



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MULTICULTURALISM

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“The more nations are united in a state, the richer it becomes, as each of them contributes to the world culture and civilization...”

*Heydar Alirza oglu Aliyev
National Leader of Azerbaijan*



"Multiculturalism is a lifestyle in Azerbaijan."

*Ilham Heydar oğlu Aliyev
President of Azerbaijan Republic*

Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

Dear Readers!

It is with great pleasure and enthusiasm that Baku International Multiculturalism Center publishes a biannual, international, double-blind peer-reviewed, open-access journal titled “International Journal of Multiculturalism”, covering the study of topics in the Social & Humanities aims to provide a forum for high-quality research related to multiculturalism sciences and research.



The purpose of publishing the International Journal of Multiculturalism is to promote the traditions of tolerance that have been formed in Azerbaijan for centuries as well as to make a contribution to the environment of multiculturalism.

In Azerbaijan, multiculturalism is a state policy and a lifestyle. Azerbaijan is an example of the world with its own multicultural and tolerant style of life. The tolerance implemented by the government of Azerbaijan forms the foundation for even further strengthening of the friendship and brotherhood among the ethnic and religious communities living in our country. One of the ways in which the Great Leader, Heydar Aliyev, served our people was by developing multiculturalism in our country. The most significant value that Heydar Aliyev imparted to Azerbaijan was the ideology of Azerbaijanism, which has already become an important part of the ideology of multiculturalism. Azerbaijanism is what binds together all nations into one land and one ideology regardless of their ethnic or religious roots.

Today, President Ilham Aliyev resolutely carries on this policy. The policy of multiculturalism that is carried out under the leadership of President Ilham Aliyev catalyzes integration processes within the country.

In 2014, the Baku International Multiculturalism Center was created to promote Azerbaijan’s model to the world and study other models. 2016 was announced as “The Year of Multiculturalism,” and 2017 was the “Year of Islamic Solidarity.”

Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

The Baku International Multiculturalism Center serves to promote conditions of multiculturalism and diversity in Azerbaijan. Our main goal is to preserve cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity in accordance with the ideology of Azerbaijanism as well as to introduce Azerbaijan to the world as a center of multiculturalism and to apply and encourage existing models for multiculturalism.

We particularly encourage submissions resulting from meaningful and ethical collaboration among international scholars and practitioners. The aim of the “International Journal of Multiculturalism” is to promote scholarly, realistic, and contemporaneous research in the field of multiculturalism. The journal publishes quantitative and qualitative empirical research and reviews of research literature. Our main goal is to publish the work of a vigorous, well-networked international community of scholars and expand the subject areas of the journal.

Members of the Editorial Board, selected by the criteria of their international scientific recognizability, will strive to contribute to the increase of the quality level and popularization of the International Journal of Multiculturalism as reviewers and consultants as well as authors of invited papers. The journal serves as a platform for communicating wealthy findings in the field of multiculturalism to the researchers and readers.

As Editor-in-Chief, I continue to welcome manuscripts on multiculturalism subject within that broad definition, especially articles that announce discoveries, present new information, and address methodological issues.

I also would like to thank those who served on the journal staff and its editorial board, and particularly the reviewers for providing the support and feedback necessary to find, develop, and publish high-quality material.

We hope you will be satisfied with the new issue of the International Journal of Multiculturalism, not only by the quantity but also by the quality of the published materials.

Thank you for your time in reading this letter and we hope to hear from you sometime!

With all the best wishes,

Ravan Hasanov
Editor-in-Chief



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SCOPE OF THE JOURNAL

International Journal of Multiculturalism is an international, double-blind peer-reviewed, open-access journal covering the study of topics in the social & humanities that aims to provide a forum for high-quality research related to multiculturalism sciences and research. International Journal of Multiculturalism provides an interdisciplinary forum for scholars in the fields of multicultural psychology, multicultural communication, education, management cross-disciplinary, social welfare, sociology, organizational /community development, and related disciplines.

International Journal of Multiculturalism is published two times (April, October) a year by the Baku International Multiculturalism Center. The journal is published in English. To be published in the International Journal of Multiculturalism a paper must be substantial and original. The Editorial Board does not accept articles published or submitted for publication elsewhere the journal is published in both print and online versions.

We particularly encourage submissions resulting from meaningful and ethical collaboration among international scholars and practitioners. Submissions that advance from prescreening will be subject to originality-testing and double-blind review. The journal publishes quantitative and qualitative empirical research and reviews of research literature.

The voluntary service of international editors and reviewers has enabled the International Journal of Multiculturalism to provide open-access content to the global community with no subscription fees to readers and no article processing fees to authors. The journal is fully financially supported by the Baku International Multiculturalism Center.

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Archiving

All back articles are made available as full text on the journal website. In the event that the International Journal of Multiculturalism discontinues its publication, its archive of published articles will still remain available on the journal website, to be maintained as an archive website by Baku International Multiculturalism Center Press.



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UNDER THE PRESIDENT OF AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC

By the decision of the Higher Attestation Commission under the President of Azerbaijan Republic, dated 01.12.2020, (protocol № -10) the journal has been included in the list of scientific periodicals in which the results of thesis works are published.



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RESEARCH ARTICLE

MULTICULTURAL AND DIVERSITY AWARENESS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Awareness of multiculturalism is overlooked in the collegiate education of students in the Speech-Language-Hearing Sciences (SLHS) departments. In this study, 18 undergraduate and seven graduate and doctoral students completed a modified Munroe Multicultural Attitude Scale Questionnaire before a facilitated workshop involving audiologists and speech-language pathologists of color, who discussed cultural competencies, racism, and discrimination. This study served as a jumping-off point in our SLHS department as the goals of this study were to increase awareness of issues of diversity as they relate to the inclusiveness of clinicians from different backgrounds and the patients that we assess and treat, with the ultimate aim of inspiring more research that will uncover ways to enhance clinicians' cultural competencies so that they do not improperly diagnose and treat patients due to cultural and linguistic differences.

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Introduction

Despite the growing clinical and research advances in Speech-Language-Hearing Sciences (SLHS), clinical disparities exist due to race, ethnicity, and cultural status. A diverse SLHS workforce can improve access to services and reduce disparities for diverse populations. This increase in workforce diversity must begin in the academic programs that train clinicians (Mohapatra & Moha, 2021). Establishing a diverse workforce of speech-language pathologists and audiologists requires the development of educational programs in the field that recruit and train students from various racial and ethnic backgrounds. Our foundation, the American Speech Language Hearing Association (ASHA) data report for 2019 to 2020 showed that minority student enrollment in SLHS programs was 31.5% in undergraduate programs and 23.3% in graduate programs, according to the Council of Academic Programs in Communication Sciences and Disorders (CAPSCD & ASHA, 2020). It is well documented in the literature that there needs to be more racial and otherwise diversity among speech-language-hearing-sciences (SLHS) students, clinicians, and academics/researchers (e.g., Danahy Ebert, 2013; Yu et al., 2022)

In 1991, ASHA established a modest goal of increasing minority membership to 10% by 2000 (ASHA, 1991); however, this number has not been achieved over two decades beyond that. Indeed, the demographic profile of ASHA has changed very little over the past 25 years: the ASHA 2021 Demographic Profile Report documented that of its 213,115 members and affiliates, 8.2% (17,373) are multilingual service providers (83 spoken languages other than English were reported by the multilingual providers). The majority (91.3%) of ASHA service providers and affiliates are White; 3.6% are Black or African American, 3.1% are Asian, 1.5% are multi-racial, 0.3% are American Indian or Alaska Native, and 0.1% are Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander. There is a disproportionately low number of professionals from diverse backgrounds compared to the U.S. population (Stewart & Mishra, 2022), of which 40% of people are part of racial minority groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). These recent statistics still need to remotely parallel changes in racial diversity in the demographics of the United States in the same 25-year period.

