on “Shareholders’ Right to Dividend in Joint Stock Companies” in 2020. Kerem received a scholarship from Max Planck Institute on Comparative and International Private Law-Hamburg for his academic visit at the Institute.*



# BEYOND ‘MERE WORDS’: RHETORICAL STRATAGEMS OF DEMOCRATIC BACKSLIDERS

**İpek Çınar**

*Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, University of Chicago*

In the twenty-first century, democracies are most often weakened, and even die, not by coups but by manipulation from within by democratically-elected officials. Democratic backsliders are elected leaders who come into office through democratic means but then consolidate their power while proceeding to undermine democratic institutions without overtly violating the law. Despite their undermining of the very democratic institutions that put them in power, many democratic backsliders around the world continue to command significant electoral support. However, their degrading of democracy and elections run against the wishes of most people who, whether they live in a democracy or autocracy, report that they prefer to live in a democratic country. How do democratic backsliders maintain mass support from the electorate?

In my paper, I propose to study political rhetoric as one important site where one can identify empirical underpinnings of voter support. Rhetoric should not be minimized to mere-words; it is a “powerful tool” that is capable of persuading people as well as eliciting strategized emotional appeals. In the words of Gorgias, a notable Athenian sophistry, “speech is a powerful lord . . . it can stop fear and banish grief and create joy and nurture pity” (1972, p.52). I contend that democratic backsliders strategically frame and maneuver their discourse during their time in office.

In my paper, I seek to take an inductive approach to observe and identify the systematic differences in the way politicians speak and the emotions they evoke among the voters. In particular, I theorize that democratic backsliders frame their rhetoric towards different segments of the electorate according to the type of voters. Utilizing a dataset of speeches, my paper aims to explore the strategic variation in politicians’ rhetoric. By understanding the variation observed in the patterning and intensity of different types of political rhetoric, I hope to offer an analysis of politicians’ verbal playbook.



*İpek Çınar is a Ph.D. student in Political Science at the University of Chicago, studying comparative politics and quantitative methodology. Her research interests include democratic backsliding, comparative democratization, and political economy of regime transitions. Methodologically, she is interested in quantitative methods and their computational applications to political science research. At the Chicago Center on*

*Democracy, İpek co-leads research on the rhetorical strategies of populist politicians and global measurement of democratic performance. Prior to starting her Ph.D., İpek earned an MA in Social Sciences at the University of Chicago, and a BA in Economics and Business Administration from Koç University, Turkey. She is the recipient of the Sakıp Sabancı International Research Award (2018).*

# DO MUTUAL FUNDS AND ETFS AFFECT THE COMMONALITY IN LIQUIDITY OF CORPORATE BONDS?

**Dr. Efe Çöteliöğlu**

*Assistant Professor of Finance, Bilkent University*

*Ph.D. in Finance, Swiss Finance Institute*

In the post-2008 period, there has been tremendous growth in the U.S. corporate bond market alongside a significant change in the composition of institutional bondholders. Both exchange-traded funds (ETFs) and mutual funds increased their presence in the market. In the first quarter of 2019, mutual fund holdings account for 20% of the total amount outstanding of corporate bonds, and the share of ETF holdings corresponds to almost 5% of the market.

Despite their holdings' illiquidity, fixed-income ETFs and mutual funds allow their investors to redeem their money on a daily basis, which implies that these funds have less predictable liquidity needs and higher turnover than the dominant institutions in the market with long-term liabilities, such as insurance companies and pension funds. Considering the liquidity demand sourcing from increasing ETF and mutual fund activity coupled with the decline in dealer capital for market-making due to the post-crisis regulations, regulators are concerned that the fragility risk of the corporate bond market has increased.

This paper will examine whether the increase in the role of ETFs and mutual funds can give rise to a potential source of market fragility, namely a possible increase in liquidity commonality. Co-movement in liquidity reduces the possibility to diversify individual asset's liquidity risk and creates a liquidity risk factor. Fixed-income ETFs and mutual funds are potential candidates to exert correlated liquidity demand on their underlying securities and thus give rise to higher levels of common variation in liquidity across their bonds.

