

# The Origins of Radicalisation



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Serdar ERDURMAZ

## Introduction

Seven separated explosions have been happened in Paris, caused 129 deaths in November 13, 2015 created big outrages all over the world. The authorities announced that one of the live bombers was a 29 year old Omar Ismail Mostefai, who is French citizen with Algerian origin. During investigation one of the French police official said, “The aim is to figure out what led this man to become a suicide bomber”. This expression brings before our attention very significant clue that the studies on how Islam is being used as a terror instrument by means of radicalization has utmost importance.

In order to find answers to above questions we need first to study and understand the subjects below. First, we highlight that what are radical and radicalism. Second, we try to understand what the Islamic radicalism is and why some young European men in Muslim faith, who have been raised, educated and lived in western style democratic societies, are giving up everything that they have had in order to participate in Jihadist fractions as violent radicals or extremists. The last question is how Islam is being exploited in terrorist actions by the extremist radicals of Islam.

The goal of this research is to examine the reasons behind the question asked by French police officer; “what led this man to become a suicide bomber” in order to find sound answers particularly in the aspect of radicalism of Islam.

## Radicals and Radicalism

Radical derived from the Latin radixroot and according to the Cambridge Dictionary Online; as adjective- believing or expressing the belief that there should be great or extreme social or political change; as noun- a person who supports great social and political change. In scientific studies there is no common definition of radicalisation on which consensus has been held. Nevertheless, policy makers have been developed a few definitions focused on two different aspects of it;

“1) violent radicalisation, where emphasis is put on the active pursuit or acceptance the use of violence to attain the stated goal; 2) on a broader sense of radicalisation, where emphasis is placed on the active pursuit or acceptance of far-reaching changes in society, which may or may not constitute a danger to democracy and may or may not involve the threat of use of violence to attain stated goals”.

In the present study we take into consideration of the “violent radicalisation” to figure out the main roots of Islamic radicalisation.

## Islamic Radicalism

Radical Islam or Islamic Radicalism or Islamic Fundamentalism is mostly described using in relation to Islamic ideology of Wahhabi movement. Today, this radical movement prevails throughout the world, especially nowadays in the form of ISIL in Middle East and terrorist extensions in Europe. It is very important to understand the main roots of this movement to figure

re out what are the ideological differences with the traditional Islam and how are these influencing the Sunni believer to turn in militant of ISIL.

According to Radical Islamists tend to gravitate toward three major methods of achieving their ultimate objective. The first is to fight the Near Enemy prior to fighting the Far Enemy. The Near Enemy is anyone inside Islamic lands, whether it is an occupier or someone who has taken away territory that used to be Islamic. The second method is to fight the Greater Unbelief—the major enemy, which today is the United States—before the Lesser Unbelief. And the third method is to fight the Apostates (false Muslims) first, and then the other Unbelievers.

In ten volume Encyclopedia of the Afghan Jihad (1996) clearly defined ultimate aim of radicalisation of Islamic groups throughout the world;

“to support for Muslimin surgenents in countries around the world; destroying Israel; destroying the United States; and finally, restoration of the Islamic caliphath uniting all Muslim nations”.

Radical Islam’s kinship with terrorism, and its willingness to use violence as a means to its ultimate ends, is clearly spelled out in a training manual produced by the radical Islamist terror group al Qaeda.

As the title suggests, this article was written about terrorism, not radicalisation per se. However, in seeking to explain how individuals might come to join a terro-

rist group and how these groups might come to support violent action, the article clearly covers ground common with that covered by many of those seeking to understand violent radicalisation. Crenshaw breaks down potential causes into three categories. Firstly, situational, which includes both permissive and motivational pre-conditional factors - which enable the possibi-

lity of radicalisation, such as the internet, and motivate feelings against (the State, for example), such as poverty or racial inequality. As well as these pre-conditional situational factors Crenshaw also argues that there are precipitant situational factors - events that may be seen as triggers for actions, UK foreign policy in Iraq being a commonly cited contemporary example.

Secondly there are the strategic aims of the group, such as to cause fear (short-term) or to change a political status-quo (long-term). The last set of issues Crenshaw identifies are to do with individual factors relating to motivation and participation in groups, such as psychological issues.

## Radikalleşme Mi? Radikalleştirme Mi?

Assit Prof. Dr. Hasan EŞİCİ



Radikalleşme mi? Radikalleştirme mi? bugünün dünyasını ve bu dünyada yaşayan insanı fiziksel olarak işlemek isteyen bütün güçlerin insanın ve insanın yaşaması için ihtiyaç duyduğu dünyanın manevi olarak ihmal edilmesinin bir ürünü müdür? İnsana ait bilinmezleri çözmeye ve insanın gelişimine hizmet etmek yerine, bütün insanlığı üretim-tüketim alışkanlıkları, kitle iletişim araçları, sosyal medya vb. ile esir almaya çalışma çabası dünyayı büyük bir kaosun eşiğine getirmektedir. Dünyanın farklı coğrafyalarında yaşanan savaş, terör veya diktatörlüklerin yaydığı korku dünyadaki insanların ortak duygusu haline gelmiştir.

Bugün dünyadaki insanların en büyük ihtiyacı madde üzerinden tanımlanan konforu kaybetmemek veya o konfora ulaşmaktır. Bu anlamda konfor günümüz dünyasının ürettiği en büyük uyuşturucudur. Konfora kavuşma arzusu insanları savaşa bile yönlendirebilirken, konfora sahip olan insanları ise dünyanın acı gerçeklerine karşı duyarsız hale getirebilmektedir. Yaşanan korkunun ve arzulanan konforun arasında sıkışan, insani özelliklerini geliştiremediğinin farkında bile olmayan, dünyada-

ki bütün baskılara başkaldırma gücünü kendinde bulamayan insanların bu felakete dur diyebilmesi şuan için zor görünmektedir.