Professionals and educators are addressing the need for more representation of individuals from diverse backgrounds in speech and language pathology and audiology by implementing task forces on diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives. Recent research has addressed recruitment and retention, curriculum changes, and inclusion of faculty from diverse backgrounds to improve DEI (Bellon-Harn & Weinbaum, 2017; Mahendra, 2019; Mishra et al., 2021; Stockman et al., 2008). A significant way to recruit students is via word-of-mouth from faculty and professionals in the fields (Brodsky & Cooke, 2000; Byrne, 2008; Miller & Ciocci, 2013; Saenz et al., 1998; Stone & Pellowski, 2016). Thus, DEI initiatives can include students and professionals from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds to bring the attention needed to this critical topic. Research has begun to explore DEI in the SLHS fields, but more studies are required to explore these programs' DEI initiatives. Such DEI studies have the potential to be helpful because knowledge of DEI initiatives will assist future studies and programs in targeting DEI at the university and professional levels (Stewart & Mishra, 2022).

Cultural Competencies

Increasing cultural competence is an initiative in SLHS professions, and it addresses improving clinical and education outcomes in diverse populations (Ellis & Kendall, 2021). Cultural competence is a skill set that can help healthcare providers create culturally sensitive and user-friendly care services for people with diverse backgrounds (Perng & Watson, 2012). Evidence shows that most misunderstandings between healthcare providers and patients with different cultural backgrounds are due to the professional's lack of understanding, cultural awareness, cultural knowledge, and flexibility (Komaric et al., 2012). According to the ASHA Practice Portal of Professional Issues and Cultural Competencies, cultural competence is a complex and dynamic process that requires self-assessment and continuous expansion of one's cultural knowledge. This process evolves with understanding one's culture and interactions with various cultures, extending to lifelong learning (ASHA, 2017). The growing literature on cultural competencies explains that self-awareness is an early foundational skill for developing cultural competencies (e.g., Robertson, 2007). Individuals must critically self-reflect before they can understand and work effectively with others. This awareness includes racial identity and related privileges (Danahy Ebert, 2013).

A person's culture is closely connected to value systems, health beliefs and behaviors, and communication styles. A significant area of multicultural competence is awareness of the worldview of culturally appropriate intervention strategies. Each communicator brings experiences and personal communication styles to an interaction (Hall & Theriot, 2016). The limited research suggests that students develop multicultural competence when the facilitator creates a safe environment via formal education and diversity training (e.g., Dunn et al., 2014). The development of these skills is a prerequisite to working with clients. Since it is not possible to know every aspect of a cultural group, culturally competent clinicians must take steps to be knowledgeable about the theory and practice of ethnically sensitive service delivery (Hall & Theriot, 2016).

Racism and Discrimination

After the increase in activities and visibility of racial-justice protests in 2020, ASHA made declarations of support for racial equality. These included a commitment to antiracism through dismantling structures, policies, and practices that add to the oppression, marginalization, and exclusion of Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) (Yu et al., 2022). In 2021, ASHA and other significant professional organizations throughout the United States condemned systematic racism and institutional inequalities, saying that eliminating systematic racism is challenging due to existing structures and policies and the challenges of transforming them.

Numerous efforts have been established to focus on recruitment and improve the admissions process. For example, the removal of standardized measures for admittance to graduate school or professional certification would be a systemic change because it would affect the operations and organizational subsystems of the graduate school application process and change the experiences of those entering the field (Guiberson & Vigil, 2020; Saenz et al., 1998). Nevertheless, little attention is paid to SLHS to whether our culture, ideals, policies, and practices allow BIPOCC students and professionals to succeed.

While research has begun to explore DEI in the SLHS fields, more studies are needed to examine the effectiveness of DEI initiatives in our programs. A method that professionals and educators address the need for more representation of individuals from diverse backgrounds in speech-language pathology and audiology is through implementing DEI initiatives in graduate and undergraduate programs. Research

exploring these topics has supported recruitment and retention, curriculum modification, and the inclusion of faculty from diverse backgrounds as essential factors in improving DEI (Bellon-Harn & Weinbaum, 2017; Mahendra, 2019; Mishra et al., 2021; Stockman et al., 2008).

Current Study

This paper is based on the work done in a SLHS department by a National Student Speech Language Hearing Association (NSSLHA) chapter, in which five undergraduate students studied cultural competencies, racism, and discrimination in the field. It received IRB approval from the university. Due to the lack of data on undergraduate students' perceptions of diversity, race, and cultural competencies, the goal of this study, and the advocacy task force in NSSLHA, was to move past surface-level discussions of diversity and inclusion and cultural competencies to deeper conversations and action centered on justice and the oppressive systems that disrupt equality. This shift could reduce racism in our higher education programs, clinical practice, and research centers and thus improve clinical outcomes and client/patient satisfaction for all populations we serve.

Thus, this work served as a grassroots advocacy effort to examine self-perception of multiculturalism and diversity in our students, discuss with audiologists and speech-language pathologists from diverse backgrounds, and survey undergraduate and graduate students in SLHS about attitudes, perceptions, and knowledge of cultural competencies and diversity topics. Cultural competency, as discussed above, is a crucial element of DEI initiatives, and self-assessment is a vital factor in improving cultural competency. One form of assessment is a self-questionnaire studying the self-reported perceptions and experiences of individuals who interact in healthcare institutions (Edwards et al., 2004). Before this current study, self-questionnaires such as online surveys have been used in the SLHS field. For example, Fuse and Bergen (2018) used a survey to identify the needs for and barriers to the success of underrepresented students and determine factors linked to student persistence and academic achievement. The Munroe Multicultural Attitude Scale (MASQUE) questionnaire has been widely used in studies to examine students' perceptions of multicultural awareness (i.e., Richardson et al., 2020). It is the self-report questionnaire used in this study to explore the attitudes, perceptions, and

experiences of undergraduate and graduate students in CSD early in their clinical careers.

The main goals of this study were to open a discussion and thus provide an impetus for these other studies, which will, eventually, lead to changes in the field. The main research questions for this study are: 1) What is the knowledge of multiculturalism and diversity in our students? 2) How comfortable do students feel about acting on topics related to multiculturalism and diversity?

Methodology

Participants

The event had 42 attendees, of whom 25 completed the survey before the event. Our 25 participants who completed the survey included seven graduate/doctoral students (i.e., 6 MA students and 1 AuD student) and 18 undergraduate students (i.e., 13 in the major, two non-majors, and three unspecified). Eight of those who responded identified as BIPOC, LatinX, and Asian.

Stimuli

Questionnaires

A questionnaire of 21 Likert scale questions, based on the MASQUE (Munroe & Pearson, 2006; see Appendix A), and three open questions were electronically delivered to attendees before our event on multiculturalism and diversity in SLHS. Before the seminar, though optional, they were highly encouraged to complete a survey, and 25 did so. The survey was conducted on Google Docs, and after the study, the data was translated into Excel and analyzed there.