The paper will contribute to the policy debate of the widespread implications of ETFs in security markets. From the viewpoint of a fixed-income portfolio manager, an increase in liquidity commonality may result in facing higher transaction costs and significant impact on bond returns, and even, not being able to trade during stress times.

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*Efe Çötelioglu is an Assistant Professor of Finance at Bilkent University. He obtained his Ph.D. degree in Finance from the Swiss Finance Institute in June 2021. His primary areas of research include empirical asset pricing and financial stability. He has worked on topics such as liquidity provision of hedge funds and mutual funds, commonality in liquidity of fixed-income securities, and information diffusion across different financial markets. He was awarded the Swiss National Science Foundation Mobility Grant and spent an academic year at Georgetown University McDonough School of Business as a visiting Ph.D. scholar. He has published in the Review of Finance (Oxford) and his research has been mentioned by several media outlets including Bloomberg. He holds a master's degree in Industrial Engineering from Koç University and a bachelor's degree in Industrial Engineering from Bilkent University.*



# ON ASYMMETRY, REALIGNMENT, AND REGIONAL SHIFTS: THE LAST TEN YEARS OF THE TURKISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS IN PERSPECTIVE

**Remi Daniel**

*Research Associate, Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)*

*Ph.D. Candidate in International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

Analyzed through the lens of Turkish-Israeli relations, the 2010s were an intense and important decade. Firstly, the relations between the two countries went through a series of significant events -the Mavi Marmara incident of 2010, the 2016 normalization agreement, the 2018 crisis- with a general degradation of their bilateral ties. Secondly, the decade saw a redefinition of both Turkey's and Israel's regional positioning. Ankara adopted a more active, independent and hard power-based policy, Jerusalem tried to extract itself from the dynamics of the Arab-Israeli conflict, to keep its distance from the regional turmoil and to develop a new diplomatic and political network.

My paper intends to analyze these processes together and underline the reciprocal influence that Turkey's and Israel's regional strategies and their bilateral relations had on one another during the 2010s.

By doing so, it will offer a reflection on the ties between two key players in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean and the changing factors that have determined them.

It will also present a first evaluation of the regional policies that the two governments tried to implement during the 2010s. Seeing how these policies have impacted the balance of power between Turkey and Israel, and thus their relations, will, in this perspective, be used to assess the outcomes of the foreign policy decisions made during the period.

Finally, since Turkey and Israel have been perceived as being on opposite "sides" or "axes" of the Middle Eastern competition, looking at the regional developments from a Turkish-Israeli perspective will be a way to reflect on the changes the region experienced during the intense 2010s.



*Remi Daniel is a Neubauer Research Associate at the Institute for National Security Studies (Tel Aviv), a Ph.D. candidate in the International Relations Department at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and an Azrieli fellow. His Ph.D. dissertation deals with the relations between Turkey and Israel during the Turkish 'Second Republic' (1960-1980). Beyond analyzing the events that shaped the bilateral ties during the period, he*

*uses their study to assess theories linking domestic and foreign politics and especially the impact of democratization on foreign policy decision-making processes. Before joining INSS, he worked as an intern in the Jewish People Policy Institute (JPPI), and was a research assistant at the Israeli Center for Third Sector Research at Ben Gurion University of the Negev. At the INSS, he has written several articles on present Turkish foreign policy. His publications also include texts on European politics, Canadian and Quebecois politics, and nationalist ideologies. Remi holds a BA and an MA in History (with highest honors) from the Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne University and from the École Normale Supérieure (Paris) and was an Erasmus student at Boğaziçi University.*

# CLIMATE LOBBYING AS AN ACTION TO STRENGTHEN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EU AND TURKEY

**Fatin Reşat Durukan**

*Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, University of Paris Panthéon Assas*

Establishing a good governance model in the struggle against climate change is an important objective for all countries. The EU and non-state actors advocate for global climate action to avoid the apocalyptic era. The Paris Agreement offers the opportunity to transform the system as a long-term goal on a larger scale. For its part, the EU plays a global role in this agreement and the legal transformation of countries towards green policies. The European Commission's Green Agenda shows that by 2050, there is a plan to support targeted green infrastructure investments within a net-zero commitment goal.