Radikal insanı ve radikal hareketleri üreten dünya, aynı şekilde normal insanı ve normalleşmeyi de üretebilir mi?

Radikal kavramına birçok disiplin kendi zaviyesinden açıklamada bulunmaya çalışmaktadır. Sosyoloji, felsefe, yönetim, siyaset, psikoloji, istatistik, din gibi adını sayamadığımız birçok alanın bu kavrama ilişkin bakış açısı bulunmaktadır. Öyle ki, radikal kavramı birçok disiplinin teknik veya teorik yaklaşımlarla izah edebileceği, ancak çok boyutlu bakışın zor yakalanabileceği bir kavram olarak karşımızda durmaktadır. Buna karşılık "radikal" kavramı ekseriyetle siyaset biliminde, normalden sapmış veya aşırı siyasal veya toplumsal yapılar için kullanılmaktadır. Siyaset arenasında radikal kavramı kendi gerçekliğini tam olarak ve yalın haliyle sunabilmek yerine farklı siyasi aktörlerin veya hareketlerin amaçları doğrultusunda her an yeniden anlam kazanan bir hale gelmiştir.

"Radikal"i anlamak için "normal"i anlamak gerekmektedir. Sosyal

bilimler için ise normal tanımlamak imkansızdır. Çünkü insanın duygu, düşünce, değer ve davranışlarının mutlak anlamda normunu bulmak mümkün olmadığı için bireyin veya grupların davranışlarını değerlendirirken bağli normlara, toplumsal değerlere, kültürel veya evrensel bazı bakış açılarına bağlı kalınabilmektedir. Yani bireye veya topluma ait bir durumu yada olayı açıklamaya çalışırken başvurulan bağli değerlendirme kriterlerinin çerçevesinin izin verdiği ölçüyle sınırlı kalınmakta, bakış açısının sınırları ve sınırlılıklarıyla beraber bir miktar da hata karıştırılmaktadır. Daha anlaşılır bir şekilde söylemek gerekirse bireyin veya toplumun duygu, düşünce, değer ve davranışlarını değerlendirmek için objektif bir bakış açısını sunabileceğimiz mutlak manada insanların veya toplumların tamamen kabul edeceği mutlak normların olmasıdır. Dolayısıyla sosyal bilimlerin tamamında yapılan bütün değerlendirmeler subjektif bir bakış açısına sahip olmaktadır. Thomas Khun' un (1970) paradigma kavramıyla açıklamaya çalıştığı durum bu subjektifliğin kaynağını bilimsel çalışmalar için dahi ortaya koymaya çalışmıştır. Oysa ki pozitivist bakış

açısına göre bilimin tek amacı "olgular arasındaki değişmez ilişkileri ya da doğa yasalarını bulmak" idi (Sönmez, 2010). Fen bilimleri için bile değişmez yasaları bulmak oldukça zor iken sosyal bilimler için bu yasaları bulmak veya bulmaya çalışmak iddiası aslında büyük bir yanılgı idi. Khun'un bu anlamda mutlak ve değişmez yasaları bulma iddiası yerine paradigmalara ile olayları ve olguları açıklamaya çalışması bilim insanları başta olmak üzere, aslında dünyadaki insanların birbirini anlamasının şifrelerini de çözmeye çalışmıştı. Bugün gelinen noktada post modernizm de bilginin nesnelliği reddederek, bilginin bilen kişinin özellikleriyle veya onu yansıtan kuramsal bakış açısından hareketle bilinebileceğini iddia etmektedir (Ericson, 1998). Bu anlayışın bireyler ve toplumsal yapılar tarafından algılanışı yeniden yapılandırıcılık olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Yurducul, 2005).

Dünyada başta eğitim sistemleri olmak üzere sosyal ve siyasal sistemler post modern bakış açılarının ve yeniden yapılandırıcı yaklaşımın etkisi altındadır. Bu etki ile birlikte dünyanın ortak kabul edeceği duygu, düşünce ve değerlerin oluşmasının git gide zorlaştığı görülmektedir. Özellikle kitle iletişim araçlarının ve sosyal medyanın hem bireylerin hem de toplumsal yapıların benliklerini ve kimliklerini yeniden inşa etmesine ve sürekli algılanışındaki farklılığı yönetmesine yardımcı olmaktadır. Bugün kimliklerini inşa etmek isteyen bireylerin bu süreçte ihtiyaç duyacağı bütün her şey arz edilmekte, gerçek kimliklerin yerine geçici kimliklerin inşa edilmesine, insanlık için kalıcı çözümler üretmek yerine geçici çözümlerin üretilmesine sebep olmaktadır. Adeta insanların yaradılışındaki dinginliğin ve sadeliğin yerini, aceleciliğin ve karmaşıklığın aldığı görülmek-

tedir. Her an yeniden üretilen ve hızla tüketilen kimliklere sahip olmamızı dayatan bir dünyada yaşamaya çalışıyoruz. "Millet" in de bilişsel bir şekilde yeniden yapılandırılan bir toplum olduğu iddia edilen bir dünyada (Anderson, 1991) huzur ve refaha sahip insanlık da yeniden inşa edilebilir. Bu anlamda post modern arayışlar ve yeniden yapılandırıcı yaklaşım, insanlığın yararına olacak yeni bir sürecin başlatıcısı olarak kullanılabilir.

Dünyadaki hıza yetişmeye çalışan insan, kimliğini inşa ederken ihtiyaç duyduğu temel duygu, düşünce, değer ve davranışları dikkate almamaktadır. Aslında kapitalizm bu anlamda dünyaya sürekli bir tüketme arzusu pompalarken beraberinde insanı ve insanlığı tükettiğini de görmektedir. İnsanlığa karşı borcunu ödemek için üretim ve tüketim süreçlerini insanı ve insanlığı yeniden inşa etmek için seferber etmelidir.