Workshop

Two speech-language pathologists, one graduate MA speech-language-pathology student, and three audiologists spoke. The topics were cultural competence, diversity, racism/discrimination, and general advice to attendees. After the six guests were introduced, they briefly discussed their backgrounds and current work settings. Speakers discussed their desire to increase awareness of audiology to

underserved populations, their use of art and creativity in their work, their global work, and their promotion of wellness among clients and students. They also mentioned their motivation for pursuing the fields of speech and language pathology and audiology. Our next topic was discrimination, for which we asked each guest speaker if they had experienced discrimination as a student, clinician, and/or instructor. Speakers discussed patients refusing to work with them, microaggressions in the classroom, misperceptions of qualifications, reactions to their accents, and bias in the GRE. They also said that these types of discussions and stories help CSD students and professionals connect and avoid any one person being isolated and “stuck in your head.” We asked them what cultural competencies mean and if their awareness and education have changed how they treated a student and/or client. Topics from speakers included working with parents and caregivers, holidays, trauma-informed versus non-trauma-focused methods, interprofessional practices, the importance of mutual respect, improved education, and learning about one another to strengthen relationships. Lastly, we asked for their advice on improving diversity in the field and what students, as future clinicians, should know. Panelists advised the audience not to limit themselves or let anyone tell them they were incapable. They also affirmed the need for safe spaces, asking questions, and “being the change.” Each participant was given an honorarium for their time and participation, and anecdotal reports that it was a very positive and cathartic experience.

Results

The questionnaire had questions with a Likert score of 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Table 1 and Figures 2 and 3 below are based on the Likert scale, so each bar represents an average score (from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree) of the 25 participants’ responses.

Table 1.

Means and Standard Deviations for each Likert scale question on the MASQ

	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
I realize that racism exists.	5	0
I am aware that sexual preferences may differ.	4.9	0.24

I am aware that gender-based inequities exist.	5	0
I do <u>not</u> understand why people of other cultures act differently.	1.67	1.1
I am sensitive to differing expressions of ethnicity.	3.3	1.71
I am emotionally concerned about racial inequality.	4.4	0.62
I am sensitive toward people of every	4.6	0.86
A person's social status does <u>not</u> affect how I care about people.	4.8	0.38
I do <u>not</u> act to stop racism.	2.2	0.79
I actively challenge gender inequities.	3.3	0.77
I respectfully help others to offset language barriers that prevent communication.	4.11	0.8
I do <u>not</u> take action when witnessing bias based on a person's sexual orientation.	2.2	0.73
I believe that I am culturally aware of others.	4.5	0.51
I feel like I have enough knowledge to help combat racism/discrimination.	3.22	0.9
I am able to rate myself in terms of being able to accurately compare my culture to others.	3.67	0.7
I identify myself as being from a different culture/ethnic background from others.	4	0.97
I feel like I am superior to others based on where/how I was raised.	1.2	0.38
My thoughts about racism/discrimination have <u>not</u> changed based on what I learned in my childhood.	1.8	0.86
The Speech-Language-Hearing Sciences program at our university <u>reinforces</u> the idea of diversity.	3.8	0.93

The National Student Speech-Language Hearing Association (NSSLHA) Chapter at our university does a good job of informing us on issues of diversity and cultural competence.	3.7	1.14
The professors and staff within the Speech-Language-Hearing Sciences department at our university have a <u>good</u> representation of minorities.	4	0.93

Figure 1. Student awareness of multiculturalism based on modified MASQUE before the workshop.

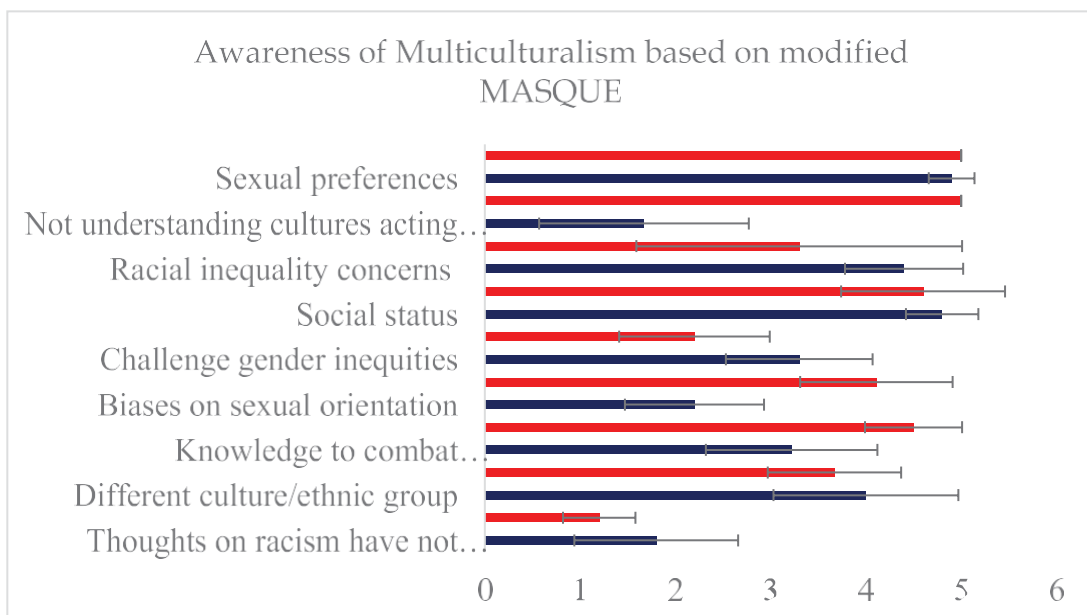
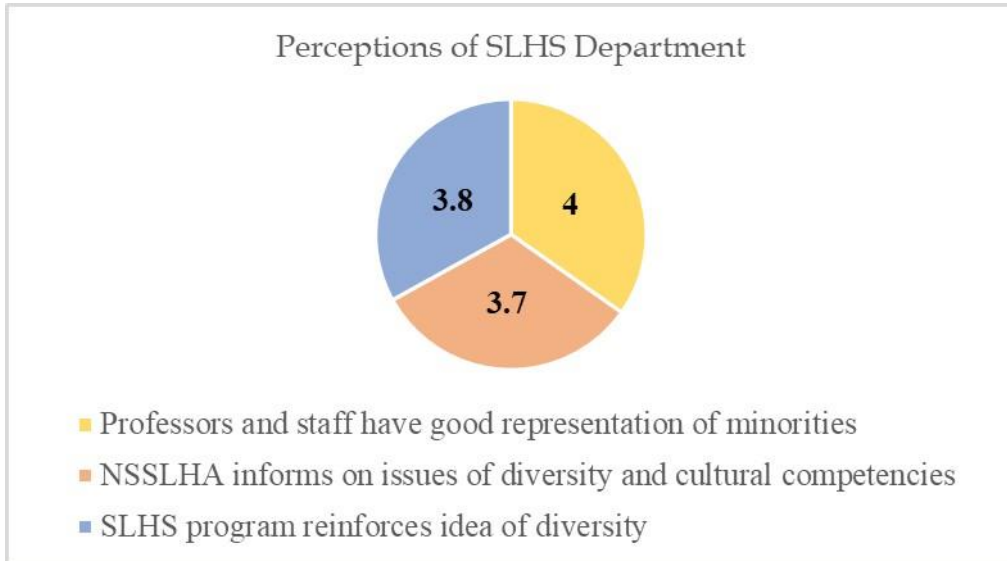


Figure 2. Perceptions of multiculturalism awareness in the SLHS department and NSSLHA



Discussion

This survey explored perceptions and observations of racial inequalities and cultural competencies in future speech-language-hearing professionals. The study and the seminar invited students to self-evaluate and reflect on race, discrimination, and cultural competencies based on their personal and professional experiences.