Lobbying proves to be a key factor in the success or failure of climate change legislation. Non-state actors and their stakeholders have long been lobbying for Turkey to ratify the Paris Agreement. However, despite ratifying the agreement, Turkey has yet to develop its medium- and long-term climate policies. Turkey's position on climate policy and its signing of the Paris Agreement are no doubt important contributions to global issues. Thus, Turkey could have the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process of various climate policies at the global level and its actions on climate policies have the potential to create a new positive agenda between the EU and Turkey.

This paper aims to examine the impact of climate lobbying on Turkey's green policies and their effects on the potential positive agenda in EU-Turkey relations. It seeks to combine influence on policy making, usage of European integration, EU climate policies as well as EU-Turkey relations.

The central question of this study is based on three main axes. First, what lessons could Turkey learn from the impact of climate lobbying? Second, how could the usage of European integration be affecting non-state actors? Finally, how will Turkey's medium- and long-term climate policies affect EU-Turkey relations as well as the renewal of Turkey's global credibility?





*Fatin Reşat Durukan is a Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science at the University of Paris Panthéon Assas. His dissertation topic specifically focuses on the action repertoires of Turkish interest groups. His fields of research cover EU lobbying, interest groups, transparency, climate policy, as well as EU-Turkey relations.*

*Fatin works as a project assistant for the ARAMA Chair at Sabancı Business School. He is also a research fellow for TÜSIAD (Turkish Industry and Business Association) EU Representative and CERSA (Center for Study and Research in Administrative and Political Sciences) as a part of his Ph.D. fieldwork. He holds a master's degree in History of International Relations and a bachelor's degree in History from the University of Paris Panthéon Sorbonne.*

# THE NEUROBIOLOGY OF COGNITIVE RIGIDITY AND IRRATIONAL DECISIONS, AND ITS IMPLICATIONS IN POLICY CIRCLES

**Dr. Tuğrul Özdemir**

*Postdoctoral Neuroscientist, University of Oxford*

*Ph.D. in Cognitive Neuroscience, Medical University of Vienna*

The ability to restructure knowledge in rapidly changing environments is essential for survival. The future holds endless possibilities, and the intricate circuits in our prefrontal cortex enable us to switch between thoughts and strategies which were once appropriate but now potentially disadvantageous. Difficulty in adapting to changing situational demands, also known as cognitive rigidity, is a key psychiatric indication of various mental health disorders including obsessive-compulsive disorder, schizophrenia, and major depressive disorder. Interestingly, the level of mental flexibility is also dependent on the context, age, emotions, and social environment. For instance, while it's easier to abandon some thoughts such as changing dinner plans when you realize an important ingredient of the recipe is missing, changing political views can be very difficult even when challenged. Moreover, we might make selective use of data and not factor in all of the relevant information subconsciously to guide our irrational decisions.

With the advancements in molecular biology tools, electrophysiology, and artificial intelligence, we now can accurately predict future choices only using brain signals, identify and even manipulate relevant neural circuits to alter choices in animal models. How can the wealth of information gained in behavioral and systems neuroscience over the last decades be utilized to promote effective decision making? What is the neural mechanism underlying the dynamic balance between cognitive stability and flexibility? Why are we overconfident in some situations and can make biased decisions without critical thinking or judgment? After presenting the fundamentals of adaptive decision making, the proposed paper will discuss the possibility of integration of behavioral insights in partnership with governments, local authorities, or businesses to tackle major policy problems.