Bu kadar karmaşık bir dünyada insanın ve insanlığın korunması için insanlığa ait mutlak olmasa da herkesin kesin olarak kabul edebildiği bir takım normlara ihtiyaç bulunmaktadır. Aslında insanların kendisini yeniden inşa ederken eksiklerini görebileceği, insanlığın mihenk noktası olabilecek duygu, düşünce, değer ve davranışlara ihtiyaç bulunmaktadır. Bunlar yapısı gereği güçlüye-güçsüze, zengine-fakire, doğuluya-batılıya göre değişmeden gerçek anlamda herkes için kabul edilebilir ve hayata uygulanabilir değerler olmalıdır. Yani bireyin ve sosyal sistemlerin kimliklerini inşa ederken ihtiyaç duyduğu temel duygu ve değerlere aklı ve vicdaniyle sahip olmak istemesi gerekmektedir. Bu duygu ve değerlerin başında ise adalet, barış, merhamet, sevgi, hoşgörü, koşulsuz kabul, yardımlaşma gelmektedir. Bu duygu ve değerlerin üzerine inşa edilecek bireysel veya kurumsal kim-

## Academic Collaborations Live Broadcasts Fairs

### Interview: Azaz Bombing and Syria Conflict



KalMEC's researcher Ömer Ertuğrul Meral gave an interview to national media. In his speech, Meral focused on Azaz bombing and its possible implications on Turkey.

### Recent Regional Developments in the course of Arab Spring



KalMEC Director Asst. Prof. Dr. Bilal Çıplak and Deputy Manager Asst. Prof. Dr. Sezer Özcan made evaluations about Syria War and migration issue to national Channel A.

### Russian Attacks on Aleppo

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ahmet Keser



evaluated Russian attacks to Aleppo in Channel A.

## Academic Collaborations



### Invitation From Jacobs University

Asst. Prof. Dr. Sezer Özcan was invited by Jacobs University to give information about Syria and Syrians Assylum Seekers under the framework of seminar. After the presentation the participants were informed about Hasan Kalyoncu University and recent developments both Gaziantep and Turkey.



### Invitation From Humboldt University in Berlin

Asst. Prof. Çıplak was invited to Humboldt University and an exchange agreement was signed. Within the scope of this invitation Syrian refugees, their problems and both Turkey and Germany's policies against refugees were discussed between academicians.

likler insanlığın yıkıcı duygularının önüne set oluşturacaktır.

Duygularını ve düşüncelerini, sağlam temeller üzerine inşa eden kimlikler sayesinde kapitalizmin sürekli kontrol etme çabası, yerini gerçek anlamda özgürlüklere bırakabilecektir. Algısal süreçlerin kontrol edilmeye çalışılmadığı, bireylere servis edilen güvenilir bilgileri işleme ve bu bilgiler ışında sağlıklı karar verme becerisine sahip insanların çoğunlukta olduğu, güçlülerin zayıfların haklarını koruduğu, zenginlerin yoksullar için çaba harcadığı bir dünya o zaman hayal olarak görülmeyebilir. Bu sayede kısa sürede insanlığın ortak duygusu olan korkunun yerini güven duygusu alabilecektir.

İnsanlık tarihi boyunca ötekini yok etmek için savaşı, yıkımı, yok etmeyi çokça denemiş ancak kötünün veya ötekinin olmadığı bir dünyayı kurma hayalini gerçekleştirilememiştir. İnsanlık bir kere olsun hep birlikte yeniden insanlığı inşa etmeye, insanlığın evrensel değerlerini tekrar tanımlamaya, üretmeye ve yaygınlaştırmaya çalışmalıdır. Farklılıkları her koşul ve şartta insani ölçülerde kabul etmeyi başarabilmelidir. Aksi takdirde yine kaybeden insan ve insanlık olacaktır.

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## 'Motivations of the European Youths For Joining ISIS'

Assist. Prof. Dr. Sezer ÖZCAN



Radical acts often employ violent means, although radical groups will differ in their preference for violent vs. non-violent tactics, in the level of violence they employ, and in the preferred targets of their violence from infrastructure to military personnel to civilians to children. Here the term "radical groups" mainly refers to Islamist militants or organizations that follow strict practice of Islam (group of Salafism) and seek applying the Islamic Law (Sharia) in all the Islamic countries in an attempt to re-build 'Al Khilafa'. For example, the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) has come up with the discourse of "Resurrecting the Islamic State (Al-Khilafah)" according to their extremist interpretation of the Islamic law. The group basically present itself as the only capable group to unite the Islamic countries and nations under the rule of one Muslim-Sunni leader (Al Khalifa) Abu Bakr El Boghdaidi. This radical group recruits fighters from all over the world and attracts new members who hate the West. The fundamental belief of these radical groups is to make 'Al Jihad' by using violence, which is not acceptable by Islam.

Within this framework, the issue of 'radicalisation' is high on the agenda of the EU, and political concerns about youth radicalisation



gained momentum with widely reported cases of young European 'jihadists' returning from Syria and Iraq. As it is believed by the European officials that so far 5000 European youths have joined ISIS in Iraq and Syria for fighting. Increasing number of European recruits in ISIS brings up the question what should European security agencies do about those, who have already fled to fight in Syria? Would it be safe to allow them to return? In that sense, when youths from Europe started to join ISIS, several European member states like the U.K., Germany and France started to wish for getting rid of those radical groups in their countries by ignoring the new trend. After the attack in Paris on 13 November, 2015, the European governments and experts of radicalization opened the discussion of what prompt European Muslims to join ISIS and why these young people commit brutal acts against their own citizens. It became apparent that ISIS was not only gaining control over significant territories in Iraq and Syria, but it also attracted rapidly increasing numbers of foreign fighters from around the world, particularly from Western Europe.