In summary, our questionnaire results showed that all our participants know that racism exists, they have a good understanding of the fact that people of different cultures act differently, a majority of participants are willing to help others with language barriers, and an average number of participants felt they had enough knowledge to compare cultures to each other. Areas that needed increased education were combating racism and discrimination.

Students have good awareness and sensitivities regarding sexual orientation and gender-based inequalities. Regarding their reactions, about half of the students felt that they try and stop racism and do act on biases due to sexual orientation. They strongly think they are culturally aware of others, and the majority would challenge gender inequalities. Lastly, their responses show that they did not feel superior based on their upbringing, they were sensitive to others, and social status does not affect how much they care for others. Interestingly, they think their thoughts on racism and discrimination have changed from what they learned in childhood. In addition, the open questions led to thoughtful responses that could help shape more educational opportunities for students, faculty, and staff. Thus, students have a good awareness of multicultural issues but need more tools to deal with challenges in interactions in school and the workforce.

This work relates to prior research since we put the apparent dearth of information about DEI initiatives in SLHS programs into action. A recent study by Stewart and Mishra (2022) examined publicly available data on DEI initiatives and found that most SLHS programs focused on inclusion and that the initiatives vary according to university-level factors. In Hall and Theriot (2016), we evaluated students' multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills at the beginning and end of a required cultural diversity course. The difference between this current work is that they had a semester-long course and a post-test. It would be interesting to evaluate those trends at our university in our multicultural course.

Limitations and Future Directions

This was an exploratory study. As with all surveys, this study used a self-selected sample. Furthermore, the model was geographically limited to the Northeast United States. It is possible that students in other areas of the country would have different experiences and opinions on racism, discrimination, and cultural competencies. In addition, the survey provided limited insight into each respondent's thoughts on these topics. We also had a small sample size, and the racial makeup of participants who completed the survey was very White.

At the same time, this study provides a starting point for discussions about the role of race, discrimination, and multiculturalism in training and service delivery in speech-language pathology and audiology. This work has expanded to include other undergraduate students from another university outside this university's tristate area,

with related seminars on increasing awareness of linguistic diversity and ableism. Future work in this area can also examine the students' responses in-depth since there is a need to explore the relationship between awareness of race/diversity topics and objective ratings in the academic sector and clinical practice.

This event, and the data collected there, aimed primarily to raise and bring awareness to important DEI issues in SLHS education; our participants essentially found it successful. DEI studies that are larger and take place in different parts of the country should follow. Future directions include creating a capstone project in college and university CSD curricula and holding continued workshops and events so our students can better handle diverse patients and clients as future clinicians. While our department has a course on multicultural issues in CSD, infusing these topics into all classes could be beneficial to connect academic to practical learning in these fields.

Hence, this study has served as a first step in a longer process. We can incorporate fieldwork for speech-language pathology and audiology students and service-based learning, such as performing clinical diagnostic work in underserved and marginalized areas. We can also collect data on these efforts to analyze and improve practical effects for the patients/clients and the student clinicians.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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Appendix: Multiculturalism and Diversity Workshop Questionnaire (Pre-Event)

Presented by NSSLHA Student Advocacy Group

1. CSD/SLHS Undergraduate Student? (Circle One): Yes No
If not, my major is:
2. **Only for Graduate students: (Circle One): SLP AuD
Significant as an undergraduate student?
3. Non-student Status: (Circle One): SLP AuD Other
4. Do you identify as BIPOC, LatinX, or Asian? Yes No
5. Have you met a professor who identifies as BIPOC, LatinX, or Asian?
 Yes No

Directions: Read the prompt and circle a choice 1-5.

(1= strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree)

1. I realize that racism exists.
2. I am aware that sexual preferences may differ.
3. I am aware that gender-based inequities exist.
4. I do not understand why people of other cultures act differently.
5. I am sensitive to differing expressions of ethnicity.
6. I am emotionally concerned about racial inequality.
7. I am sensitive toward people of every financial status.

8. A person's social status does not affect how I care about people.
9. I do not act to stop racism.
10. I actively challenge gender inequities.
11. I respectfully help others to offset language barriers that prevent communication.
12. I do not take action when witnessing bias based on a person's sexual orientation.
13. I am culturally aware of others.
14. I feel like I have enough knowledge to help combat racism/discrimination.
15. I am able to rate myself in terms of being able to accurately compare my culture to others.
16. I identify myself as being from a different culture/ethnic background from others.
17. I feel like I am superior to others based on where/how I was raised.
18. My thoughts about racism/discrimination have not changed based on what I learned in my childhood.
19. The Speech-Language-Hearing Sciences program at Hofstra reinforces the idea of diversity (ONLY SLHS MAJORS).
20. The National Student Speech-Language-Hearing Association (NSSLHA) Chapter at Hofstra does an excellent job informing us on diversity and cultural competence (ONLY SLHS MAJORS).
21. The professors and staff within the Speech-Language-Hearing Sciences department at Hofstra have a good representation of minorities (ONLY SLHS MAJORS).
22. When I think of racism/discrimination, I think about/:
23. What are some methods you use to offset racism/discrimination when you see it?
24. Why is it so important to be culturally competent in Speech-Language Pathology/Audiology or any other field?


25. Does Hofstra have a class on cultural competency?

- If yes, what is the class, and does this class prepare you to be culturally competent as a Speech-Language Pathologist or Audiologist? (Write class here, if applicable):
- If not, should Hofstra create a class that teaches cultural competency? (Circle One):

RESEARCH ARTICLE

TRANSFORMING FOREIGN POLICY: WOMEN AND SOFT POWER IN MULTICULTURAL WORLD¹

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ABSTRACT

The multicultural atmosphere of the 21st century forces the states and individuals to gain different experiences. In this process, which is developing in parallel with technological innovations, foreign policy issues have had to fall out of the traditional framework. In fact, this situation has revealed the need to change foreign policy instruments and tools. "Soft power" is one of the preferred methods in the changing structure of foreign policy in contemporary multicultural world. "Soft power" was used by Joseph Nye in the 1980s and refers to a country's ability to convince others to do what it wants without force or coercion. Although the majority of foreign policy makers and implementers today are men, most of the issues on the foreign policy agenda are directly related to women. Women are the first and most affected by critical foreign policy issues such as migration, climate change, war, conflict, water, and energy. At the same time, women, with their productive and reproductive identities, are one of the most effective actors who have innate soft power. The purpose of this study is to shed light on the importance of women's participation in foreign policy processes in a changing and transforming multicultural world and the empowerment of women in the context of the use of soft power.