*Tuğrul Özdemir is a life sciences investment specialist and a postdoctoral neuroscientist at the University of Oxford. His research seeks to understand the cellular mechanisms of memory formation, storage, and retrieval in the brain. Combining novel techniques in electrophysiology and gene sequencing, Tuğrul aims to establish a comprehensive characterization of the nerve cells and identify vulnerable cell types in neurodegenerative diseases.*



*Tuğrul earned his BS in Molecular Biology and Genetics from Bilkent University. During his undergraduate studies, he volunteered at an autism training center in China and carried out research projects at Stanford University School of Medicine and the University of Oxford. He obtained his Ph.D. in cognitive neuroscience with distinction from the Medical University of Vienna in 2019, where he discovered diverse contribution of prefrontal cells to flexible cognitive control. Tuğrul is the recipient of Stanford Conte Scholarship, FENS-IBRO Cajal Stipend, Alzheimer's UK Early Career Researcher Award, Constantin von Economo Prize for Brain Research and Junior Research Fellowship at Wolfson College, Oxford.*

# TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE FOOD PRODUCTION: INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGIES AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

**Ogeday Rodop**

*Ph.D. Candidate in Materials Science and Nano Engineering, Sabanci University*

Meeting the nutrition demand of the ever-growing global population is our greatest challenge.

Many people confuse agriculture for a vastly simple and conventional practice, possibly with minimal benefit from cutting-edge technology. Agriculture indeed seems extremely simple and old-fashioned. Yet, there are highly elegant and integrated agricultural practices to achieve sustainable food systems.

There are three main challenges to be tackled to achieve sustainable agriculture: (i) reducing dependency on chemical pesticides, (ii) reducing nutrient losses and dependency on mineral fertilizers, (iii) all the while maintaining high crop yields.

Arable land is limited, and vulnerable to climatic factors such as hot weather or sparse rainfall. Furthermore, without any preventative measures using pesticides or other nonchemical controls, 70% of crops would be lost to pests. Yet the excessive and indiscriminate use of pesticides is a major source of pollution and health risks. Controlled release of pesticides is one promising approach to accomplish crop protection with minimum pollution, health risks, labor, and economic cost. Similarly, there are different ways to achieve adequate plant fertilization with minimal nitrogen loss to environment, using appropriate inhibitors or simply by improving irrigation efficiencies.

I would like to share my findings and suggestions regarding novel and/or integrated agricultural practices towards sustainable food systems. Prevalent implementation of sustainable practices is highly difficult due to the reluctance of farmers concerned with economic risks. For sustainable practices to be ubiquitous, governmental incentives must be given both to pioneer farmers and small firms which develop such technologies, to

help them “make the jump” to reach commercial success, by lowering the economic risks for both sides. These can be in the form of harvest insurance for farmers who make the switch to novel sustainable practices, and various tax exemptions and other incentives for firms developing these technologies.



*Ogeday Rodop graduated from McGill University Materials Engineering, where his focus was developing light metal alloys mainly for the automotive industry. Upon graduating, he continued his studies in Materials Science at Columbia University, where he obtained his master's degree. Since 2018, he is pursuing his Ph.D. at Sabancı University, where his primary area of research is developing polymeric and nano-based active agent delivery systems. He is the co-founder of a deep-tech start-up developing a patent-pending novel nano-composite hydrogel (Soyl-Gel – soylgel.com), which integrates fertilizer and pesticide delivery with water management in agriculture.*

# TWILIGHT STATES: CIVIL WAR AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE STATE, 1980-2000

**Dr. Emily Whalen**

*Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Texas at Austin*

*Ph.D. in History, University of Texas at Austin*

If a nation is as large as the interdependence it perceives, the era of globalization requires a new understanding of what it means to be a nation-state. Examining the civil wars in Lebanon, Yemen, and the former Yugoslavia between 1980 and 2000, this paper argues that the end of the 21st century saw the rise of a new conception of statehood: “twilight states.” Competing sovereignties, foreign intervention, and domestic opportunism fundamentally transformed these countries, abrading the relationship between government and citizens until only coercive transactions remained. Extreme points on a spectrum of statehood, these and other “twilight states” eventually came to form a permanent underclass of states in the international system, structurally unstable and increasingly hollow. Their unprecedented growth suggests blind spots in conventional realist approaches to international relations.