On the other hand, European citizens fighting for ISIS are almost entirely first and second generation immigrants who came to Europe from Africa, Middle East or Asia. Despite the fact that they've been brought up and educated in European schools and in a democratic liberal environment, they have decided to leave behind the life of comfort and opportunity by joining and embracing the ranks of radical Islam. An Islam expert Michael Kiefer claims that young, male, poorly educated and from difficult family environments - those are features of many violent Salafists' biographies that "a variety of negative factors must come together to radicalize youths. When young people in a difficult development situation meet others who show them respect, impart camaraderie and tell them what to do, then such a life can take a dramatic turn." Another reason of the youths who joined the ISIS is the life style of those people who doesn't have any purpose in their life and they were attracted by the ISIS' extreme violence and cruelty. This fact caused them quickly to be radicalized. Besides, ISIS has a group of fans on the internet both in France and Belgium. The European youths, who are influenced easily, see the Jihad an acceptable way in order to take the revenge against the community where they lived under pressure and with the discrimination. These youths try to run away from the society that were unable to empathize with them and saw them as 'foreigner'. The experts say that these youths also do not have the enough knowledge of religion compared to previous generations. For instance, Al-Qaeda jihadists acted more selectively on Jihadists, however, ISIS does not show such sensitivity on the fighters. This makes the European youths to participate ISIS very easily. This fact shows that how little the ISIS care about the theological ideology of Islamist organizations. Professor Anthony Glee, of the Centre for Security and Intelligence Studies at the University of Buckingham, puts it very clearly: "Why are there Brits there? In my view this is because Islamist extremist ideologies have been able to be spread with relative ease in our country under the cover of 'religion', 'free speech' and 'multiculturalism'. Additionally, racism or Islamophobia towards Muslim minorities in European states explains why the youths participate so easily to radical groups. This fact also makes the radical groups to spread their radical ideologies so easy in the West in order to recruit foreign fighters. This perception of the Muslim minorities in Europe does not bring real integration as well, it only creates further alienation between different social groups. All these facts raise ques-



### **International Relations Conference in Uludağ University**

Director of KalMEC Asst. Prof. Dr. Bilal Çıplak joined International Conference in Uludağ University. In his presentation Dr. Çıplak, talked about why Turkey support democracies in Middle East states and join military operations will be supported and encouraged.



### **Gaziantep City Identity Workshop**

"Gaziantep City Identity Workshop" was organised by Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality and Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation. And a final report was published. KalMEC helped the organization of the workshop and writing of the final report

### Panel: UNHCR, Syrian Assylum Seekers and International Protection



The open sessions on refugees was carried out in collaboration between the KalMEC and UNHCR. The specialists and officers from UNHCR informed HKU students about refugee-protection under the international law and the United Nations' approach to this issue.

### Panel: Turkey-Russia Relations



KalMEC hosted a panel on Turkey-Russia Federation Relations. The keynote speaker was Prof. Dr. Tayyar Arı from Uludağ University. Prof. Dr. Arı talked about energy policies, recent political and economical developments in Middle East and its affect on Turkey.

tions not only about the future security of Europe (as European citizens, these radicalized young soldiers might easily come back and attempt a “martyr mission”, as they call it), but also for the quality and efficiency of the integration of ethnic and religious minorities in Western Europe. Furthermore, regarding the recruitment process of the ISIS, the suitable places that recruitment is most likely to occur are the prisons, mosques, universities, cafes, gyms, etc. Besides that through the virtual space, the activity of radical groups is traced through different social-media platform like Twitter, Tumblr, YouTube, Facebook and other Blogs, as Daesh issue monthly their magazine “Dabiq”. Walde adds that the ISIS exploits that information to draw in new followers, “Propagandistic messages including that information spread incredibly quickly on social networks, and that helps to recruit new fighters.” He claims that reports indicate the young people become totally indoctrinated during the combat mission: “We’re talking about a radical, fundamental interpretation of Islam that penetrates all areas of life. And everyone who completely commits to the cause might be ready for a terror mission in Europe.”

After all, the children of immigrant families in Europe cannot escape from being an “other” no matter how they keep up with the “modern” lifestyle Europe imposes. Therefore, the European governments have to develop policies towards these minorities/Muslim groups and try to change their perception on the Western governments.

### Conclusion

Radicalization among the European youths is a crucial problem for European society. Due to culturally specific reasons, Europe cannot develop an effective

communication with the youths. Both the European officials' willingness in developing communication channels with them and the youths' willingness to listen to the authorities matter in this regard. Thus, it is important to interact with the youths using a language that they understand, through people that they can relate with. However, without support of experts and academia and without cooperation with the European governments, the issue of radicalization could not be fully resolved. While the European youths have some crucial fears, such as discrimination, unemployment, and racism, radical groups are generally gaining new members by using rhetoric related to the aforementioned problems. Therefore, if the EU leaves these youths alone with their problems, the radical groups will easily fill the gap that the EU left open, and then will use them to advance their own non-Islamic political goals. In cooperation with the NGOs', institutions, academicians, I believe that the European authorities can develop an effective strategy to combat radicalization of the European youths in the EU and get better results at the end of such collaboration.

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<http://one-europe.info/the-europeans-in-isis>

Strengthening the EU's response to radicalisation and violent extremism, European Commission, 15.01.2014 (IP/14/18)

German jihadists on ISIS terror mission: <http://www.dw.com/en/german-jihadists-on-isis-terror-mission/a-17710907>  
Ibid.

