



DIŐ POLİTİKADA
KADINLAR
WOMEN IN FOREIGN POLICY

Almanac 2024

*Developments from Turkey and the World on the
10th Anniversary of the
Women in Foreign Policy Initiative*

Bezen Balamir CoŐkun (ed.)

About WFP

The Women in Foreign Policy (DPK) Initiative of Turkey was established to promote women's voices on hard security issues; to encourage female participation in foreign policy decision-making at all levels, with bottom-up and nonhierarchical approaches; and to involve women at all levels of peacemaking, historical reconciliation and resolving frozen conflicts so that they may share their experiences and develop long-term policy recommendations. DPK aims to include women's perspectives in all areas of international relations by encouraging young women to become leaders in foreign policy fields and by taking responsibility for meeting global challenges that hinder equitable and sustainable development.

Why?

- To share experiences to understand and provide solutions for the problems we face at individual, national, and global levels.
- To mobilize collective expertise, build partnerships, promote collaboration, and facilitate smoother processes.
- To empower young women to participate actively in foreign policy mechanisms.

What do we do?

- Provide opportunities for discussion of international politics and foreign policy.
- Develop recommendations and concepts to increase the role of women in foreign policy.
- Create networks to include women in the foreign policy community.
- Provide a platform for discussions on foreign policy issues by emphasizing the interdependency of domestic and external issues.
- Aim to make women decision makers in all areas of foreign policy.
- Provide educational opportunities, such as workshops and seminars, for women to increase their knowledge of global citizenship and policy development.
- Develop opportunities for women to participate in activities where they can have leadership roles.

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Foreword

Bezen Balamir Coşkun¹

2024, the 10th anniversary of the Women in Foreign Policy Initiative, was a year in which none of us, especially women, felt safe, no matter where we were in the world. On the one hand, 2024, defined as the super elections year, witnessed the rise of populist far-right parties in almost all countries where elections were held. On the other hand, the hopes for an end to the Russia-Ukraine war, which is now in its second year in the heart of Europe. The increasing number of displaced people in regions where conflicts continue, especially in Ukraine, have caused concerns about the future. In short, 2024 was a year in which women struggled to cope with security threats such as violence, climate change-related natural disasters, drought, economic crises, and efforts by far-right governments to roll back women's hard-won rights. On the other hand, normative policy instruments, such as the UN-led Sustainable Development Goals and the Women's Agenda for Peace and Security, were frequently discussed. The UN kept the issue of how well the SDGs were being met on the agenda.

In the midst of all this darkness, there were some bright spots. For example, for the first time in the history of the Olympics, we witnessed gender equality of athletes and media representatives involved in the coverage of the Olympics. We saw the world-famous American pop star Taylor Swift proved herself as both a singer and an activist, even becoming a phenomenon by introducing concepts such as Swiftism and Swifteconomics into our lives. In Turkey, we were proud of the success of our Women's National Volleyball Team and the success of our female athletes participating in the Olympics.

As we have done in previous years, we are bidding farewell to 2024 with the WFP Almanac, a collection of articles written by women experts. The participation of young students among our Almanac authors highlights our mission to mentor the younger generation of women experts. We hope you will enjoy our Almanac 2024, prepared by a group that not only tries to read foreign policy and security issues through maps but also evaluates these issues at the social and individual level and includes gender issues in their analysis.

As always, we sincerely thank those who contributed and helped us make our voices heard.

¹ TED University

Women in Foreign Policy: A Story of 10 Years

*Zeynep Alemdar*²

Women in Foreign Policy Initiative is 10 years old!

WFP, which was initiated by 3 women in 2014, now has over 100 members. We hope that WFP's impact will be deep and long-lasting, as the first platform in Turkey where women academics, journalists, and activists working in international relations, political science, and foreign policy come together, learn about each other's work, and develop partnerships. In its 10th anniversary, WFP has made its name. The WFP is now receiving invitations from conferences in traditionally male-dominated disciplines, and when panels are filled with only male academics, one looks for a woman expert on the subject. This completely voluntary platform led to many collaborations. Projects were written and implemented together, research was conducted, and books were published. Young academics became more interested in the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.

When we examine the state of Turkey and the world over the last 10 years, it's easy to see how challenging it is to maintain such solidarity. We've started new jobs, left jobs, moved cities, changed countries, and experienced a worldwide pandemic, lost loved ones, babies were born, earthquakes happened, children grew up, and life flowed.

When I looked back at the letter I wrote to our stakeholders to introduce the Initiative at the end of 2015, I realized how many people we had reached since then. I hope that since the first Women in Foreign Policy Roundtable Series we organized in 2015, we have encouraged many young women to pursue their interest in foreign policy and to raise their voices. Let's remember that 10 years ago, social media such as Linked-In was not as common as it is now, and the language of self-praise was not as normalized as it is today.

I think the biggest lesson I learned over the last 10 years is that there is no end to learning and hope, and that your capacity to be surprised diminishes over time. When I look at the prefaces of our previous Almanacs, which is one of the signature WFP activities, the most repeated sentences are how difficult the previous year was, how women resisted, and that we still have hope.

² The New Institute, Hamburg & Founder of Women in Foreign Policy Initiative, Türkiye

2024 was no different. In November 2024, the re-election of a notoriously misogynistic bankrupt billionaire to the US presidency and the unabated anti-gender movements all over the world are indicators that the women's movement is now one of the world's fault lines, as we noted in last year's Almanac. In the past, the women's rights movement and associations and institutions that addressed women's needs used to be largely ignored, especially by weaker states, because they met social needs that should be met by the state. Things changed when women's power as economic and political actors became visible, and their ability to dissent emerged. Gender is now more than a question of identity or inequality; it is at the heart of economic policies. Especially in the post-pandemic world, the importance and value of domestic labor, coupled with the increased visibility of systemic violence against women and girls due to social media, are transforming both societies and states.

We know that we are in a period of change, and we are increasing our capacity "to be surprised". In the midst of this change, it seems to be easier for us to embrace our differences as women, the gender that embraces change the best, the gender that adjusts to a new "normal" only after extraordinary changes in our bodies. It is important for all of us to live 2025 and beyond, knowing that the unexpected will happen and how to prepare for the unexpected. The lesson we have learned in the last decade is the comfort of knowing that there are people around us who are willing to understand us as we deal with the unexpected. As I mentioned, although much has changed in the last ten years, we believe that we have created a community of women who are open to each other and who walk with courage and grace. We want to continue this energy, which is reflected in the expressions of colleagues who participate in our events and who want to be among us, and which is felt in the environments where the majority of us can come together for decades to come.

Happy 10 years!

Women in Turkish Foreign Affairs

Barçın Yinanç³

2024 was a year of interesting developments for women diplomats working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Turkey. On the one hand, the appointment of the first female Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and on the other hand, "recommendations" regarding the choice of spouses for members of the Foreign Ministry were important developments in 2024.

With the fall of the Iron Curtain and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, the number of Turkey's neighbors increased, as did the number and diversity of foreign policy files that directly or indirectly concerned the country. The diversity of Turkish foreign policy in the 1990s was accompanied by a hopeful change in the actors in the foreign policy-making process. As of the 1990s, more and more young women began to enter the Foreign Ministry, a door first opened by Adile Ayda in 1932. In 1998, the proportion of female career civil servants was 24%, while in 2020 this rate rose to 33%. Women also tried to break glass ceilings as much as they could, and by the end of 2020, the proportion of women in the senior management of the Ministry reached 30% (Alemdar and Yinanç 2021).

The first female ambassador was appointed in 1982, and by 2021, the rate of female ambassadors had reached 25%. Currently, 83 out of 305 ambassadors are women. The current rate of 27% is above the world average (Tokyay 2024). Increased awareness of women's rights in Turkey since the 1990s and positive changes in the work culture at the Foreign Office have led to a greater interest in diplomacy and paved the way for women to climb the career ladder. Balancing private/family life and professional/work life have always been challenging for women diplomats. In many countries that are now recognized as advanced democracies, until recently, women diplomats were subject to marriage restrictions. In other words, when they got married, they had to resign from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the UK, for example, the requirement to resign after marriage was abolished in 1972. This kind of prohibition or restriction has never been officially applied in Turkish diplomacy. As the number of women in the ministry increased, so did the number of marriages between diplomatic couples. By the 2000s, living abroad for four years in two-year headquarters made it

³ T24

difficult not only for women but also for men to find a life partner who would agree to accompany the "irregular" life of diplomats at the expense of their own "career".

For this reason, the number of marriages between diplomats accustomed to each other's living conditions increased gradually. The annulment of the 1998 decree prohibiting the assignment of married couples to the same city also played an important role in this increase (Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm 2023). While in the first years following this change, married couples were not given much leeway in terms of assignment, since the mid-2000s, in addition to the possibility for married couples to serve in the same city, attention has been paid to the possibility of assigning them at least to the same country, different cities or countries close/neighboring each other. This was, of course, sometimes seen as unfair discrimination against those who were not married to ministry officials. On the other hand, the practice of two years at headquarters and four years abroad increased the likelihood of diplomats who spent most of their professional lives abroad finding their life partners among foreign nationals. When the ban on marrying foreigners was lifted in the late 1990s, the number of Turkish diplomats married to foreigners naturally increased.