The paper explores each case as an episode in the history of the state as a political project. Drawing on archival research and secondary sources, the case studies illustrate the philosophical stakes behind the Lebanese, Yemeni, and Yugoslav civil wars. This approach ties material historical research in with constructivist political theory, offering new insights into the field of civil war studies. The paper then develops “twilight states” as a term of art for historical and political inquiry, laying the foundation for a new paradigm of globalization theory. Finally, the paper concludes with suggestions for how globalization may continue to affect the state in the 21st century.

*Emily Whalen is a historian of U.S. foreign policy, civil war, and the modern Middle East. She is a postdoctoral fellow at the Clements Center for National Security at the University of Texas at Austin, where she earned her doctorate in August 2020. Previously, Emily held fellowships at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, and Yale University's International Security Studies Program. She was an*



*affiliated researcher at the American University of Beirut's Center for Arab and Middle Eastern Studies while conducting research for her manuscript, *The Lebanese Wars: An International History, 1975-1990*. While completing her doctoral work, Emily also served as an historical consultant for The EastWest Institute, a former international non-profit organization dedicated to Track II diplomacy. While working with EWI, she produced a manuscript relating the role of the organization in ending the Cold War in Europe, entitled *A Better World: John Edwin Mroz and the EastWest Institute in World History, 1980-2000*. Emily's writing appears in *Foreign Policy*, *Lawfare*, and *H-Diplo*. She speaks English, French, Italian, and Levantine Arabic.*

# 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.

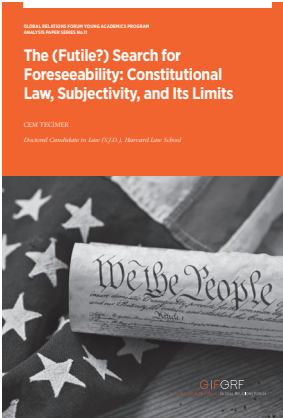
The Young Academics Program and its publications are directed by Burcu Baran Türem, GRF Senior Director, and Duygu Söyler Aytaç, GRF Program Director.

For further information, please contact GRF at [info@gif.org.tr](mailto:info@gif.org.tr).

Following is the list of papers published under the *GRF Young Academics Program Publications*:

For further information, please contact GRF at [info@gif.org.tr](mailto:info@gif.org.tr).

## Analysis Paper Series

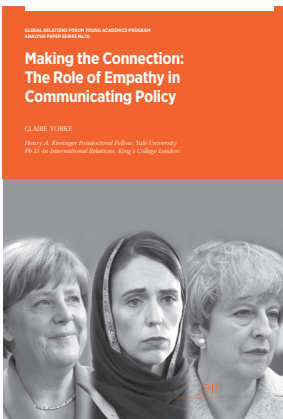


No: 11

*“The (Futile?) Search for Foreseeability: Constitutional Law, Subjectivity, and Its Limits”*

by Cem Tecimer

Doctoral Candidate in Law (S.J.D.),  
Harvard Law School



No: 10

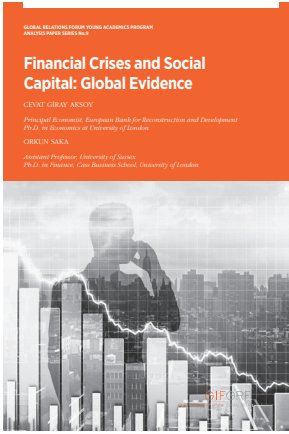
*“Making the Connection: The Role of Empathy in Communicating Policy”*

by Dr. Claire Yorke

Henry A. Kissinger Postdoctoral Fellow,  
Yale University

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





No: 9

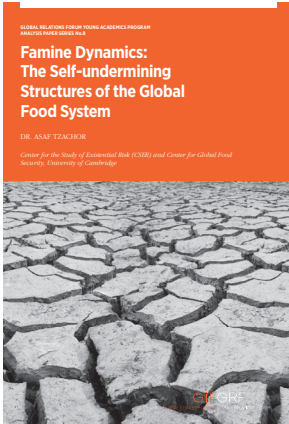
*“Financial Crises and Social Capital: Global Evidence”*