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# Re-debating Radicalization among the Western Muslim Youths

Assist. Prof. Dr. Bilal ÇIPLAK



The recent terrorist Attacks in Europe causing the lives of hundreds of people has brought the issue of radicalization on the table again. The Islamic State's attacks on the democratic world are not a new phenomenon. Brussels, France, Ankara, Suruç, and Lebanon went through the same experiences. There are significant voices that call the IS' attacks as the early stages of a Third World War. Currently, we are hearing about counter attacks against Muslims living in the West. Yet and thankfully, still, many Westerners call for a differential treatment between the ordinary peaceful Muslim neighbours and the radicals. However, it is questionable how long that moderate Western voice will dominate the debates. As it is witnessed in the US at the present, Donald Trump, a republican candidate that openly carries out his presidential campaign over anti-Muslim rhetoric, makes the Islamophobia increasingly more mainstream. The developments signal that if the issue of radicalization is not being handled properly, it is going to cause greater traumas, turmoil, and polarization that engulf both the West and the Muslim World into chaos.

## Radicalization by Statistics

According to U.N. reports, number of fighters that joined al-Qaida and the IS has exceeded 30,000, and 100 countries are being represented. The UN Report suggests that over 700 British youths joined the IS. Around the same numbers of the German youths also participated in the IS. "Around 930 French fighters are involved "in jihad." The UN Report was released in May 2015.

## The Real Problem is "No One Really Knows What to do with the Radicalized Youths"

The high attendance rates to the IS created a substantial amount of concern among the European officials. German Interior Minister Maiziere (CDU) expressed his concerns about the radicalization of the European Muslim citizens, way before the Paris Attacks, like this: "when you know that the IS is the same organization that is fighting in Syria, then you can easily establish that European fighters are also being deployed in Iraq... That is a big worry for us." The concerns of the European officials are quite understandable when looking at the situation of the European youths that join the IS. The individuals in question are generally European citizens capable of travelling with identification documents to the Middle East and then back to Europe. By then, they are being radicalized and potentially traumatized, but certainly experienced in war. Then the question becomes what to do with such youths; to be more specific, how to prevent the Muslim youths from joining the terrorist organizations, and if they have already joined the terrorist networks, what to do with them?

## The Iran-Saudi Arabia Crisis and Turkey



Assoc. Prof. Dr. A. Serdar Erduramaz, the head of the International Relations and Political Science Department published an article about recent developments in Middle East. Dr. Erduramaz focused on the tension between Iran and Saudi Arabia and recent political developments in Middle East.

## Middle East Peace Club Aid Campaign



KalMEC in collaboration with Middle East Peace Club, organized a aid campaign for Syrians. Middle East Peace Club students are rewarded by Rector Prof. Dr. Tamer Yılmaz. The head of Middle East Peace Club Ali Barçın stated that they were proud of this campaign and they will continue implementing this kind of projects.

## **The Profile of Radicalized Youths**

According to Michael Kiefer who is an expert on Islam, many radicalized youths share characteristics, such as being young, male, poorly educated and coming from negative family environments. However, Kiefer's findings do not fully reflect the reality. In fact, the top officials of the IS are highly educated soldiers, strategists, managers, computer scientists, and so on. An important part of IS soldiers consist of members of Free Syrian Army that are trained by the US, who later joined the IS (mostly reluctantly) with their military equipments provided by the US. Similarly Mark Colvin, an expert on crime, argues that kids that are grown in an environment which is not socially supportive to them are being drawn into violence more easily. Contrary to the belief that IS appeals to devout Muslims, it has been discovered that youths from secular families can also be inclined toward extremism. Such youths often lack solid religious knowledge and, therefore, are militants' primary target for recruitment. One of them, a 16-year-old girl named Elif Öskürücü (in Germany), left home telling her parents that she was staying at a friend's house. But she did not return. Elif is not alone. For example, a 25-year-old woman named Duygu Doğan left her home in Frankfurt. The only thing her family knew was that she headed to the house of a friend named Selçuk in Syria. Both individuals were from secular families with Muslim backgrounds. Both tragic events show that IS also threatens secular families.

### **IS does not Discriminate based on Religion when it Attacks**

It is important to note that the IS does not discriminate based

on religion when it attacks (Remember the Suruç killings in July 20, 2015 where 34 young human right activists were killed by an IS militant). Whoever opposes the IS becomes its target all the sudden.

### **One of the important Sources of radicalization is the perceived injustice towards Muslims in the West**

There are so many reasons for the youths to join the ISIS, such as creating a Muslim Khilafa State, obtaining financial benefits, being the first class citizens and having a prestigious position in their society in the Islamic state that they want to create. Muslim youths both in the Muslim and non-Muslim countries grow up seeing the terrible situation in places, such as Palestine, Afghanistan, Arakan, and Iraq. More and more countries, such as Syria, are being added to this list. The global power competition in Syria has made the conflict to continue longer than it would. As a result, millions of Syrians had to abandon their birth place for other countries and hundreds of thousands of Syrians lost their lives. As a result, Muslim youths decide to take the matters into their own hands by joining the most extreme organizations thinking that they will find a solution for the significant political, humanitarian, and other problems that Muslims face.

### **The Western Moderates are Losing the Battle to the Western Radicals**

There is one danger that needs to be seen: the attacks by radical organizations are producing an important level of fear and dislike against the Muslims in the World, more specifically in the Western world. The answer to radicalization should be following value-oriented policies in the international arena. If the West has followed policies that prioritized democracy, human rights, and peace, instead of interests or if the West has found its own interests in sticking to the aforementioned values no matter what, I think, the Muslim youths would not need to find an answer for the situation of the Muslims in extreme ways. The root cause of the problem of radicalization among the Western Muslim youths is the perceived unfair treatment of the Muslims by the West in global scale. When this feeling of injustice grows, then the techniques of recruitment and indoctrination by the radical organizations become successful.