In 2024, we witnessed practices that could be called a marriage barrier for women diplomats. Hakan Fidan, who became Minister of Foreign Affairs in June 2023 after 13 years as the head of the National Intelligence Organization, introduced a personnel policy that risks eroding the gains women have made over the years. One of Fidan's first messages to ministry officials after taking office was that the rate of marriages with foreigners had exceeded 20%, and although no official ban was imposed, those married to foreigners would no longer be appointed to critical positions. Practices in 2024 showed that the minister would implement the personnel policy he had in mind. The first victims of the reserve on marriages with foreign citizens were female diplomats who took the surnames of their foreign spouses. For example, two female diplomats with foreign surnames were transferred from one department dealing with "security issues" to another. Some women diplomats took to the courts to give up their foreign surnames. Some women diplomats married to foreigners have begun to consider resigning, fearing that they will no longer be promoted. In the near future, a female diplomat whose heart is set on a foreign national will have to choose between her love and her profession. Male diplomats married to foreigners are less victimized by this situation. It is worth underlining that a significant number of these male civil servants are married to women of Central Asian or Balkan origin.

On the other hand, Minister Fidan advised prospective Foreign Service officers entering the Ministry in 2024 not to marry each other. Of course, it is out of the question to impose an official ban on this because such a decision would be overturned by the judiciary. But to show that they are serious about this, couples in the ministry have been assigned to posts as far away from each other as possible. If one was stationed in Far Asia, his wife was sent to the very tip of Africa. There are couples who are assigned to distances that take 3 different flights and almost 48 hours to visit each other. One of the

spouses working in the same city found themselves assigned to another city on another continent without being consulted. Suppose the young civil servants did not follow this advice. Which of the young couples who chose marriage over emigration would give up their careers? Of course, most likely women. At present, the ministry's personnel department is said to prefer that the man of the married couple be transferred, while his wife freezes her career and joins him.

Of course, for those who want to see the glass half full, it can be reminded that a female ambassador was appointed as a deputy minister for the first time in 2024. It can be added that Ambassador Berris Ekinci, who was appointed as Deputy Minister, has the most important issues for Turkish foreign policy in her areas of responsibility. It is also worth noting that as of 2024, the rate of female directors general is 43%. In an environment where there are so many female diplomats coming from the bottom, this should be taken for granted. The fact that an administration that is far away from positive discrimination for women has promoted women diplomats to senior positions cannot be explained only by the sheer number of women; it also shows how competent they are in their jobs. The fact that 42% of those who passed the ministerial exam in 2024 were women shows that interest in the profession continues to this day. However, the restrictions on private life imposed by the Sapling administration will increase the risk of defoliation among young women.

At a time when the world is evolving into a new cold war and concepts we thought had been left behind from the cold war era, such as nuclear conflict, are re-entering our discourse, it is demoralizing that the perception of women diplomats by the political staff of the Foreign Ministry echoes the Cold War era. However, we should not underestimate the resilience of women.

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Christina Bache⁴

This year, we celebrated the 24th anniversary of the United Nations Global Compact and the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which established the Women, Peace, and Security agenda. Both international frameworks highlight the importance of gender equality and, more specifically, women's meaningful inclusion – where women have decision-making authority – across all spheres of society as critical to inclusive development and sustainable peace.

One aspect of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda that has not received as much attention as others—like recruiting women into the armed services or preventing sexual and gender-based violence—is women's economic inclusion. However, financial inclusion is crucial for ensuring women's meaningful participation in society, especially in in fragile and conflict-affected environments. It is also vital to broaden women's involvement from diverse socio-economic, political, and religious backgrounds, acknowledging the intersectionality of identity and women's experiences in peace and transition processes.

According to UN WOMEN (2015), women's economic inclusion or security refers to whether women:

- Have the ability to participate equally in existing markets;
- Access to and control over productive resources, assets, savings;
- Access to decent and dignified work;
- Control over their own time, lives, and bodies;
- Increased voice, agency, and meaningful participation in economic decision-making at all levels, from the household to international institutions.

⁴ Center for Migration, Diversity, and Justice, Brussels School of Governance, Vrije Universiteit Brussels

Scholars, policymakers, the private sector, consumers, and civil society are increasingly acknowledging that business has the potential to shape the conditions that determine whether instability and fragility will evolve into a durable peace or result in an uptick in violence and even armed conflict. The report on the “Nexus of Business and the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda”, published by the United Nations Global Compact Network UK, explores business's vital role in bolstering women’s economic inclusion. It includes organizing transparent hiring processes, offering fair and equal wage standards, ensuring a fair division of labor, providing a safe and inclusive working environment that considers women’s needs, and upholding zero-tolerance policies against harassment. (UN Global Compact, 2021).

However, my work on the livelihood security of vulnerable groups, namely women and forcibly displaced persons, shows that despite companies enacting and implementing positive and inclusive human resource practices, socio-cultural and structural barriers often inhibit women’s prospects of greater economic security. Simply put, access to employment might not translate into greater economic security for women. For instance, in the case of the Syrian crisis, many Syrian refugee women in Turkey have had to adopt negative coping mechanisms, such as not sending their children to school so they could contribute to the family income, accepting lower wages than what they should earn, or working in precarious work environments (Bache 2020, Wringe et al. 2019, Rohwerder, 2018, Alsaba et al. 2016, Kivilcim 2016, Del Caprio et al. 2015).

Globally, women earn less, hold less secure jobs, and are more likely to be employed in the informal sector, restricting their access to decent and dignified work, social protection, resources, savings, and capital. According to Forbes (2023), Women earned an average of 17% less than men in 2022. For every dollar earned by men, women earned 82 cents.

Women comprise the majority of single-parent households and perform most of the unpaid work, which adds enormous pressure and responsibilities, not to mention gravely hurts economies. In a recent report, Oxfam indicates that inequality or the “great divide is based on a flawed and sexist economic system that values the wealth of the privileged few, mostly men, more than the billions of hours of the most essential work – the unpaid and underpaid care work done primarily by women and girls around the world” (Oxfam 2020).

Entrenched cultural biases, archaic civil registration systems, and discrepancies between national laws protecting women, including sexual and reproductive health and rights, and the enforcement of those laws profoundly hinder women’s rights and their active participation in decision-making at all levels of society, from the household to financial institutions. In some extreme cases, such as in Afghanistan, the state pursues such repressive policies toward women and girls, which are deemed gender apartheid by human rights organizations. (Amnesty International 2024).

Two years into the ongoing Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine, the extent to which the government and Ukrainian society can nurture private sector growth and economic activity hinges on its human capital, its ability to transform and innovate during a full-scale war, and the space and value it creates for women, veterans, youth, and people with disabilities. Capitalizing on the diversity of the Ukrainian society for the wartime economy will undoubtedly have a lasting impact on the country's post-war reconstruction and recovery (Howlett ve Dvornichenko 2024).

While women work tirelessly to forge a place in society that is valued equally to their male counterparts, whether it be in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Ukraine, Sudan, Venezuela, Syria, Afghanistan, or the U.S., the underlying power dynamics that reinforce unjust structures that subjugate women and nurture cultures of violence must be dislodged for the emergence of more equitable, inclusive, and peaceful societies.

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Progress on Sustainable Development Goals in the World and Türkiye in 2024

Burcu Özdemir Sarıgil⁵

The year 2024, with only 6 years remaining until the 2030 deadline, marked a pivotal moment for reflecting on the progress of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the global development agenda. A global analysis of progress in SDG targets revealed that only 15% are on track, nearly half show moderate progress, and over one-third have either stagnated or regressed below the 2015 baseline (United Nations 2024). Among the primary reasons for the lack of desired progress is the lingering impact of conflicts and the COVID-19 pandemic, which disrupted virtually all facets of life and exacerbated existing inequalities.

In 2024, one of the most pronounced gaps in achieving the SDG agenda has been gender equality (United Nations Women 2024a). Before the pandemic, achieving gender equality in education, healthcare, workforce participation, and political representation was projected to take 99 years. However, the pandemic extended this timeline to 136 years, underscoring the urgency of renewed commitments and actions (World Economic Forum 2021).

Similar to the global trends, Türkiye's performance on the SDGs reflects a mixed picture of achievements and challenges. In 2024, the country ranked 72nd out of 166 countries on the SDG Index, with a score of 70.5 (where 100 represents full achievement) (United Nations 2024: 438). While Türkiye has made significant progress toward certain goals, substantial gaps remain as of 2024. Closer analysis reveals that Türkiye is nearing the full achievement of SDG 1 (No Poverty) and SDG 9 (Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure). A moderate level of progress has been recorded in 8 SDGs: SDG 3 (Good Health and Well-being); SDG 4 (Quality Education); SDG 6 (Clean Water and Sanitation); SDG 7 (Affordable and Clean Energy); SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth); SDG 10 (Reduced Inequalities); SDG 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities); SDG 14 (Life Below Water). However, in 2024 progress has either stagnated or regressed in 7 SDGs, posing significant challenges: SDG 2 (Zero Hunger); SDG 5 (Gender Equality); SDG 12 (Responsible Consumption and Production); SDG 13 (Climate Action); SDG 15 (Life on Land); SDG 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions); SDG 17 (Partnerships for the Goals) (United Nations 2024: 438-439). These

⁵ TED University

areas of stagnation or decline particularly threaten environmental security, food security, governance, and gender equality.