by Cevat Giray Aksoy

Principal Economist, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

and Orkun Saka

Assistant Professor, University of Sussex

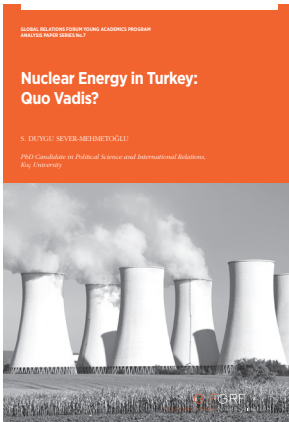


No: 8

*“Famine Dynamics: The Self-undermining Structures of the Global Food System”*

by Asaf Tzachor

Researcher, Center for the Study of Existential Risk, University of Cambridge



No: 7

*“Nuclear Energy in Turkey: Quo Vadis?”*

by S. Duygu Sever-Mehmetoğlu

PhD Candidate in Political Science and International Relations, Koç University

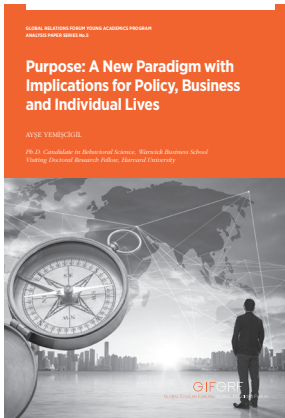


No: 6

*"Iran's Foreign Policy in Iraq and Syria after 2011"*

by Ezgi Uzun

Ph.D. in Political Science, Sabancı University



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



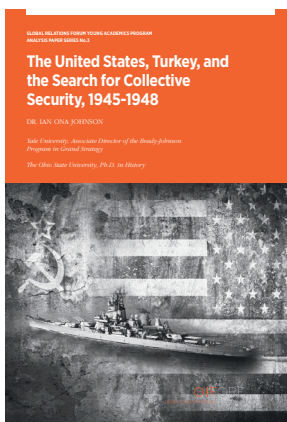
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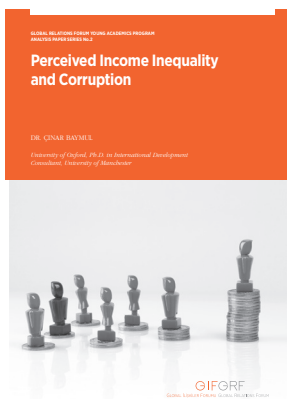


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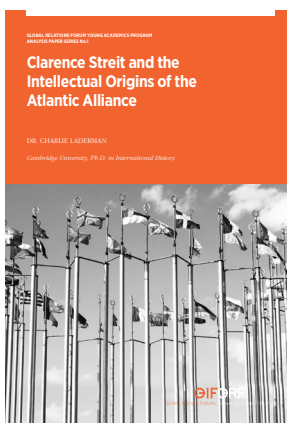


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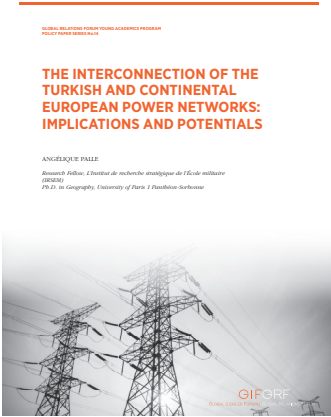


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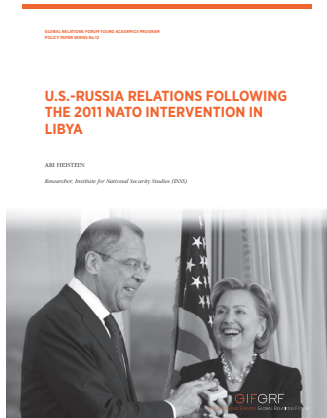
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