Neither Muslim states, nor do well-established democracies take the responsibility to deal with issues in the Muslim world on the basis of democratic and humanitarian values. If the international community had taken decisions that ended the dictatorial rule in Syria and helped build a democratic state, there would not have been IS, and we would not be talking about how many kids have joined the IS and exploded themselves in the middle of democratic world. Remember when the Arab Spring started, how, all the sudden, the youths in the Arab World suddenly found themselves in the same line with their western counterparts. I also remember the level of excitement the Arab Spring created among my students and friends in the US. Finally, the Middle Eastern and the Western youths were speaking in the same language. However, when the democratization failed one by one in Arab Spring countries, except Tunisia, then the democratic world started to discuss the issues in the Middle East within the context of radicalization.



# RADICALIZATION, SOCIAL MEDIA, AND CO-OPTATION BY STATES



Political Adviser Burhan AKYILMAZ

The radical groups or organizations and their actions have been hotly debated in global level for the last decade, and radicalism has started to threaten the world as a whole. Fighting radicalism is more or less the same thing as fighting terrorism. Individuals are being radicalized first, and then turn into terrorists who are ready to explode themselves in the middle of crowded-cities. The recent terrorist attacks in different parts of the world and the increasing number of foreign-fighters internationally have forced the world leaders to take measures against radicalization. Nevertheless, it is also seen that despite all terrible outcomes, some states continue to use radical organizations to reach their goals in the international realm.

States are traditionally used to wars carried out with conventional weapons and against an organized army. In the latest decade, wars made through conventional weapons have become too costly for states. States simply do not want to go to wars as a result of which their well-designed streets, stores, cafeterias, schools, roads, houses, and hospitals to be destroyed. Furthermore, traditional wars cause many deaths in both parties involved in the war. Nevertheless, terrorist organizations provide states with cheap armies to fight their wars, and this way, the states that rely on terrorist groups to carry out their asymmetric warfare, escape from all costs associated with traditional wars. This is true even for democratic states whose leaders guarantee

their positions in their offices through reelections. Terrorist organization are increasingly been used as sub-contractors against target states. As a result, instrumentalization of terrorist organizations to reach international goals has become a fact in the current international relations.

One reason for why states sometimes rely on terrorist organizations or radical groups is that concepts, such as terrorism and radicalism, are difficult to define, and even if they are being defined, states could have disagreements in determining who is a terrorist and who is not. For example, Turkey finds the YPG (the Militant branch of PYD, the North Syrian Kurds) as a terrorist organization due to the high level of influence that the PKK (Partiya Kalkeran Kurdistan or Kurdish Workers Party) has over them. Nevertheless, neither Russia, nor the US does recognize YPG or PYD as a terrorist group. As a result, both the US and Russia have displayed behaviors that are seen favorable to the PYD by the regional actors.

The radical organizations often emerge in areas with wide-spread social, economic, and political problems, such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and currently Syria. Furthermore, these are the areas where they build their human infrastructure. Interestingly, the wide-use of social media expanded the influence of radical organizations way beyond the state or the region they emerge. As a result, social media has become a tool of recruitment for radical organizations. ISIS (Islamic State

of Al-Sham and Iraq) is one of the master practitioners of this method. ISIS has active accounts in YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, and Tumblr. Amateur videos and images are also being uploaded daily by its foot soldiers, and then they are being globally shared by users. What is worse is that radical organizations can review the online profiles of their recruits and choose appropriate ways to approach them.

In conclusion, negative social, economic, and political problems play an important role in pushing people into radical formations. Through social media, individuals are being motivated or for some brainwashed to join the radical organizations; from this perspective, social media also facilitates the process of youths' participation to radical organizations. However, international politics also worsens the issue of radicalizations as terrorist groups are being used in asymmetric warfare in the international relations by the states. As a result, states could put their enemies into difficult situations with minimum costs, without being responsible for their actions.

# MULTIPOLARITY and THE CHANGING NATURE of CONFLICTS IN SYRIA



Asist. Prof. Dr. Ahmet KESER

## Introduction

A vertiginous transition has been experienced especially after 1990s, at all conventional layers determining basic principles of the social, cultural, administrative, and legal relations, starting from the international systems at the top to the local systems at the bottom, or from the public administrations of nation-states to the operational mechanisms of local governments. Parallel to these developments and especially to the end of bipolar system, all the players, who are commencing to discover the dynamics of the transition retry their own positions and rearrange according to the requirements of the rising new normal. The first and immediate samples of such a trend, which has geopolitical, economical and administrative layers and a sociological character as well, were seen in the situation of the European States left from the former Eastern Bloc. Almost all of these countries merely pitched into taking revenge from the values of the Cold War period, with sharp “u turns” changing their political, financial and administrative systems radically. Together with the mentioned process, the members of the former Eastern Bloc in the East and Central Europe have launched out flirting relations, which will end up with having full membership shortly to the supranational political organizations as European Union (EU) and international security organizations as NATO.

With a similar approach, Turkey has also undergone a series of

neoliberal reform practices especially since the beginning of 1990s, to adapt herself to the requirements of the new paradigm. These reforms included the practices of having a flexible system, which would facilitate to meet at least the minimal standards of a free market economy, and a series of harmonization efforts to the EU system, including both her political and administrative structures, and her economy as well. But together with these events Turkey has also undergone some efforts to develop her relations with the oriental countries as well. Turkey has also experienced a similar path to the global developments. Because of the former perspective focused on the planar structure of the Cold-war era and due to the difficulties of detecting the requirements of this new multi-dimensional spatial structure, Turkey was sometimes criticized of dislocating her axis or departing from the West referenced former policies. However the transition ongoing was nothing more than regulating the gears of her rotors according to the conditions of aforementioned spatial environment both at the internal and external politics.