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Introduction

Centuries have passed since the individual began to become active in politics. However, this process is not yet complete. With the French Revolution, humanity has reached an important milestone, but the participation of women in this process is not yet fully recognizable. "Freedom of thought and expression", a fundamental human right, cannot be exercised in most countries, neither by men nor by women. Despite this negative image, it is a fact that respect for and observance of human rights has an impact that contributes to the global prestige of states. Especially in the course of globalization, there have been developments that will result not only in the spread of goods and technologies but also of human rights and some cultural standards. For example, the developing flow of information has made many different societies familiar with each other, and all societies have become aware of different standards. However, while globalization creates "networks of interdependence", it does not create societies with the same universal standards. For example, 1/3 of Africans have no telephone. More than half of the world's population cannot use the internet. The gap between rich and poor has widened. In short, globalization has not created a community with equal members throughout. On the other hand, we can see that crops such as potatoes, tomatoes, and corn and viruses such as HIV and Covid-19 are spreading worldwide. Global climate change has also spread fairly evenly around the world. This type of globalization is called environmental globalization. Another form of globalization is "military globalization". The First and Second World Wars and then the Cold War created a network in which military resources could be used on a global scale and through interconnected alliances. Today, the fight against terrorism has emerged as a global problem. Another form of globalization is "social globalization" which refers to the spread of people, ideas, and cultures. All kinds of displacement, from business travel to student exchanges, from irregular migration to tourism, contribute to social globalization (Nye & Welch, 2021, p.402-405). Nowadays, when states, societies, and individuals are transitioning to a new order at global, regional, and local levels, the issue of multiculturalism comes to the fore with new dimensions (Sanili Aydin, 2023, p.13). Women shed a light on new dimensions of multiculturalism with the soft power that they hold.

Considering all these evolutions and developments, the aim of this paper is to put emphasize on the importance of women's participation in foreign policy processes in a changing and transforming world and the empowerment of women in the context of the use of soft power.

Goal of Transformation: Becoming a Legitimate Member of the International Community

In political globalization, which is a branch of social globalization, the widespread constitutional regulations, the increase in the number of democratized states, and the development of international rules and organizations are noteworthy. The global spread of political ideas contributes to the development of the idea of international society. As constructivist theorists argue, abolitionism in the 19th century, anti-colonialism after the Second World War, and environmental and feminist movements today have profoundly affected world politics. Although states have not disappeared in the process of globalization, they are careful to carry out policies by taking into account transnational thought movements while determining their policies and trying to develop soft power elements.

Although there is an "anarchic" society image among states due to the absence of a central government, as Bull emphasizes, there are also common interests and rules among states. Therefore, it is possible to talk about an international society (Nardin, 2012,p. 385). In one aspect, the concept of international society describes the criteria of states suitable for global harmony. It becomes difficult or even impossible for states that do not meet this criterion to participate in international networks. Developments after the bipolar system have brought about an understanding of "world domestic politics" that emphasizes the concepts of "human rights" and "security" (Habermas, 2012,p. 33-35). Thus, developing trends began to find a place in international agreements over time.

Do these rules cover general principles that states agree to comply with or general goals that they have to achieve? The question has brought about two different theoretical discussions. One of these two approaches, the "pluralistic approach", claims that international states should be accepted as members of the international community if they comply with some general rules. According to Rawls, one of the leading scholars of the pluralist approach, political, economic, and cultural differences between nations are acceptable as long as they do not pose a problem for the global

order and do not conflict with generally accepted values. These principles adopted by contemporary international law are listed as respecting each other's political sovereignty and territorial integrity, complying with agreements and the law of war, and participating in global cooperation for the solution of global problems and a just world. Rawls stated that it is unnecessary to consider the ideological preferences of states outside this framework. One of the harshest criticisms of this approach was brought by Allen Buchanan. Buchanan said that if liberal principles are valid in the domestic political processes of states, these principles should also be applied in the international arena. Additionally, Buchanan notes that otherwise it would be unethical (Nardin, 2012, p. 385-386). With this approach, Buchanan displayed an attitude close to the "solidarity" approach. Solidarists say that legitimate members of the international community should cooperate towards common goals. Thus, we can say that solidarists have stricter criteria than "pluralists" in order to accept members of the international community as legitimate. The process of globalization, by its nature, has a character that gradually approaches from pluralism to solidarity. It is a result of this that global networks develop collaborative and collaborative working principles. As Deutsch stated in his "security community" approach, cooperation between different societies will develop in parallel with the increase in mutual trust. This approach emphasizes the effect of establishing an environment of trust between different societies in ensuring peace (Dedeoglu, 2004, p.1). It is clear that under these conditions, no bonus will be given to different tendencies. Otherwise, all areas of positive interaction, especially the functioning of the economy, may be damaged. Increasing the mutual trust of different societies develops with the increase of all kinds of relations (commercial, social, sports, etc.) between them. The globalization process has created such a platform for the whole world. This platform will also reveal communities that begin to resemble each other as mutual interactions develop. On the other hand, the new security perception is not discussed in a dimension where only inter-state relations and military balances are discussed. The human rights dimension of security must also be taken into consideration. In this context, security is a human rights issue (Dedeoglu, 2004, p. 20). In this context, one of the conditions for being a legitimate player in the global system has emerged as the capacity to embrace values such as human rights and democracy. States also take into account such capacities of the states with which they interact.

The process of globalization has not completely eliminated different cultures. However, over time, the process is moving towards creating a hybrid culture consisting of cultures influenced by each other all over the world. The increase in multi-identity social structures due to increasing migration with push and pull factors

constitutes the multicultural dimension of globalization (Sanili Aydin, 2023,p. 34-36). Although the concept of cultural imperialism is associated with the imposition of the culture of a dominant society on a weak society, the result is that the "culture of nothing" becomes dominant (Ritzer, 2020,p. 292). Despite everything, western culture, which is the strong side, puts its weight on the more vulnerable cultures and reflects western values. However, there are also processes in which global powers adapt to local elements and the local becomes stronger. The global effects of some local elements cannot be ignored. The Bollywood film industry and the global recognition of Al Jazeera Television are examples of this situation. This process is called "glocalization" (Heywood, 2013, p. 192).

Women and Soft Power in the Multicultural World

While democracy and human rights are presented as the utopia of a globalizing world, "women" is one of the most frequently mentioned issues in this regard. It is common to see "women" at the top of the list of global disadvantages.

Judith Butler, one of the feminist theorists, defining democracy, has emphasized that democracy is not monophonic when. According to Butler, the melodies of democracy should be discordant and unpredictable: "So life can be allowed. Otherwise, life will be hindered" (Aybakan Saliya, 2017,p. 203). However, the global world is woven with strong networks that do not allow such separation. While life is built with the strong rules of the economy, the possibility of stretching these walls is low. However, human rights and democracy still continue to exist as soft power elements that provide prestige for the communities that embrace them.

Joseph Nye has stated that the steps a government takes to strengthen human rights and democracy directly affect its soft power, drawing attention that the steps taken in this direction during the periods of Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton gave the USA soft power. Nye has also argued that a government's attitudes and collaborations for the development of human rights and democracy will increase sympathy for that state (Nye, 2011,p. 21-22).

On the other hand, democratic processes are not only activities carried out by the state. The impact of civil movements, especially transnational social movements, in the globalization process is very important. For example, actions such as women's

movements, environmental movements, and peace movements have attracted global attention. These movements are global and have had an impact because they find support from outside their countries and because of their nature, they have spread over a wide area that cannot be reduced by borders. For example, the issues focused on by the United Nations conferences held after the 1992 Rio Earth Summit were related to the issues highlighted at the mentioned summit. In these conferences, gender inequality, population control, environmental problems, human rights, and social development were addressed. Among transnational social movements, environmental and women's issues have been the ones that have had the most impact and attracted attention. This situation is a development that is compatible with both post-materialist and "new politics" understanding (Heywood, 2013,p. 193-195). New politics trusts social movements and their discourses more than the bureaucracy and elected politicians (Heywood, 2013,p.195). Therefore, it has become inevitable to take into account movements that have global repercussions. Even if states are not willing to meet the demands of entering the system in this way, they have to appear willing. Among the global social and political movements, the "women's movement" is quite remarkable. This movement is not only observed in Europe and the USA. For example, in China, women strive for their rights, their participation in employment, their roles in production and politics, and general equality. Women played an important role in the fight against apartheid in South Africa. After apartheid, it is possible to see South African women intensively struggling in education, health, working life, and social issues. In another region, Latin America, the struggles of Peruvian women expressing their desire to participate more in social life have also made a strong impact. In 1992, women's objections blocked the bill that would force working women in Russia to work from home, and this bill was not passed by the Russian Parliament. Although women's movements follow movements in other countries and carry out their actions in cooperation from time to time, the globalization process has led to the integration of the women's movement on a global scale (Giddens, 2013,p. 524).