In Turkey, 2024 was a year in which women faced significant obstacles and inequality in various areas of life. Since the early 2000s, Türkiye has reformed its Penal Code, Civil Code, Labor Code, and Constitution to ensure equality between men and women. The country also developed various policies and action plans to address gender inequality (see Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Family and Social Services 2023). Despite Türkiye's efforts, significant gaps persist in the implementation of laws and social attitudes, creating barriers to the advancement of SDG 5 in the country. In 2024, gender equality continued to be one of the most significant challenges for Türkiye, ranking 127th out of 146 countries on the Global Gender Gap Index 2024. Specifically, Türkiye ranked 90th in Educational Attainment, 133rd in Economic Participation and Opportunity, 98th in Health and Survival, and 114th in Political Empowerment. These rankings underscore persistent gender disparities and emphasize the urgent need for targeted interventions (World Economic Forum 2024: 349).

According to the latest Gender Statistics compiled by United Nations Women (2024b), women in Türkiye face significant barriers in various aspects of life. To cite but a few, women overwhelmingly bear the burden of household chores. The labor force participation rate for women aged 15 and over stands at 35%, with a gender pay gap of 15.6%. The literacy rate for women aged 25 and over is 86.7%, compared to 96.1% for men. Women hold only 19.9% of parliamentary seats, 5.5% of mayoral positions, and 1 out of 18 ministerial roles. At least 37.5% of women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence (United Nations Women, 2024b). In addition, the presence of over 4 million Syrians under temporary protection in Türkiye-half of whom are women and girls- and the devastating earthquake on February 6, 2023, seem to present further challenges to the achievement of SDG5 in Türkiye.

In conclusion, the assessments of SDG progress in 2024 in the world and Türkiye highlight the need for urgent, coordinated efforts to address stagnation and regression in key areas, especially in SDG5 on gender equality. The upcoming 30th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the 25th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security in 2025 provide critical opportunities to renew commitments to gender equality and women's empowerment.

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The European Union and the Women, Peace, and Security

Gökçen Yavaş⁶

The year 2024 holds particular significance for evaluating the European Union's (EU) Approach to the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda due to two factors: the upcoming 25th anniversary of the WPS agenda established by the UN Security Council Resolution 1325, and the conclusion of the EU's 2019-2024 Action Plan on WPS. Within the framework of the WPS, this section aims to provide an assessment of the EU's implementation and projections for the next decade.

The EU's engagement with the WPS agenda covers approximately two decades. Its commitment to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 was formalized through key documents published in 2005-2006, endorsing gender equality and gender mainstreaming within its European Security and Defence operations. In 2008, the EU adopted UNSCR 1820, acknowledging sexual and gender – based violence as a tactic of war. The principles of participation, prevention, protection, and recovery – central to various UN Security Council resolutions – form the basis of the EU's Strategic Approach to WPS, outlined in the 2018 Council Conclusions (Molnár & Gracza, 2024, pp. 5-6). These principles are further strengthened in key documents such as the EU's Action Plan on WPS (2019-2024), Gender Action Plan (2020-2025) - (GAP III), the EU's Action plan on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in External Action (2021-2025), and the Council Conclusions of 2022 on WPS.

The EU's Strategic Approach-based Action Plan adopts an intersectional approach in foreign policy and all sectors. Its key priorities include the following: women's equal and meaningful participation and leadership in conflict resolution processes; gender mainstreaming; leadership by example; protection of women and girls in fragile environments, prevention of gender-based violence; post-conflict relief and recovery (Council of the European Union, 2019). Women's participation in external actions has not yet reached the level of equality in the EU. The EU's Action plan on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in External Action aims for 85% of new external relations actions to

⁶ Kocaeli University

promote gender equality and women's empowerment. This rate rose from 64.71% in 2019 to 72% in 2022, indicating significant progress. As of 2023, women hold 47% of senior management roles in the European Commission and 31% in the European External Action Service (EEAS), while middle management representation stands at 47.9% and 41%, respectively (European Commission, 2023). A notable development is the appointment of former Estonian Prime Minister Kaja Kallas as the EU High Representative/Vice President in Ursula von der Leyen's team following her re-election as President of the European Commission for 2024-2029. However, gender inequality persists in senior diplomatic roles: only 36% of ambassadors and 4 out of 10 EU Special Representatives are women (Politico, 14 March 2024; EEAS, 2024).

Despite the EU's efforts to increase women's participation in CSDP missions, objectives for gender equality are still unmet. The proportion of female staff, which stood at 24% in 2021, remained unchanged as of June 2024 (EEAS, 2021; Pfeifer Cruz, 2024: 10-11). The Strategy and Action Plan for Women's Participation in Civilian CSDP Missions 2021-2024 set a target of 40% female personnel by 2024 (Smit, 2022: 9). While some member states, including Sweden and Belgium, have met this goal, the EU average still falls short. As of October 2024, women held just 15% (three individuals) of civilian operation head positions in CSDP missions, with no women leaders in military operations, underscoring a persistent gender imbalance (Pfeifer Cruz, 2024: 10-11; European Parliament, 2024).

In addition, despite highlighting the ongoing sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls in Afghanistan, Colombia, Yemen, Ethiopia, Myanmar, and Sudan in its 2022 Council Conclusions on WPS, the Union's efforts remain limited (European Council, 2022). On the other hand, while maintaining its economic sanctions against Russia for its aggression against Ukraine, the EU prolonged the Temporary Protection Directive until March 4, 2025, ensuring support for 4.3 million displaced persons, primarily women and children (European Council, 2023).

Currently, the 50% increase in women and girls affected by conflict zones worldwide underscores the urgency of advancing the EU's WPS agenda (United Nations, 2024a). Additionally, only 26% of global agreements include gender-related provisions, highlighting the need to strengthen women's roles in conflict resolution and diplomacy. Women constitute just 20% of ambassadors globally, and the EU still falls short of achieving gender equality despite some progress (United Nations, 2024b). Their participation in senior roles within the EU's civilian and military missions also remains limited. However, involving women in military operations may create contradictions with peace promotion efforts. Integrating women's experiences more effectively into the EU's conflict prevention and peace processes could foster more meaningful and stable outcomes. Women's equal participation in decision - making would also boost the overall effectiveness of the EU's security policies.

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Climate Change, Gender, and Security and NATO: Better Late Than Never!

Sezen Kaya Sönmez⁷

Climate change is now affecting every corner of the world. Extreme weather events, food and water insecurity, displacement, and social inequalities are among the multidimensional impacts of climate change, which are directly linked to gender dynamics. Women and girls, due to inequalities, are more exposed to the risks posed by climate change (UN Women, 2020). For instance, in regions where women rely on natural resources for their livelihoods, the effects of climate change and environmental degradation might increase the time and effort required for domestic tasks, creating additional and more extensive domestic burdens (Smith, 2022). Thus, gender-based power structures shape people's ability to adapt to changing environmental conditions and the risks they face.

In regions experiencing both climate change and insecurity, gender plays a critical role in shaping the risks faced by different groups. This highlights the necessity of integrating gender into climate and security policies. In this context, integrating the connection between climate change and gender into its security policies has become a critical requirement for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a defense and security organization, to respond to current threats and develop sustainable solutions for the future. Although NATO's efforts in this area have been late, they represent a transformative step in global security strategies.

At the 2021 Brussels Summit, NATO approved the Climate Change and Security Action Plan to integrate climate-related issues into its political and military agenda (NATO, 2022). Within the framework of this plan, NATO's emphasis on the necessity of integrating gender perspectives into awareness-raising efforts related to climate change under its Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) policy was noteworthy. Having addressed gender issues in 1961 and environmental problems in 1969, NATO formally recognized the intersection of these two global issues by 2023. It explicitly stated the need for allied forces to understand the connection between climate change, gender, and security (Cicarelli and Fleiser, 2024). This approach represents a paradigm shift aimed at transforming NATO's institutional policies and deepening the relationship between climate change, gender, and security.

NATO's 2024 WPS Policy Note explicitly acknowledges the combined effects of gender inequality, conflict, and climate change on women and girls, as well as the security implications of these impacts.

⁷ Kadir Has University

Furthermore, it emphasizes that women's roles in climate security are not limited to victimhood but also include being part of the solution (NATO, 2024). This perspective has advanced NATO beyond discussing the existence of the relationship between WPS, gender, and climate security, bringing us to the debate on the nature of this relationship and the roles women can or should have in this context. Following this development, the 2024 Climate Change and Impact Assessment emphasizes the integration of WPS issues into NATO's work areas on climate change and security, including science and technology, education, and exercises, as another significant milestone of 2024 (NATO, 2024). NATO is expanding the scope of the issue by not limiting the discussion to the negative impacts of climate change on women but by addressing the broader connection between climate change, gender, and security in its agenda. Therefore, climate change is not just a security issue for women. Women are critical actors in shaping NATO's policies on climate adaptation, mitigation, awareness-raising, and cooperation. In this regard, NATO's handling of this relationship forms the foundation of future policies.

While NATO's initiatives in 2024 are promising, more comprehensive and long-term solutions are needed over the next decade. NATO must continue incorporating gender analysis into military operations and include climate change considerations in this process. Training programs for NATO personnel on gender sensitivity and climate security should be expanded. Gender-sensitive climate policies should prioritize women's needs and ensure their active participation in decision-making processes. Integrating gender and climate security considerations into NATO's military missions and operations is becoming increasingly significant. For example, NATO's Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan, which lasted approximately twenty years, and its peacekeeping operation in Kosovo (KFOR) since 1999 have incorporated gender perspectives into their operations and activities (NATO, 2022; NATO SHAPE, 2024; NATO, 2024). These countries also face significant impacts of climate change, particularly extreme temperatures. Given women's heightened vulnerability to climate change, policies that combine climate change and gender perspectives should be integrated into these missions. Therefore, the question of "How can NATO better identify and address the intersections of climate change, gender, and security in its operations?" should be considered over the next decade. While addressing the intersections of climate change, gender, and security in military operations is undoubtedly complex, it is not insurmountable. NATO's efforts to harmonize its work on climate change and gender while focusing on the areas where climate security and the WPS agenda mutually reinforce each other are a step in the right direction, even if late.