## Historical Evolution of Power Balances

Depending on the changing balances of the power distribution in time, the structural realists investigate the constitution of the international system by splitting into the following historical periods: “(1) Pre 1776: Multi-polar Period, (2) Post Ame-

rican Revolution: Loose Bipolar Period between Great Britain and France, (3) Post 1815: Power Balance Period, (4) Bipolar Period: between Crimean War (1853-1856) and 1st World War (1914-1918), (5) Post 1947: Bipolar Period between the Soviet Union and the USA” .

By following the structural realist path and depending on the emerging changes on the power balances, two new periods can be added to the existing and above listed five terms as follows: (6) 1991-2001 Unipolar Period: between the Collapse of Soviet Union and the Intervention of the USA and Allies to Afghanistan, (7) Post 2001 Multi-polar Period: after the Afghanistan Intervention.

Due to the fact that, the military intervention to Afghanistan, initiated by the USA and United Kingdom (UK) on 8 October 2001 with a justification of “legitimate self-defense”, forms an important breakpoint for the rearrangement of power balances. In other words, the constitution of the international system has gone into significant changes from that date on. So the recent conflicts in Syria can also be assessed within this frame. The conflicts ongoing in Syria since 15th of March 2011, those have started after a statement was written on a school wall as “People want the Regime to be collapsed” by a group of students recall the hints of the bipolar global system of the Cold War era in the first glance. But the long term duration of the crises and the multi layered character of the conflicts in Syria, the failure of the international com-

munity to reach an immediate solution complicate the situation and converts into a chronic nature. After all, the mentioned facts, and the multi-lateral and multi layered nature of the problems prove evidence that the multi-polar world order is still the dominant global system surviving.

### Transformation of the Conflicts in a Multi-Polar System

The changing global order inevitably affects the character of the conflicts as well. During the Post-Cold War era it is possible to see various actors including the organizations of United Nations, other international organizations, the representatives of various governments, armed forces, media, non-governmental organizations, counselors and academics in the battlefield (Yalçinkaya and Türkeş, 2008: 57) as well. Hew Strachan (2010: 2-7), in his article titled as “The Changing Character of War in a Multi-polar World” submits that the specific character of war is under a consistent change progress. The Author supports this assertion by indicating some periodic concrete evidences such as: (1) The main focus of the armies during the pre-1914 period was characterized by moral and technical modernization; (2) During the 1st World War period the priority was given to the utilization of artillery; (3) The 2nd World War period was characterized by the maturation of the battle tanks and aircrafts; (4) The strategy of the Cold War Period was developed pursuant to the capabilities of the nuclear weapons; (5) During the Post-Cold War period the operational sentiments were shifted to new areas such as “Revolution in Military Affairs, Network-Centric Warfare, and Transformation”. Thus, Strachan (2010: 2-7) also asserts that these recent conflicts have exposed the reality of

wars having been shaped by the socio-cultural status and tribal or clannish loyalty of the local society, in which the conflict has been conducted, and eventually it has been unfolded that the said tribal or clannish loyalty is more important than the air force in today’s Hybrid War (Strachan, 2010: 6) conditions, in which the conventional and unconventional conflict methods telescoped.

If the recent conflicts in Syria are investigated closely, this telescoped structure can better be censored. The crises, struggle and the conflicts can be determined as below:

- There is a covered power collision and struggle among the super powers of the world over the surface layer, which constitutes the 1st layer reflecting the signs of a cold-conflict.

- Another semi-covered power collision and cold-conflict is ongoing among some of the global powers and some of the regional powers, and/or among the regional power centers both within and under the 1st layer.

- An explicit hot-conflict takes place between the Regime Forces (supported by one part of the global and regional actors) and the Opposition Forces (supported by the other part of the global and regional powers), which constitutes the 2nd layer reflecting both the signs of an internal conflict and subcontractor conflict simultaneously and which has if not global at least regional impacts, because of the current status of refugees and the borders.

- There are other explicit hot-conflicts among the Opposition Forces themselves, which constitutes the 3rd layer, and consists of different sub-layers in itself, some of which can be explained as below:

- o *Economics based conflicts, ongoing related to the control of Oil Production fields between some Opposition Forces.*

- o *Ethnic based conflicts, ongoing related to the control of some strategic settlements between the Kurdish groups and Arabic groups.*

- o *Sectarian conflicts, ongoing between the Shia and Sunni groups.*

- Last but not least, there are some additional power clashes and/or cold-conflicts between some parts of the Opposition Forces and regional administrations of the neighboring states, which constitute the 4th layer. For example the struggle between the Northern Iraq Regional Administration and the Kurdish Groups in Syria affiliated to PKK terrorist organization can be evaluated within this frame.

The above mentioned multi-layered structure of the conflicts in Syria and Iraq has converted the previous asymmetric warfare into a **supra-asymmetric** one which can be named as **asym-matrix warfare**.

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<sup>1</sup> The article is based on the Author’s study: Keser, A., (2016). “Labor Pains of the Final Gains: Glocal Integrated Governance at All Levels of Multi-Polar Games”, TURKISH STUDIES -International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic-, ISSN: 1308-2140, Volume 11/2 Winter 2016.

<sup>2</sup> For further details see Hans Binnendijk, “Back to Bipolarity”, The Washington Quarterly 22(4) (Autumn 1999), s. 7-14.