In the 21st century, states want to show that they are reliable members of the international community. A positive image creates a facilitating effect in participating in global networks. Although the positive image and prestige policies of states are not new, this effort has increased greatly today. Among the issues that cause positive reflections on the image of a state, the point reached in democracy and human rights is important (Nye, 2011, p.104-105). In this context, the progress made by states regarding women also has an impact on the image of the state. It is important for states to control and direct their global image. However, if this effort is not based on a real reference, it will not be successful. Because no matter how a state wants to present

itself regarding human rights and the status of women, it will not be able to create a perception that is far from the truth. Because developing technology has made it possible to receive information from every corner of the world. For this reason, Nye recommends that states consider the foreign press more than the domestic press in their public diplomacy efforts. Another sensitive issue is the necessity of sorting out the correct information among thousands of information. In today's world where real information and propaganda purposes are intertwined, not only state channels but also the information sources of civil society and scientific communities should be taken into consideration (Nye, 2011,p. 106). In such an atmosphere, the possibility of hiding any negativity regarding women's rights is greatly reduced. On the other hand, international organizations have opened for signature documents that will have increasingly clear outcomes on women's rights. For example, the Additional Optional Protocol, which provides a mechanism to monitor whether the states that are parties to the 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women have fulfilled their promises, entered into force on 22 December 2000 (Balkir, 2011,p. 111). As can be seen, the UN is addressing these problems with increasing determination. Thus, not only civil society but also the systems created by states increasingly bring women's issue to the agenda, creating a network effect. The network effect is an effect that increases the importance of a topic as the frequency with which it is brought up increases, just as the value of a product increases as its users increase. Thus, as the number of focuses on women's issues increases, the sensitivity shown to this issue will also increase. States can't ignore such an important issue in their soft power policies. While expressing that the women's issue should be addressed at the UN level, it should be noted that the historical movements experienced in the globalization process have a global impact, unlike previous periods (Hodgson, 2018,p. 336-337). For this reason, although the issue of women's rights is a subject that has been discussed extensively in Western literature, it can set the agenda all over the world. The women's issue not only creates a global agenda but also turns into a global value defended by large masses. Today, it can be seen clearly that global values combined with local values are adopted in different belief and tradition systems (Akay, 2010,p. 58).

Although the women's issue is taken into consideration globally and embraced as a common value, it is not possible to say that the problems are over. Women's rights are an organic part of the human rights. The frequent suspension of human rights on a global scale due to the "security" - "freedom" dilemma influences women as well. Increasing world population, decreasing agricultural lands and drinkable water resources, and fighting against ecological disasters and epidemic diseases make it

difficult to use resources to increase welfare and freedom. Conditions that enforce people to be content with less impose an economic level and system of freedom that is behind what was imagined. The level of disappointment felt by the masses will be parallel to the level of their reaction. This situation will create governments that are more oppressive and move away from democracy. The world has often seen such developments in African and Latin American states (Kolakowski, 1995,p. 392). This process, which is likely to turn in such a negative direction, will reveal states that gain and lose soft power on a global scale. The ability of states not to destroy "freedoms" in response to the expectation of "security" while managing these processes will also shape the level of their soft power. Because the issue of women's rights has become a global value. Even if these rights are not granted, women's rights have already opened as a front to be fought on a global scale.

Conclusion

Beginning to use the concept of "global politics" instead of international politics in the 21st century, it has become impossible to separate local and global issues. This process, in which economic networks are tightly connected to each other, creates an ever-growing pool of global values despite superstructural differences (religion, politics, culture, law). Especially today, when global cooperation is needed more than before, the necessity of finding common ground is obvious. The obligation in question is not for an ethical value but for the survival of the planet and people. Global problems such as global warming, epidemics and terrorism can be solved within an absolute security society.

Societies, where basic human rights are not practiced cannot be expected to be partners in the global solution. It is imperative to take into account first the existence of women, who constitute a historically disadvantaged group in this category. Because the ranks of states around the world on women's issues are listed between low and lower. It is possible to list quite a few shortcomings even for good examples.

If to look at the world as a unit consisting of individuals, not states in terms of human rights, the solutions can be produced on human rights and justice issues; However, if states are expected to produce solutions in this process, no concrete output can be achieved with many internal interventions (Viotti & Kauppi, 2014,p. 461). This approach is likely to attract many criticisms. Because it has content that

challenges the sovereignty of states. However, when the deadly effects of global crises become concrete, states do not show much resistance in acting in accordance with global trends. The best example of this situation was the compliance of states with the warnings of the WHO during the COVID-19 Pandemic. The US President Donald Trump's conflict with the WHO affected both the decrease in the US's soft power and Trump's loss in the November 3, 2020 elections.

The 21st century has caused states to develop different reflexes than previous centuries. States that contribute to the reduction of global problems by supporting this process are expected to increase their soft power on a global scale. In this context, states that prioritize women's rights and struggle with the problems arising in this regard on a global scale will gain global prestige and admiration. In addition, these states will rise as castles of global hope despite all global economic contractions.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

IDENTITY STRUGGLE WITHIN THE GRIP OF THE "OTHER": ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

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ABSTRACT

Deeply rooted in historical, political, and cultural dimensions, the Israel-Palestine conflict is a prolonged and multifaceted struggle that reflects significant disagreements over territory, identity, and power. The paper explores the complex nature of the conflict by looking at the ways that political decisions, historical occurrences, and cultural concepts have influenced Israeli and Palestinian identities and narratives. Constructed through language, symbols, and historical narratives, identity is fundamental in determining attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions. Both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs have created unique identities for themselves, frequently stemming from territorial claims and historical grievances. These identity formations have been significantly impacted by Israel's establishment in 1948 and subsequent territorial expansions, such as those that followed the 1967 Six-Day War. While Israelis have been encouraged to pursue notions of security and national fulfillment, Palestinians have been fueled by narratives of displacement and resistance. Since both Israelis and Palestinians have constructed each other as adversaries and frequently use historical narratives and cultural symbols to support their claims to territory and identity, the concept of the "other" became crucial to this approach. The sociopolitical and economic divide that exists between Palestinian Arabs residing in Israel's borders, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip further draws attention to the complexity of the conflict.

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Introduction

The establishment of Israel in 1948 and the territorial losses experienced by the Palestinians profoundly influenced the power dynamics between the parties involved in the conflict in the political, economic, and cultural realms. Understanding the identity struggle between Palestine and Israel necessitates addressing the political structures, economic changes, and cultural hegemony of the period following Israel's establishment. The identities of the regional peoples and the impact of these identities' transformation on the conflict are crucial for comprehending and analyzing the evolution of the conflict.