In a nutshell, the disproportionate impact of climate change on women demonstrates that the WPS agenda cannot be considered separately from global threats like climate change. Climate change directly affects not only NATO's operational capacity but also the lives and security of women. Therefore, it is crucial for NATO to develop inclusive policies that integrate climate change and gender issues. While the steps taken in 2024 are an important beginning, these efforts must evolve into a more resilient and sustainable security approach in the future. Policies that center on the needs

and experiences of women will enhance NATO's operational effectiveness and more robustly integrate WPS objectives into global security strategies. Strengthening women's leadership in addressing climate change and incorporating gender analysis into NATO's military operations will create a more effective defense mechanism against future threats. If NATO takes the lead in addressing the connection between climate change and gender, it can achieve a sustainable transformation in global security.

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Rising Charismatic Women Leaders and 'Femo-Nationalism' on the European Far Right

Selcen Öner, Ceren Orhan,

İbrahim Ekrem Sarı, Aybüke Ceren Çolakoğlu⁸

In Europe, as in many parts of the world, the power and influence of the far right are increasing due to the economic crisis, the migrant crisis, the pandemic, the Russia- Ukraine war, security, and identity concerns. It is normalized by gradually shifting from the extremes of the political spectrum towards the mainstream. On the other hand, especially immigration policies and discourses affect the policies of the center parties, especially the center-right parties. These parties have achieved electoral success in many countries, becoming the first party in some countries or taking part in coalition governments, as in the case of Geert Wilders' Party for Freedom (PVV) in the Netherlands.

Although men have been predominant among far-right voters for many years, the gap between male and female voters has been narrowing in recent years. The fact that women leaders mask their anti-immigrant and anti-refugee discourses and policies with the claim that they protect women's rights is one of the effective factors in the normalization of the far right among women voters. In this way, women's rights in particular are removed from being a universal value, identified only with a certain culture and religion, and turned into a tool for the marginalization of migrants. Besides adopting nationalist and nativist policies that exclude migrants and refugees, another common feature of the far-right parties in Germany, France, and Italy is that all three-party leaders are women. In far-right parties' charismatic female leaders have come to the fore with their successes in recent years, as seen in the examples of Italy, France, and Germany. In Italy, the Brothers of Italy, led by Giorgia Meloni, formed the coalition government in 2022, while in France, the National Rally, led by Marine Le Pen, became the first party in the European Parliament (EP) elections in 2024. In Germany, the Alternative for Germany (AfD) party, led by Alice Weidel, has become a more extreme right-wing party in recent years. The AfD has been gaining strength, especially in the eastern states, and became the second party in Germany in the EP elections in 2024. Although this may seem like a paradox in a patriarchal world system where we are not used to seeing women at the helm of far-right parties, they have been able to make significant political gains by using their female identities with new identity politics

⁸ Bahçeşehir University

trends and the European Union's understanding of gender equality. The policies and rhetoric of far-right party leaders mostly point to the preservation of the traditional family structure from a white, Christian perspective while mostly excluding immigrant Muslim men.

In France, the National Rally Party, one of the oldest far-right parties in Europe, has undergone a strong transformation under the leadership of Marine Le Pen. As Farris (2017) has argued, Le Pen offers a typical example of femonationalism by legitimizing anti-immigrant discourses with a gender equality frame. According to Le Pen, Muslim men pose a threat to Europe's secular values and women's freedoms. While these discourses make Le Pen appear as a leader who defends women's rights, it is seen that she actually turns feminism into a means of legitimizing her anti-immigrant policies.

Le Pen (2016) presents herself as a leader who protects women's safety and claims that Muslim immigrant men, in particular, restrict the freedoms of French women. Using examples such as the mass harassment incidents in Cologne in 2016, she linked violence against women as a cultural problem. In this way, the issue of migration is also securitized. However, according to the French Ministry of the Interior, 14% of sexual violence cases were perpetrated by foreign nationals (Sideris, 2022). Under Le Pen's leadership, the party follows a different path than her father Jean-Marie Le Pen in order to increase the support of women voters. Le Pen tries to soften anti-immigrant propaganda by promising to protect women's rights, but creates an 'epistemic injustice' by ignoring feminist struggles. By concealing the patriarchy as the source of violence against women, she shifts the focus of the problem to immigrant men in her political discourse. This approach renders both the achievements of the feminist movement, and the real problems women face invisible.

In Italy, the Brothers of Italy, led by Meloni, is one of the most important indicators of the rise of the far right in European politics. Meloni (2019a), who adopted conservative policies with the slogan "God, homeland, family", garnered support on the basis of anti-immigrant sentiment. Meloni (2019b), who defines herself as "woman, mother, Italian and Christian", instrumentalizes her discourse, which at first glance may be perceived as defending women's rights, to defend her anti-immigrant policies. Meloni's policies are influenced by the decline in birth rates and the "Great Substitution Theory" (Meloni, 2019b). Immigrant women are portrayed as a demographic threat, while Italian women are urged to give birth more. Moreover, anti-abortion policies increase state control over women's bodies. By using anti-immigrant discourses in the name of women's safety, Meloni conceals the roots of social violence and blames the problem solely on immigrant and refugee men. In 2022, her use of a rape incident in Piacenza in her election propaganda (Pascoletti, 2022) is a concrete example of Meloni's instrumentalization of women's rights. By focusing on the immigrant identity of the perpetrator in this case, she ignored the murders of women committed by Italian men. By ignoring the achievements of the feminist movement and claiming to protect women's social security with

nationalist discourses, Meloni creates epistemic injustice with these discourses, and instead of solving women's real problems, she turns them into political material.

In Germany, AfD leader Weidel supports her party's homophobic and anti-immigrant policies despite being a woman and a lesbian. Despite the party's defense of the conservative family model, Weidel's identity allows the AfD to soften its radical rhetoric (Chazan, 2017). Weidel uses feminist values for exclusionary nationalist purposes, linking migrants to threats to women's safety in Germany. However, the AfD's policies are far from solving violence against women and contradict feminist struggles (Sprengholz, 2021). Critics who argue that a right-wing feminism is not possible consider Weidel's contradictory position as the party's political strategy (Bolz 2023). In Weidel's discourse, the instrumentalization of gender and sexual orientation identities and their use as a 'shield' against homophobia leads to a seeming softening of the AfD's radical policies.

In the Austrian elections of September 2024, the far-right Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) emerged as the leading party. Following Donald Trump's re-election as U.S. President in 2024, rising populism and the growing influence of anti-gender equality discourse worldwide are likely to persist. The federal parliamentary elections in Germany in February 2025 are critical for the future of the far right in both Germany and Europe. Prior to the 2024 European Parliament (EP) elections, the AfD was removed from the Identity and Democracy (ID) Group under the leadership of Marine Le Pen after a prominent candidate remarked to a newspaper that "not all SS officers were criminals" (BBC Turkish, 2024). After the 2024 EP elections, the AfD formed the Europe of Sovereign Nations Group, the most extreme far-right group in the EP. Will the winds of change continue to favor the far right and its female leaders in 2025 and the years to come? In this context, it appears we will keep a close eye on the charismatic female leaders of the far right (Öner 2023).

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The Overlooked Majority in Forced Displacement: Internally Displaced Persons

Müge Dalkıran⁹

According to the UNHCR's latest report published in June 2024, over 122.6 million people were forcibly displaced. While the conflict-driven displacement appears as the primary reason for the majority of the displacements, there is an emerging trend for climate-induced displacements. Even though refugees and asylum seekers often dominated the global discussions on displacement, the internally displaced persons (IDPs) remain underrepresented in policy debates, as well as resource allocations. The conflicts in Sudan, Ukraine and recent developments in Gaza have resulted in massive internal displacements, leaving millions without adequate living conditions, protection or assistance (UNHCR Regional Flash Update, December 2024; UNRWA Situation Report, December 2024).

The UNHCR Mid-Year Trends report dated June 2024 shows that the number of internally displaced people (IDPs) reached to a record level. Currently, IDPs make up the majority of the displaced populations, with numbers exceeding 68.3 million. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre this means approximately 50 per cent increase in five years, and over 110 per cent increase in the past decade. Although the majority of the IDPs face risk of conflict related crises, around 75 per cent of IDPs are in highly climate-vulnerable countries (UNHCR, 13 September 2024). Therefore, the complex and multi-causal nature of drivers of forced displacement create "mixed" migration patterns that further pose challenges for protection. Despite their scale, IDPs receive less attention, as their displacement often falls under domestic jurisdiction. This dynamic produces gaps in the legal framework, funding, and durable solutions. Although the current international protection framework offers "protection spaces" for certain forcibly displaced groups, significant "protection gaps" emerge due to inadequate legal recognition, lack of status, or inadequate practice (Zetter, 2015).