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# GAZIANTEP METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY SOCIAL SUPPORT PROGRAM FOR SYRIAN REFUGEES



Gaziantep Municipality Social Affairs Director Önder YALÇIN

The continuing unrest in Syria is leading to a growing number of Syrian refugees in Turkey. The civil war in Syria started on 15 March 2011, and then spread all over the country. The crisis in Syria has been the biggest human tragedy since the World War II. Syria's population was 21 million before the conflict in 2011. However, in Syria, so far 330.000 people have been killed; 1.7 million people have been injured; 4.6 million people left Syria; and 6.6 million people moved inside the country.

In April 2011, Turkey initially opened its doors to a group of 252 Syrians. However, in a short period of time, hundred thou-

sands of Syrians crossed the border to escape from the conflict. Turkey followed an open door policy towards the Syrians, providing them with temporary protection. Currently Turkey homes around 3 million Syrian refugees and has spent over USD 10 Billion for them. Comparing this expenditure with the contribution of the International Organizations, which is USD 455 Million only, the size of the Turkish spending on Syrians could better be comprehended.

Within the scope of the USD 10 Billion, Turkey has been providing the Syrians with many services. Health Services are provided to Syrians free of charge. Temporary Education Centers

(Schools for Syrian Kids) have been established by Turkish state. At the present, 330.000 Syrian kids have been able to attend school in Turkey. Turkey also issued a regulation on access to labor market; as a result, Syrian Refugees can work in the country legally currently. Turkey has also opened its universities' doors to the Syrian college students. Thereofre, thousands of Syrian youths continue their university education in Turkey as a part of Turkey's international student policy. Turkey also established 25 modern camps for Syrian Refugees which hosts 270.000 people at the present.

	POPULATION	REGISTERED SYRIANS	THE RATE IN PROVINCIAL POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION
<b>TURKEY</b>	77.695.904	2.840.784	% 3.27	80.236.688
<b>GAZIANTEP</b>	1.889.466	351.410	% 17.25	2.215.340

## GAZIANTEP

In the following part, I would like to talk about the conditions of Syrians in Gaziantep city of Turkey and the services provided to the Syrians by the Gaziantep Provincial Government. Gaziantep is a southern city of Turkey, and it is well-know with its rapidly growing industry. So it has been a destination for domestic migration for a long period of time. The number of registered Syrian refugees in Gaziantep is over 350,000, and the majority of that number (approximately 300,000 people) is located in the city center. Surely, the actual number is higher than the official numbers due to the presence of the unregistered Syrian refugees in the city.



## Number of Syrians Living in City Centers and Camps in Gaziantep

CENTER	İSLAHİYE-1 TENT CITY	İSLAHİYE-2 TENT CITY	KARKAMIŞ TENT CITY	NİZİP TENT CITY	NİZİP CONTAINER CITY	TOTAL
POPULATION	8.404	19.815	7.222	10.581	4.938	50.960

NUMBER OF SYRIANS LIVING IN CITY CENTER	NUMBER OF SYRIANS LIVING IN SHELTERS	TOTAL POPULATION
303.450	50.960	351.410

Because of the recognition of the longer-term impacts of forced displacement, there is a necessary shifting from a humanitarian to a development perspective. This shift requires greater capacity and alignment at the national and local government level to address elements of local resilience such as infrastructure, service delivery, livelihoods, social cohesion and Disaster Risk Reduction. The new responsibilities for delivering services in local governments affected by forced displacement require institutional foundations for improving localities' resilience.

### Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality Social Services for Syrian Refugees

The social services policy of Gaziantep Municipality is that humanitarian responses paired with development interventions we plan for short term and long term, and trying to eliminate the socio-economic impacts of this global crisis. This problem has gone beyond a matter that should be done in emergency response; its dimension has been changed and we are working on capacity building and development policies.

**Directorate Of Migration:** Gazi-

antep Metropolitan Municipality created an organizational structure on Syrian issue, Directorate of Migration, based on Health and Social Services Department, has been established in order to provide appropriate, effective, demand-oriented social services for Syrian guests, ensuring coordination among departments of municipality, providing cooperation among international organizations, universities and civil society organizations and produce and carry out need-oriented projects. And also organizing monthly meetings with Syrian, Turkish and International NGOs that meetings reduces the risk of social conflict and helps a healthy need assessment process.

**Syrian Information and Education Center:** Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality has 2 Syrian Information and Education Centers, these are 'schools' for Syrian Kids and established in 2012, in order to eliminate the risk of 'lost generation'. The students are economically disadvantaged and without support they do not have the chance to attend schools, all their needs are covered by municipality including transportation.

**Ensar Community Center:** This center offers services for Syri-

an women and children living outside the camps focusing on human rights in the scope of social cohesion and social inclusion. Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality has partnership with the Ministry of Family and Social Policy. This center offers information and counseling in the field of; law, health, employment, education, social services, sports and culture, organize informative meetings, and becomes a bridge between refugees and social resources.

**Art and Vocational Training Center (GASMEK):** The law of access to labor market issued for refugees but most of them lack qualification for a job so vocational trainings are provided to facilitate finding a job.

Turkish and English Language Courses provided for social cohesion and there are several different courses for both hosting community and Syrian refugees.

**Women Guest House:** Women in need or victim of violence and their children stay in here until safety ensured and we are running a project fight against child marriage in the region.

**Health Services:** Municipal hospital and medical centers provided health care around 50.000

Syrian Refugees free of charge and now we are planning to establish a physical therapy center.

**Social Research Center (SARMeR):** Preparing social risk map of Gaziantep, we analyze the current situation and make need assessment. SARMeR helps us to clarify our social service policy based on needs. Although it's a research center according to situation emergency interventions can take place.

**Distributed Food - Clothing and Other Aid:** People who have emergency needs is supported by municipality with humanitarian aid with the sense of human honor. Some of this aids are; food, clothes and shoes, blanket, book set, toy for kids, carpet and sofa, kitchen kit



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