The rise of Zionism, the impact of anti-Semitism, and demographic changes have led to the positioning of the parties as "others" to each other. Efforts to construct cultural identities between Palestinian Arabs and Israelis have been shaped through language, symbols, and historical narratives. The struggle for cultural hegemony between the parties carries the effects of the immediate post-establishment period of Israel and constitutes one of the factors deepening the conflict. The concept of the "other," one of the most significant expressions introduced by postcolonial theory, and thus postcolonial theory itself, serves as a useful framework for explaining how this struggle shaped and became one of the fundamental dynamics of the Israel-Palestine conflict.

The land struggle occupies a central position in the Israel-Palestine conflict, and the postcolonial theory's perspective on identity and the term "other" is crucial for explaining the connection between this struggle and the postcolonial aspects of the conflict. Israel's territorial gains following events extending from the Six-Day War to the present impacted Palestinian identity and deepened the struggle for sovereignty. The land claims and sovereignty struggles possess characteristics indicating the postcolonial dimensions of the conflict. Israel's territorial advances have worsened the conflict and affected how Palestinians have formed their identities as a result of their traumas. This demonstrates how important the land disputes are in terms of identity and meaning in the Israel-Palestine conflict, alongside being an issue regarding physical boundaries.

The Background of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

The roots of the Arab-Israeli conflict stem from the aftermath of World War I, during which the Ottoman Empire lost its control over the region, leading to increased British influence in the area and the subsequent establishment of a mandate regime in Palestine at the San Remo Conference in 1920. Following these developments, a kind of unified political structure encompassing both Jews and Arabs in Palestine emerged for the first time. These developments sparked initial efforts in the region. Jews began to purchase significant amounts of land in the area, thanks to American-funded initiatives. Subsequently, there were several periods of Jewish migrations to the region. These developments were escalating tensions between Arabs and Israelis. Afterward, during the Arab-Israeli wars, both Israel's strong attacks and the divergent interests of Arab states in Palestinian territories further increased Israel's influence in the region, deepening the Palestine-Israel conflict. Following the Six-Day War in 1967, the influence of Pan-Arabism began to wane in the region, while local nationalist movements such as Pan-Islamism and Palestinian nationalism and socialism gained momentum (Atmaca & Süer, 2007).

The Yom Kippur War, which broke out in 1973, had two main differences from previous Arab-Israeli wars. Firstly, initiated by Egypt, the aim of this war was not to wipe Israel off the map, as before, but to regain the territories lost in the 1967 war. This evolution from the Arab perspective was a turning point both in their positioning of Israel and in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The other difference was that, unlike the wars initiated by Israel in 1956 and 1967, this war was not initiated by Israel; instead, the Arabs launched a surprise attack, leading to greater losses for Israel compared to previous wars (Armaoğlu, 1991). Consequently, Israel had to redesign its security perception in the Middle East, and it was realized that Israel could be harmed from the Palestinian perspective. This war and its aftermath contributed to the emergence of the Intifada movements as Palestinians began to believe in their potential.

Halliday (2008) emphasizes that the mentioned Palestinian nationalism is claimed to be an artificial nationalism created by Arab states and manipulated by them to exert pressure on Israel. While disregarding the impact of this claim on the diplomacy of the Palestinian issue before the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 would be incorrect, the content and tone of Palestinian nationalism are determined not by Arab states but by Israel's actions hindering the statehood of Palestine.

Throughout history, Israel-Palestine relations have demonstrated a multifaceted and complicated pattern. It is crucial to look back at the rise of Zionism and the 1947 UN plan for the partition of Palestine to comprehend the roots of this war. The Balfour Declaration in 1917 and the growth of Zionism have profoundly disrupted Palestine's social, political, and demographic structures. The conflict between Arab nationalism and Zionism has been exacerbated by the disparity in population growth between the Arab and Jewish communities in Palestine. Zionism's rise has resulted in the expulsion of Palestinian Arabs from their homes and a rise in anti-Semitic sentiment. In the process, Jews saw themselves as a chosen people who embraced Western values, while Palestinian Arabs were viewed as barbaric, and culturally primitive (Atmaca & Sürer, 2007).

In 1890, the Arab population in Palestine numbered around 489,000, while the Jewish population was limited to approximately 43,000 (DellaPergola, 2001). Between 1919 and 1926, there was a significant increase in the number of Jews migrating to Palestine (Berry & Philo, 2006), reaching 668,000 Arabs and 84,000 Jews by 1922. Despite the increase in the Jewish population following the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the Arab population in the region continued to outnumber the Jewish population by a factor of two (DellaPergola, 2001). This rapid population change in the region not only affected the demographic, social, and political structures but also created profound ruptures in power dynamics.

Palestinian Arabs have been unable to develop a positive identity until the centralization of the nationalist movement in Palestine. In the First Palestinian Arab Congress of 1919, Palestine was considered as part of Syria, but later, the British Mandate separated Palestine from Syria. The current situation, compounded by Zionist pressures, gave rise to a distinct Palestinian Arab identity. When viewed within the context of Arab nationalism, Palestinian Arabs faced unique challenges, such as Western influences and Zionist pressures, which accelerated the emergence of Palestinian nationalism by leaving them isolated and abandoned. This situation further deepened the identity crisis among Palestinian Arabs. On the other hand, power dynamics, which can be conceived as the overarching concept encompassing political, economic, military, and cultural interactions between nations, possess a complex and multifaceted nature in the Israel-Palestine conflict. The pivotal point of ruptures within these power dynamics can be traced back to the inception of Zionism and the United Nations' proposal in 1947 to partition Palestine (Turkel, 2015).

After the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, Egyptian President Nasser organized the Palestinians into commando units called fedayeen (Atmaca & Süer, 2007), marking the first concrete beginning of the resistance movement. The spark for armed struggle against Israel in the wake of the Suez Crisis was ignited by Yasser Arafat's leadership of Fatah during the Palestinian awakening. Additionally, in 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organization was established with the initiative of Egypt to represent the Palestinian people. The Israeli-initiated invasion of Lebanon in 1982 to purge the PLO marked a milestone on the road to the First Intifada on the Palestinian front. The most significant outcome of the Intifada from the Palestinian perspective was the realization that they could resist Israel without the need for any third country. In 2000, Israel's entry into the Haram al-Sharif, regarded as holy by Muslims in Jerusalem, triggered the Second Intifada. Initially, the uprisings began in Gaza and the West Bank, then spread to Israeli territories. In 2003 and 2004, strengthened organizations in the region such as Hamas, Hezbollah, and Islamic Jihad continued their attacks on Israel (Atmaca & Süer, 2007). The political vacuum created by the expulsion of the PLO from Lebanon and the significant loss of influence in the occupied territories was an extremely important opportunity for Hamas, which quickly garnered widespread support with its armed resistance approach. In the Second Intifada, unlike the First Intifada, the resistance was carried out not through grassroots organizing but rather through the quasi-state structure of the Palestinian Authority (Keleşoğlu, 2004).

Campbell (1999), underlines that one of the most important reasons why the Israeli-Palestinian conflict cannot be resolved is that the expectations of these two different peoples are divergent. From the Palestinian perspective, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have been occupied territories since 1967, including East Jerusalem. In this regard, the implementation of the Fourth Geneva Convention dated 1949 is essential for the Palestinian people within the framework of measures related to military occupation under international humanitarian law. Israel, however, views the situation from the opposite perspective. Israel refers to the West Bank and Gaza Strip as "administered territories" and argues that since there is no legitimate sovereignty by force, the Fourth Geneva Convention cannot be applied.