The UNHCR Focus Area Strategic Plan for Protection and Solutions for IDPs 2024-2030 identifies the crisis of IDPs as one of the eight focal areas aiming at the need for strengthened partnerships and coordination at different levels -macro, meso, micro- to bridge abovementioned critical gaps in response. As most IDPs live in informal urban areas, they face higher risk of violation and

⁹ Koç University Migration Studies Center (MiReKoç)

exploitation. In this context, gender-based violence and child protection appear as the priority agenda of humanitarian agencies. Nevertheless, in the countries where the majority of IDPs accommodate in camps, the basic services are provided by humanitarian actors. Yet, this approach is considered as short-term relief rather than a sustainable approach. When addressing the needs of IDPS, a gender-sensitive approach is critical. Women and girls face heightened risks, involving lack of access to health services, particularly reproductive care, aside from exposure to gender based violence, exploitation, and trafficking. UNHCR data show that displaced women are excessively affected by food insecurity and barriers to employment, which necessitate targeted interventions.

While the international community deals with these emerging trends in forced displacement, durable solutions -local integration, resettlement, voluntary repatriation- remain essential to address displacement. Throughout 2024, with the influence of the electoral process across the globe, return policies have increasingly dominated the discussions (Hardy, 17 June 2024). Repatriation seems to be prioritized as a means of migration governance in the following years. While voluntary repatriation can offer a path to stability if the conditions are well met, premature and coerced returns risk exposing displaced populations to further instability. Failing to establish adequate conditions for safe and dignified returns also raises possibilities of secondary movements, which can perpetuate cycles of violence and displacement with an increasing number of IDPs.

Moreover, as trends project that forced displaced populations continue to grow due to conflict, climate change, and instability, there is a significant need for a multi-dimensional strategy to provide an inclusive protection for immediate humanitarian needs but also build long-term development perspectives. For this purpose, fostering partnership among the international, regional, and local actors, as well as providing meaningful participation of displaced populations in decision-making processes, gain more importance to ensure protection.

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Women's Agency and R2P: A Gender-Based Approach

Gün Güneş Gülal¹⁰, Sanem Özer¹¹

The year 2024 witnessed genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity committed by state and non-state actors, and states failed to live up to their commitments on the responsibility to protect (R2P). The Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN) (2024) also noted that despite the evidence of crimes committed, states acted in a state of general indifference, denial, and disrespect so that decisions to prevent or halt atrocities were not taken in a timely manner. This is summarized by the fact that in 2024, only three UN Security Council resolutions (S/RES/2765, S/RES/2759, S/RES/2731) addressed R2P. However, in 2024, many civilians, especially women and children, were subjected to atrocity crimes in a wide geography ranging from Syria to Ukraine, Sudan to Palestine.

In 2001, the report published by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) drew attention to the responsibility to protect populations and presented a comprehensive study on R2P. Subsequently, the scope of the responsibility to protect was defined in the reports of the UN Secretary-General and the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document. Accordingly, the international community has a responsibility to protect all peoples from genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and crimes against humanity - all of which have a gendered impact. R2P, therefore, requires a gender perspective in addressing these crimes, which affect women, men, girls, and boys differently and all of which have a gendered nature. However, the ICISS report lacks a gender perspective and expertise. As many academic studies have pointed out, only one of the 12 members of the Commission working on the report and only four of the 15 members of the advisory board are women. As Charlesworth (2010) points out, while this is commonplace - despite treaty provisions that call for the elimination of discrimination against women in political and public life - it illustrates the “systematic” underrepresentation of women in the development of international law. However, the ICISS report only mentions the word woman in three places, one of which refers to the peaceful coexistence of women and men, while the other two focus on gender-based violence such as rape. Thus, while the report addresses women's protection and victimization, it ignores women's agency and the possible role of gender inequality as one of the root causes of crimes against humanity.

¹⁰ Ant Academy

¹¹ Akdeniz University

The gender blindness that began in the ICISS report continued in the following years and was reflected in the resolutions of the UN Security Council, the UN General Assembly, and the UN Commission on Human Rights, which did not address the unique experiences of women and girls and their role in conflict prevention and resolution. However, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) drew attention to strengthening the role of women as decision-makers and political actors in conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding, and ensuring gender equality in all UN programs and processes related to conflict, peace and security (UNSC 2000). This resolution has been completely ignored in documents and discussions on the responsibility to protect.

As Stefan (2021) notes, gender issues are "treated as an 'add-on' rather than being consistently included in R2P implementation strategies." Stefan (2021) underlines the need to consider gender violence in the implementation of R2P, noting that gender violence represents "the violent enactment of a hierarchical relationship between masculinity and femininity in which the victim is feminized and the perpetrator is masculinized". By 2025, crimes where gender inequality is a root cause of conditions that disempower individuals and deepen inequalities remain a direct concern for R2P. In terms of what can be done about this in the next decade, we can make the following recommendations for improving the responsibility to protect:

National and international programs and policies should aim for gender-sensitive leadership, aiming not only to prevent violence but also to eliminate gender inequalities that fuel conflict. Bond and Sherret (2012) argue that aligning R2P with gender frameworks such as the WPS can make protection efforts more inclusive and effective, and they recommend that R2P should approach conflict from a gender perspective in order to fulfill its promise of "real protection." Hewitt (2016) argues that more ethical early warning systems can be developed if gender-sensitive indicators are utilized, R2P can adopt gender-sensitive peacekeeping missions to better address women's vulnerabilities during conflict, and increasing women's participation in peace processes is critical for effective reconstruction.

A gender perspective should be treated as a core component of R2P, not an add-on, and the focus should be on women playing more and more important roles in the three phases of the responsibility to protect: prevention, response and reconstruction, without ignoring the fact that women are more affected than men in conflict situations. The language and practices of masculine, authoritarian, and populist politics, which are gaining more supporters and users today, can lead to a loss of this focus. If there is a significant increase in women's representation in decision-making roles at all levels (international organizations, national governments, local communities) related to R2P, women's real needs and early warning functions can be taken into account in decision-making processes. In the case of Türkiye, for a more sustained and cross-border impact, a campaign can be waged for the re-implementation of the Istanbul Convention in Türkiye and its widespread acceptance in our

immediate geography. At a time when violence against women is rapidly spreading and being used as a systematic weapon of war, it is possible for Turkey to actively support women's empowerment, first within its own country and then with international, regional, and local organizations. This can be done by promoting gender-sensitive training programs for all actors involved in the implementation of the Turkish R2P (peacekeepers, humanitarian aid workers, diplomats, etc.), raising greater public awareness of the importance of integrating the Women's Peace and Security Agenda into the R2P, and developing stronger partnerships and opportunities for collaboration between R2P and KBG agenda advocates, researchers, practitioners and organizations through universities and research institutions.

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2024: Super Election Year and its Global Implications

*Özge Mumcu Aybars*¹²

In 2024, national elections were held in more than 60 countries, and this critical year of reshaping the fate of countries has become known as the "Super Election Year." These elections involved the selection of a wide range of political positions, including presidential, parliamentary, and legislative bodies. Eight of the world's ten most populous countries - Bangladesh, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Pakistan, Russia, Mexico, Pakistan, Russia, and the United States - held national elections during this period, with nearly 2 billion voters (44% of the world's population) casting ballots. These elections transcended national borders and profoundly impacted the global economy, geopolitical balances, and social dynamics. The increasing role of technology and artificial intelligence, the proliferation of disinformation, and the rise of far-right movements have also been prominent themes of these electoral processes.

Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity (VUCA) (Bennis Nanus, 1985) provides an important perspective to make sense of the elections in 2024. The importance of adaptive leadership, innovative policy development and collaborative approaches has been highlighted by the events of this year. On the other hand, according to the concept of techno-feudalism, which assumes that power is concentrated in the hands of a few large technology companies, artificial intelligence is used to increase control and influence over societies through advanced data collection, real-time surveillance, and algorithmic management tools. The events of 2024 will be remembered through this dual framework as evidence of humanity's capacity to tackle collective crises and build a sustainable future.

Artificial intelligence (AI) has become integral to the 2024 election campaigns. AI-powered tools have been used effectively for voter outreach and data analysis, enabling campaigns to reach target audiences with unparalleled precision. However, these developments have also contributed to the spread of misinformation through manipulative content and deepfake videos.

The year 2024 was one that saw the rise of far-right movements that put pressure on democratic norms and values. Elections in European countries took place in the shadow of the Ukraine-Russia war, with far-right coalitions in countries such as Hungary, Poland, and Italy increasing opposition to the

¹² Uğur Mumcu Research Based Journalism Foundation (UM:AG)

European Union's migration and climate policies. The elections in Georgia, on the other hand, exacerbated domestic crises. Rumors of Russian interference in the elections in these countries marked the elections in Europe. In the US, the re-election of Donald Trump, who formed a strategic alliance with Elon Musk, revitalized the MAGA movement. Musk's social media platform X came to the forefront as a tool supporting right-wing ideologies in this process, further deepening social polarization (Al-Jazeera, 2025). In India, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) intensified pressure on democratic principles by increasing religious and ethnic polarization.

In addition to national elections, European Parliament (EP) elections were held between June 6 and 9. These elections will determine the EU's strategic direction for the next five years. From climate change, economic recovery, geopolitical challenges, migration, and the rule of law to democratic backsliding among member states to ensuring energy security, the EU's pressing issues were addressed by different parties. The European People's Party (EPP) emphasized economic stability and security, while the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D) advocated for stronger social policies and climate action. Renew Europe supported deeper integration, while the Greens/EFA prioritized environmental policies. On the other hand, right-wing groups such as Identity and Democracy (ID) and the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) focused on national sovereignty and immigration control (Chatham House, 2024).

Social media platforms like TikTok and X were also instrumental in mobilizing young voters in the 2024 elections. However, these platforms have also become centers of misinformation. Musk's algorithmic changes to the X platform spread right-leaning movements and conspiracy theories.

In conclusion, 2024 was a critical year in shaping global politics and restructuring global dynamics. Technological developments, including artificial intelligence, have brought opportunities as well as challenges, such as disinformation. Looking at societal dynamics, from the rise of far-right movements to youth voter turnout, the deepening tension between progressive discourses and the rise of conservative ones came to the surface.

The elections in 2024 have exposed leaders in different countries as connecting the effects of economic, social, and environmental factors on a global scale. Moreover, instead of driving regional diversity and strengthening collective resilience, the European Parliament elections revealed a different political dilemma.

From a VUCA perspective, the election results of 2024 are not only limited to the political effects of the past year but also serve as an important guide to the fragile global dynamics that will shape the next decade. The year 2024 will be remembered not only for promising developments, such as the development of artificial intelligence, but also for worrying trends. The decline of democratic values, anti-internationalist policies, and the rise of populist rhetoric have been among the negative elements

of the current functioning of global politics. In particular, the questioning of the effectiveness of transnational institutions and the loss of validity of the legal and political norms built after the Second World War revealed the fragility of the international system. These developments also point to the need to rethink the mechanisms of international cooperation.

The growing influence of artificial intelligence has played a decisive role not only in economic and technological fields but also in political processes (Bontcheva K et al, 2024). Especially in electoral processes, the increased risks of disinformation and manipulation have led to changes in the decision-making processes of individuals. The next decade has been a reminder of the fragile nature of democracy and the importance of political leaders taking critical steps to build a more inclusive, resilient, and just system at the national and international level. In order for societies to overcome challenges and grow stronger during this decade, it is essential to prioritize the use of technology not only as an innovative and useful tool but also in an ethical and people-centered way. It must be emphasized that democratic mechanisms that encourage individuals to make more informed decisions and participate more actively in societal processes are not a relic of the past but vital for the present. Otherwise, a dystopia shaped by techno-feudalism seems almost inevitable.

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TRUMP 2.0: The United States and the Future of the Liberal World in the Grip of Authoritarian Populism

*Helin Sari Ertem*¹³

In 2024, one of the most important events of the year was the US Presidential election, which has been in the news for months for its global implications and the second victory of Republican Donald Trump in this tough race. This time, his hand is much stronger than last time, as he has a majority of not only delegates but also popular votes. Moreover, Republicans dominate both the Senate and the House of Representatives in the new term. In the American system of government, which is based on checks and balances, the president has never had absolute authority, but in its current form, “the head of the executive” weighs heavily on the scales. There are a lot of uncertainty, arbitrariness, and noblesse oblige that contradict diplomatic conventions. The American bureaucracy, especially the State Department, will have to work overtime to clean up what Trump, who has come to the forefront with the rhetoric that he will "fix" the broken order, will shatter like an elephant entering a glass shop.

Trump, whose "unpredictability" is a legacy of his first presidential term, is a danger for some with his idiosyncratic rhetoric and actions. There are those in Democratic Party circles who believe that the liberal American system of governance will rapidly become authoritarian in the second Trump term. Trump's revanchist rhetoric, which includes the judiciary, and the attention he is receiving from Europe's far-right parties, which can be described as neo-racist, are further fueling this fear. However, Trump is actually the result of changing global balances and a highly polarized US society that is struggling to adapt to these changes, while at the same time struggling with its own internal problems. Trump, who is a typical reflection of the traditional WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant) identity that marked the founding of the US, achieved his victory mostly on the grounds that American society is becoming poorer and more heterogeneous, losing its essence.

According to Vivek Ramaswamy, an Indian-American billionaire who was part of Trump's inner circle during the election, the country is in the midst of a "national identity crisis", with faith, patriotism, hard work and family fast disappearing, replaced by woke culture [emphasizing social injustice, racial inequality and sexual orientation discrimination], climate change advocacy, drugs, suicide and depression. Judging by the more than 77 million votes Trump received (49.8%), the vast

¹³ Medeniyet University

majority of voters see Trump, whom they describe as "commander-in-chief", as the only way to end this identity crisis and rebuild national self-confidence.

Arguing that the US administration is more corrupt than ever, that the interests of decision-makers are overriding the interests of the people, and that the global balance of power is losing ground, Trump has managed to convince the majority of Americans that they will be the "true owners of the country". Obviously, those who thought the race would be neck-and-neck or end with a Democratic victory did not take Trump's promise of a new "Golden Age" to the American people seriously enough.

January 6, 2021: The most important point that stands out in Trump's harsh and reckless actions, especially the January 6, 2021, Congressional raid, which led to his repeated prosecution, is that he "never gives up." The authoritarian populism that has spread like an epidemic in global politics is a perfect fit for Trump, who has never accepted defeat throughout his life and has never hesitated to do what he set his mind to, even in the most difficult moments. For Trump, who has said he would deport illegal immigrants overnight and end the war in Ukraine quickly, anything that does not serve American national interests is a trifle. Sometimes it is the EU, sometimes NATO. In the profit-loss equation, it is impossible to predict who will win the lottery and who will be the final target of his sharp tongue. The fact that he talked about making Canada, his neighbor to the north, the 51st state, buying Greenland from Denmark, and recapturing the Panama Canal even before he took office shows that he is not afraid of being labeled as a "neo-imperialist." Nevertheless, it would not be wrong to say that he won the last elections with his proposals on domestic problems rather than his foreign policy goals.

During the campaign, Trump caressed the souls of rural, unemployed, and economically challenged "anti-immigrant, anti-LGBTQ+ and anti-abortion" Americans, holding the years of resentment and frustration that had accumulated in these groups tightly in the palm of his hand, like a bird that he could fly away if necessary. The support he received from the world of technology and business enabled him to fly this bird, in other words, to win millions of votes. Elon Musk, who destroyed the chirping of Twitter in the darkness of X, worked for Trump with all his might during the campaign. Musk, who had no qualms about literally jumping up and down on the podium to get the masses fired up, must have at one point reconsidered how far he had gone for this victory, as he uttered words like "If Trump loses, I'm finished." Fortunately, his fears were not realized.

Taking advantage of all the communication blessings of the post-truth era in the company of Musk and other tech giants, Trump has once again managed to turn his grandiose identity and hyper-reductionist rhetoric into a vote multiplier as he has become more popular after surviving two assassination attempts. With a net worth of 6.5 billion dollars, Trump, who is among the top 500 richest people in the world, united millions of low-income and uneducated people who voted for him around the same cause; he told them what they "wanted to hear" rather than what the truth was. To

paraphrase Ece Temelkuran, in today's world, what is decisive is not what the truth is based on absolute knowledge, but what the masses "want to believe." Trump has told the traditional American electorate "The story he prefers to believe."

Believing was a need, after all. Our beliefs shaped what was "good", who we wanted to live with, what kind of life we wanted to live, and our proposed solutions to the state of the world. Populism, on the other hand, bent and twisted these beliefs as it pleased, making mountains out of molehills and molehills out of fleas, just like Trump. Trump, who said in his victory speech, "I will fight for you until my last breath, and I will not rest until I deliver to you the strong, secure and prosperous America you deserve," is now ready to lead not only his own country but also the world into new adventures, like a victorious commander. The first signs are that his hard-line cabinet, after a quick (but questionably sustainable) ceasefire between Israel and Hamas and a forced reconciliation between Russia and Ukraine, will again focus its attention on Iran and China. For Türkiye, the situation remains uncertain. The future of the new Syrian government and the fight against terrorism are likely to remain at the top of the agenda in bilateral relations in the near term.

After his inauguration on January 20, 2025, Trump's first act was to sign a slew of executive orders, pulling the United States back out of the Paris Climate Agreement, pardoning 1,600 people - some of them in jail - charged in the January 6 Congressional raid, initiating exit proceedings from the World Health Organization (WHO), which he accused of incompetence during the Covid era, and declaring a 'national emergency' on the country's southern border to stop illegal immigrants. But there is much more he plans to do on the domestic front.

It is known that the main target of the new period will be the 'Diversity, Equity and Inclusion' (DEI) Programs. In this context, it is also expected that a series of changes regarding women's rights and LGBTQ+ rights will be on the table. The first concrete step in this direction was to end the representation of sexual identities with different pronouns in federal institutions with a decree. This is just the beginning for conservatives, who applauded Trump in his inauguration speech when he declared: "From now on, the official policy of the US government is that there are only two genders: men and women".

If his election promises are remembered, there are new steps such as preventing trans women from competing in women's sports and cutting funding for schools that support trans identities. Although he has stated that he will leave the final decision on abortion rights to the states, it is thought that his final stance on this issue is not clear. If his plans to restrict access to health and maternity services come to fruition, this will particularly affect low-income women. There are also near-term concerns about the dismantling of institutions to protect women from violence against women and the gradual loss of gains in gender equality. We seem to be in for another highly controversial Trump era, both at home and abroad.

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A Year in Ireland: Palestine, Elections, and Migration

*Ayşegül Gökalp Kutlu*¹⁴

The year 2024 has been turbulent for the Republic of Ireland, a small island nation with a population of 5 million. Attracting international attention as one of the countries to give the strongest response to Israel's attacks on Gaza, Ireland also experienced significant developments in its domestic politics. Anti-migration protests that began in 2022 continued throughout this year, leading to deep debates within society. Additionally, with the snap elections in November, Ireland joined the wave of elections sweeping the world in 2024. Moreover, the decision of the European Court of Justice, which ordered tech giant Apple, based in Dublin, to pay 13 billion Euros in taxes to Ireland, sparked a heated economic and legal debate in the country.

Despite being a member of the European Union, Ireland has taken a different stance on Israel's policies than the EU and has been advocating for Palestine's independence and a two-state solution with a fully sovereign Palestinian state since 1980 (Department of Foreign Affairs, 2024). Palestine opened a representative office in Ireland in 2001, and in January 2011, Ireland granted diplomatic status to the Palestinian delegation. On May 22, 2024, Ireland, in coordination with Norway and Spain, announced its recognition of the Palestinian state. In response, Israel decided to withdraw its ambassador from Ireland. In November 2024, Palestine's first ambassador took office.

Following the International Criminal Court's arrest warrant for Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for war crimes in Gaza, on November 21, Taoiseach (Irish for prime minister) Simon Harris declared that Netanyahu would be arrested if he visited Ireland (Reuters, 22.11.2024). The hottest development in December 2024 was Ireland's official involvement in the genocide case against Israel filed by South Africa at the International Court of Justice. Following this decision, Israeli Foreign Minister Gideon Sa'ar accused the Irish government of "antisemitism" and announced the closure of Israel's embassy in Dublin. Israeli Ambassador Dana Erlich accused Ireland of taking an anti-Israel stance like no other country, highlighting concerns about the safety of the Jewish community and Israeli citizens in Ireland, while Sa'ar accused Prime Minister Harris of antisemitism (BBC, 17.12.2024).

¹⁴ Kocaeli University

Ireland's support for Palestine can be attributed to its foreign policy, which values international institutions and multilateral cooperation. Additionally, a large portion of the Irish public strongly supports Palestine. According to a poll conducted by the Irish Times in February, 62% of the public disagreed with Israel's attacks on Gaza (The Irish Times, 09.02.2024). Former Taoiseach Leo Varadkar described Palestine's history as one of "displacement, dispossession, the questioning or denial of national identity, forced migration, discrimination, and a story shaped by hunger today" (Kennedy and McSweeney, 2024). Furthermore, there is a notable similarity between Palestine's history and Ireland's divided past, and the Northern Ireland issue. At the public level, campaigns, demonstrations, and aid activities organized in solidarity with the Palestinian people reflect Irish society's sensitivity to the Palestinian cause.

While these developments were unfolding in foreign policy, the most significant event in domestic politics was the general elections in November 2024. The key issues that dominated the elections were the housing shortage, high rents, and disruptions in healthcare services. The increasing population due to rising migration was an important factor contributing to these issues. Between April 2023 and April 2024, the number of immigrants to Ireland reached 149,200, the highest level in 17 years. Thus, for the third consecutive 12-month period, more than 100,000 people immigrated to Ireland (Central Statistics Office, 2024). While this migration wave is linked to Ireland's economic appeal due to low corporate taxes, which attract tech and pharmaceutical giants, the increase in refugee and international protection applications is also notable. In 2024, there were twice as many asylum applications compared to 2023 and three times more than in 2021. The government has spent 1.8 billion Euros on housing asylum seekers since 2022, which has led to criticism of migration policies in a country facing housing shortages (Kenny, 2024).

Thus, migration has become an even more prominent issue in the election, deepening problems like housing shortages, cost of living, and access to public services. The need to reform the migration system was featured in the rhetoric of all parties and independent candidates. The far-right rhetoric, emerging as a new face in Irish politics, led to large protests, particularly in neighborhoods where buildings were planned for the housing of asylum seekers. Slogans such as "Irish Lives Matter", "Ireland is Full", and "Send them back" were displayed during these protests. Following a stabbing attack by an Irish citizen of Algerian descent on November 23, 2023, in Dublin's city center, in which three children and one woman were injured, calls for arming against migrants and the government's migration policies were made on social media. A large crowd gathered in central Dublin, setting fire to a police car, a bus, and a tram, attacking a building where migrants were staying, and looting shops. In November 2024, one of those involved in the incident received a 6.5-year prison sentence (Reynolds, 2024). The far-right's failure to enter parliament in the general elections suggests that their rhetoric has not (yet) resonated with the public. According to a public opinion poll conducted by the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland in August 2024, 64% of the Irish public believes that people who come to Ireland to build a better life should be welcomed. Furthermore, 82% of participants supported Irish

companies hiring workers from outside the EU in sectors with skill or labor shortages, and 65% supported allowing those with work permits to bring their spouses and children (MRCI, 2024). These findings indicate that the Irish public has adopted a positive approach to migration policies based on labor needs.

Finally, the representation of women in politics was another notable issue in the elections. Although women's suffrage was established in Ireland in 1922, the representation of women in politics has always remained low. In 2012, a law was passed requiring political parties to nominate 40% female candidates, with a provision that parties failing to comply would not benefit from state funding. The 2024 elections showed a 52% increase in the number of female candidates compared to the 2020 general elections, demonstrating that the quota system is functional. According to the election results, of the 174 members of parliament, 44 were women, reaching the highest level of female representation in Irish history at 25%. However, this is still below the EU average of 31.6% (The Guardian, 2024).

Ireland has achieved significant progress over the past decade, including legalizing same-sex marriage and removing barriers to abortion. However, the low participation of women in politics and the high prevalence of violence against women are alarming. In Ireland, one in four women experiences violence from a partner or spouse (Women's Aid, 2024), underscoring the urgent need for gender equality. While discussions continue regarding the use of the 13 billion euros in taxes that Apple is set to pay to the Irish government, allocating part of this resource for gender equality seems essential.

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The Success of Turkish Women Athletes and the "Sultans of the Net" or the National Women's Volleyball Team

*Burcu Asena*¹⁵

Historically, the participation of Turkish women in international competitions as athletes has been seen as one of the strong messages of the Republic's modernization process (Civralı 2020). Because of political and economic turbulence, this idea remained an ideal for a very long time. Finally, defeating their global rivals, the national women's volleyball players became more visible in Türkiye 2023 in the centenary of the Republic's foundation, surpassing men's teams—especially football—in success. The National Women's Volleyball Team began to be recognized as part of popular culture in 2003, when a commentator, during the live broadcast of the European Women's Volleyball Championship in which they finished second, excitedly coined the nickname "Sultans of the Net" and introduced the slogan "We are a volleyball country." By 2023-2024, they had become a source of national pride for the majority of the Turkish public.

The aesthetics and quality of their matches, the victories they secured, the iconic photos captured, and the balance of sincerity with professionalism in their social media presence were considered as indicators that not everything was going wrong in the country. Some matches, played on the other side of the world, were watched live at 3:00 AM, with fans setting alarms to wake up for them. A New York Times article stated, "While some ultra-conservatives attack them, claiming they violate Islamic values, their fans see them as the perfect symbols of strong women in a country where women fight for equality." Based on audience statements, the article highlighted that when Türkiye grappled with high inflation, the devastation of earthquakes, and political polarization, Turkish female athletes, especially the volleyball players, inspired women. Their success was so monumental that President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan posted a tweet of praise, which was reported by the global media. The entire team, including LGBTQ+ players, was embraced, and the criticism often directed at women's volleyball uniforms—particularly the shorts—was dismissed regarding these athletes.

¹⁵ TED University

With the rise of the "Sultans of the Net," advertising campaigns also began to change. Instead of simply promising "pleasure, relaxation, peace, and happiness" (Güler 2019), commercial narratives emphasized the invaluable nature of victories achieved through fierce competition and the worldwide recognition these achievements garnered. In the 2023 Volleyball Nations League (VNL), three of the seven players selected for the Dream Team were from Türkiye: Zehra Güneş (Best Middle Blocker), Gizem Örgü (Best Libero), and Melissa Vargas (Best Opposite Spiker) (Banca, 2023). The "Sultans of the Net" also came to be known as "Atatürk's Daughters" in tribute to the hundredth anniversary of the Republic.

In 2023-2024, volleyball was not the only sport where Turkish women athletes made their mark. Many other female athletes brought home medals by defeating international competitors: Neslihan Yiğit (badminton); Çağla Büyükkakçay (tennis); İlke Özyüksel (modern pentathlon); Göksu Üçtaş Şanlı (gymnastics); Busenaz Sürmeneli, Buse Naz Çakıroğlu (boxing); Gülistan Turan, Bediha Taçyıldız (Muay Thai); Tuğba Danışmaz (Long Jump & Triple Jump); Sude Yaren Uzunçavdar, Nafia Kuş Aydın (taekwondo); Hazal Burun (archery); Tuba Yakan (karate); Nisanur Erbil (fencing); Şahika Ercümen (freediving); Aysu Türkoğlu (open water swimming); Sümeyye Boyacı (paralympic swimming); Öznur Cüre Girdi (paralympic archery); Aysel Özgan (paralympic shooting). These athletes made "the Turkish nation proud" with their outstanding performances.

With the growing acknowledgment of women's accomplishments in media and society, there was a renewed celebration of hard work and earned success. The triumph of the National Women's Volleyball Team in 2023 secured Türkiye's place in the 2024 Paris Olympics. Meanwhile, the Men's National Volleyball Team fell short in the qualifiers and did not reach Paris. Despite the women's exceptional performance, the official website of the Turkish Volleyball Federation (TVF) listed the "Sultans of the Net" beneath the men's team, "Captains of the Net," until the end of 2024, when this was finally rectified, and the women's team was elevated to the top. This indicated that Türkiye was progressing in how it represented women in sports through institutional communication.

In 2023, the most-watched sporting event across all disciplines—including football—was the final European Women's Volleyball Championship, where Türkiye defeated Serbia 3-1 to claim the title. In 2024, despite the National Women's Volleyball Team's Olympic matches being scheduled during morning work hours, they still topped the television ratings.

Women's success also empowered them to advocate for their rights. Although many volleyball players are over 1.90 meters in height, they were forced to travel in cramped economy class seats on a 13-hour flight to the U.S., despite one of their official sponsors being an airline. They protested this injustice by posting photos on social media. Meanwhile, the men's national football team, which had

not even qualified for major tournaments, was provided with a private jet, bearing the players' gigantic portraits on its outer body. The stark contrast in treatment led to a social media and mainstream media outcry, ultimately upgrading the volleyball team to business class for their return flight.

In 2024, Türkiye, a country where women are rarely visible in public spaces outside of advertisements that objectify them, saw a monumental shift. A massive statue of Women's National Volleyball Team captain Eda Erdem was erected, and a park in Ataşehir was named after her, with its ground and walls decorated with images of female athletes. Female volleyball players also dominated search engine trends—not just for their game statistics but also for personal details like their families, heights, lipstick shades, and hair dye numbers, turning them into influencers.

Türkiye's recent breakthrough in women's sports has started to challenge traditional gender roles and the conventional notion of "appropriate" careers for women. Instead of the long-accepted model of women getting married, raising children, and making only a supplementary contribution to the household income, society has begun to appreciate the image of strong women who dedicate themselves to their sports careers, traditionally considered male-dominated.

In September 2023, searches for "girls' volleyball courses" increased 180 times compared to July 2023, and this surge extended beyond volleyball to other sports. Newspaper headlines such as "Dilek Koçak, the European champion discovered while herding animals in Erzurum, now sets her sights on Paris 2024" (Küçük 2023) highlighted the growing trend of scouting talent beyond major cities. As private clubs became increasingly competitive in sports, talent scouts expanded their reach beyond urban centers (Selek 2024), paving the way for more female athletes to compete and win medals for Türkiye in various disciplines.

For now, the technical staff behind these female athletes is still predominantly male—not only in Türkiye but worldwide. However, it is likely that soon, women will enter these roles as well, gradually transforming sports into a less male-dominated field. The success of female athletes is already influencing the sports industry, which receives large-scale government investment, and this shift is also reshaping the audience's perception of sports.

Some of the most notable economic and social gains from this transformation include the 2025 FIVB Volleyball Nations League being held in Istanbul for the first time, the increased airtime dedicated to women's sports on television, and former female national volleyball players being appointed as moderators for these programs.

Nevertheless, challenges persist. One of the most significant sports controversies of the year was the case of Gamze Durmuş Pakkan, Türkiye's first female FIFA referee. Despite UEFA's intervention,

she was removed from the European refereeing list due to her pregnancy. Upon returning to work, she was demoted and forced to restart her career instead of continuing at the First Category level she had rightfully earned. Her case underscored the ongoing struggle for women's rights in sports.

As the 2024 Paris Olympics marked the first time in history that the number of male and female athletes was equal, the following central question is whether future Olympics—starting with the 2028 Los Angeles Games—will achieve gender equality in technical staff and audience representation. Whether this is wishful thinking, or an achievable goal remains to be seen.

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Taylor Swift: New Face of Global Activism?

Bezen Balamir Coşkun¹⁶, Zeynepnaz Coşkun¹⁷

Starting on March 17, 2023, and ending on December 8, 2024, the ERAS tour, which included 149 concerts on 5 continents and was seen by more than 10 million fans, made Taylor Swift one of the most talked about women of 2024. Only two concerts were canceled as part of the ERAS tour: The concert in Rio de Janeiro was canceled due to extreme temperatures, and the concerts in Vienna were canceled due to the threat of a terrorist attack. In addition to the live tour, the film shot during the tour became the most watched concert film in history, grossing over 260 million dollars globally (Fleck, 2024).

Since the beginning of the tour, Swift has paid \$197 million in bonuses to the ERAS Tour artists and crew. These bonuses were in addition to the salaries of crew members, from truck drivers to caterers, carpenters to hair stylists. In addition, the buzz and consumer spending generated by Taylor Swift concerts made Swift an economic phenomenon. In the US alone, the ERAS Tour generated over \$5 billion in consumer spending. The vibrancy that hosting Taylor Swift concerts brings to the economies of countries has led to diplomatic tensions between Southeast Asian countries, making it one of the main topics of debate at the ASEAN Summit in March 2024. Thailand's Prime Minister Srettha Thavisin claimed that the ERAS Tour had become politicized and accused the Singapore government of providing a hefty grant of US\$3 million per show to guarantee that Swift would not perform in other Southeastern Asian countries. The other developing countries in Southeastern Asia also wanted a piece of the pie. Many issues planned to be discussed at the ASEAN summit were overshadowed by the fact that Taylor Swift concerts in the region were only held in Singapore (McGuirk, 2024).

Taylor Swift, whose social media accounts have 552 million followers and tickets for all her concerts are sold out almost a year in advance of their release, has become an economic phenomenon on the one hand and a political figure with her opposition to Trump before the US elections.

¹⁶ TED University

¹⁷ Kitabunt, Munich

In 2005, Swift, who started her professional music career, followed an apolitical path until 2018, but in 2018, Swift started to show herself as an influential figure in the political arena by sharing posts urging her followers to register to vote and vote for the Democratic candidate in the elections in which Trump was the candidate again in 2018. Since March 2018, when she shared the slogan "Let's march for our lives", Swift has clearly revealed her side in American politics, writing a letter to the Democratic Senators representing the state where she resides to pass the Equality Act. In 2019, she supported LGBTQ people and the Pride Week Parade with her video clip for the song "You Need to Calm Down", and frequently posted posts describing the Trump administration as an autocracy. Taylor Swift, who is anti-discrimination, against violence against women and supports the "Black Lives Matter" movement, announced her support for Kamala Harris against Trump in 2024. In doing so, she broke her silence about Trump's sharing of AI-generated images that showed her as a MAGA (Make America Great Again) supporter during his campaign. She responded sarcastically to Republican Vice-Presidential candidate J.D. Vance's comments that Democrats are "childless women with cats."

With the documentary "Miss Americana", released in 2020, Taylor Swift explained to her fans and the whole world why she remained apolitical for most of her career and why this stance changed. Taylor Swift was born in 1989 in Pennsylvania and has been interested in songwriting and performing arts since a very young age. Swift wrote and composed her first song at the age of 12, attracting the attention of the Nashville country music community. Swift continued to make country music throughout high school and became the youngest musician ever to sign with Sony Music.

In 2006, her debut album rose to number 5 on the US Billboard albums chart. In short, Taylor Swift started her career and rose to fame in Nashville, the center of country music. At the same time, since she debuted in Nashville, which is known for its conservatism in America, Swift's PR team thought it was very important for her career to maintain her image as an apolitical and clean-cut American girl.

So, Swift was not allowed to make any political comments or take sides. Swift, who was only 16-17 years old, remained apolitical for a very long time because she could not find the strength to risk her career that she had worked so hard. But as her age and fame grew, these limitations started to bother Swift a lot. In one scene in the documentary, she sits at a big table with her entire crew, and with tears in her eyes and her voice shaking, she says she wants to take a stand against the disturbing anti-LGBTQ political developments in her home state of Pennsylvania. People in the crew say that if she does this, her new album won't sell, and her career will be over. But these scare tactics did not deter Swift anymore, and she says, "I am ready to take risks", and starts sharing political posts.

Taylor Swift's activism has been criticized not only by the right-wing media but also by the liberal media. One of the biggest criticisms Swift has received is that her feminism has shifted towards white feminism. In her book "White Feminism: Notes on Disruption" Rafia Zakaria defines the concept as the role that whiteness and the racial privilege attached to it play in universalizing white feminist concerns, agendas and beliefs as if they were the agenda and concerns of all feminists. This criticism became especially intense after Swift made no comment about the genocide taking place in Gaza. In addition, environmentalists have directed their criticism at Swift for the carbon footprint of the ERAS tour. The tour's reliance on air travel for international concerts created significant emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases that contribute to climate change. According to the EPA Greenhouse Gas Calculator, the estimated emissions from private jet travel alone for the 2024 leg of Taylor Swift's ERAS Tour were 511,154 kg CO₂ (Lemaire, Braumberger & Morris, 2024). These high emission figures have led to criticism that Swift's ERAS tour was an environmental disaster.

In a nutshell, Taylor Swift has been one of the most iconic characters of 2024, for better or worse, with some universities in the US and Europe offering elective courses on her. Although she could not prevent Trump's election, Swift showed the world how a pop icon can be an effective rights defender and activist. Considering that we will spend 4 years of the next 10 years in a world where Trump is the President of the US, it is obvious that we will need more young women like Taylor Swift, who are successful and have effective channels to make their voices heard. Our hope is that Taylor Swift, who has become one of the most famous people in the world, will show her upright stance more often and make her voice heard more in this difficult period.

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