On the other hand, Gaza has a special significance for Palestine and the "Palestinian cause". Gaza is a collective example of Palestinian nationalism. Palestinian independence was declared in Gaza, the fedayeen first appeared in Gaza, the founders of Fatah received their training in Gaza, the first Intifada began in Gaza and Hamas was founded in Gaza. Perhaps most importantly, it was in Gaza that the Palestinian resistance movement withdrew after the first Israeli invasion attempt in

1956-57 (Filiu, 2014). On the other hand, Halliday (2008), points out that after Arafat returned from exile to the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1997, he constructed a state within a framework of oppressive and negative Arab nationalism. He emphasizes that Arafat alienated many who supported the Palestinian cause of establishing a state where Palestinians could self-govern in the West Bank and Israel, leaving his people at the mercy of organizations like Islamic Jihad and Hamas.

Besides, since the establishment of Israel, particularly following the expulsion of a significant portion of the Palestinian population, Israeli leaders have endeavored to reject the legitimacy of Palestinian nationalism and, concurrently, absolve themselves of responsibility towards Palestinian refugees. This effort has been pursued by emphasizing the existence of a singular small Jewish state amidst a broader region predominantly occupied by Arab states, thereby arguing that the responsibility lies with the Arab states to address the issue within the context of their own states (Tillman, 1979).

On the other hand, Adams (1988) highlights that in addressing the Palestine issue over the past half-century, politicians in the Western world have largely disregarded truth and justice in their actions. Adam emphasizes the unfair dominance of the Jewish lobby in the United States, which often uses its influence in favor of the Israeli state in the Israel-Palestine conflict. With the support of the United States, Adam argues that the manipulation of events has often disregarded the will of the international community, significantly reducing belief in a common solution. This attitude is still evident today, as efforts to create a scenario favoring Israel, where international law is disregarded, are apparent for the whole world to see.

Identities in Conflict and the “Other”

In the Israel-Palestine conflict, identity is a key factor in understanding how both sides define themselves, perceive each other, and act based on these perceptions. The concept of the “other,” emphasized by postcolonial theory, is crucial in explaining the relationships between the sides, struggles for sovereignty, and the process of identity construction.

Maynard (2015) emphasizes that all identities are ideological and that ideological differences are often symbolized through identities. In other words, conflicts such as those between the West and Islam or the first and third worlds are

seen as identity labels that encompass ideological and cultural differences. Maynard also suggests that these diverse identities, whether ethnic, national, religious, or otherwise, fuel violence in different ways. Therefore, the difficulty lies in providing a fixed answer for variables such as malleability, dimension, elasticity, etc., concerning ethnic, national, religious, or other identities.

Rousseau and Garcia-Retamero (2007) emphasize that, unlike other explanations that treat power and identity as entirely independent dimensions, power asymmetry interacts with threat perception regarding identity. They also suggest that portraying a foreign country with a similar identity to another country can increase the perception of similarity between the countries, leading to the triggering of positive emotional responses. Harshe (2006) defines the concept of culture as a significant driving force in organizing and constructing the hegemony of a powerful state like the United States. He highlights that cultural factors are influential in shaping the overall appearance of international relations, yet they are difficult to measure. On the other hand, according to Fenton (2011), ethnic groups labeled as minorities often constitute socially disadvantaged groups, leading to a more pronounced manifestation of ethnic differences. Furthermore, Fenton asserts that multiculturalism cannot be limited to a mere opposition to racism and discrimination but needs to be approached in a multidimensional manner. However, this multidimensionality also makes it challenging to implement and sustain. Castles (2011) emphasizes in his article that constructing a multicultural society is not as easy as it is often imagined. Ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, is a type of nationalism that establishes an ethnically homogeneous group of citizens and defines the origins of identity based on shared ethnic, cultural, religious, and ancestry links. A genealogical framework is how ethnic nationalism views the nation (Arman, 2007).

At this point, Jewish national identity was based on distinct religious traditions and the integration of all members of the Jewish diaspora under the umbrella of Jewish culture and ethnicity. From this perspective, the idea of Jews being a separate people from others became influential and continues to be so. In this regard, Israel's historical experience is directly linked to the political and sociological content of its territories and religious laws. A process of nation-building associated with self-sufficiency and strong attachment to the land, identified with Jewish identity and Zionism, has further solidified, forming the basis of Israeli nationalism (Schulze, 1999).

Sayigh (1977) points to five important components in the formation of Palestinian Arab identity. Firstly, they have a distinct history compared to other Arab peoples, which constitutes a significant element in the formation of Palestinian

identity. Secondly, displacement, poverty, oppression, prolonged occupation, and lack of self-determination are crucial factors. Thirdly, the attitudes and treatment of other Arabs towards Palestinian Arabs are significant. Fourthly, the development of identities such as Jordanian and Syrian, shaped around regional regimes and interests, can be identified as other sub-Arab identities. Fifthly, the establishment of the PLO and the rise of the resistance movement are crucial. The positioning of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian cause can be considered a pivotal moment in the construction of Palestinian identity. Lastly, the experiences of Palestinian Arabs' isolation from the world, especially from other Arab regions, and their survival reflexes, constitute the sixth and final component.

On the other hand, Inbari (2017) situates the conflict between Palestine and Israel along three main fault lines: the Israel-Palestine conflict, the Israel-Arab conflict, and finally, the Jewish-Islamic conflict. While the Israel-Palestine conflict is viewed as a national struggle and assumed to be resolvable through an agreement between these two peoples, the Israel-Arab conflict is noted to extend beyond Palestinians to encompass all Arabs and the Jewish-Islamic conflict is often seen as a suppressed awareness. The Oslo process initially addressed the "Israel-Palestine" dimension of this conflict, but later discussions at Camp David expanded beyond this framework. The Oslo Accords, which ended the Arab-Israeli conflict and established mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO in 1993, while giving hope for a comprehensive peace worldwide, could not materialize into a lasting commitment (Anil, 1999). However, these and subsequent agreements have remained ineffective in addressing the ongoing issues. One of the main reasons for this is that the prepared agreements contain ambiguous and double-meaning provisions. This gives the appearance that the agreements were drafted more by politicians than legal experts (Campbell, 1999).

The majority of Palestine, being an agrarian society, consisted of workers and peasants. Additionally, the commonality of religion, language, and culture in the countries where they were refugees posed obstacles to the establishment of Palestinian nationalism. In the 1960s, armed struggle was considered the only solution for Palestine's liberation. Among the most influential groups during this time was the Fatah movement, organized as small guerrilla groups. The First Intifada, which could be considered a natural consequence of a 20-year Israeli occupation, also saved the PLO from extinction as it struggled with exile and internal conflicts. The Oslo Process of 1993, however, fell short of expectations. Edward Said even likened this agreement to the Treaty of Versailles imposed on Germany by the Allied Powers after World War I, calling it the "Palestinian Versailles" (Keleşoğlu, 2004).

Throughout Middle Eastern history, Arab nationalism has emerged as a response to Western colonial interventions and attitudes, distinct from its inception in response to Zionism's uncertain status in Europe (Joffé, 1983). However, Zionism and Jewish nationalism also constitute another factor in this rupture. The rise of Zionism and anti-Semitism has deeply influenced power dynamics, particularly by fostering the widespread belief that the expulsion of Arabs residing in Palestine had a legitimate basis in the notion that Jews should be the majority in the region. Furthermore, among Jews, there prevailed a belief in their "chosenness" as a people, contrasting with the perception of Arabs as socially primitive and orientally distant from the West, thus reinforcing the idea that Jews represented a structure fully embodying and reflecting Western values (Turkel, 2015).

Edward Said highlights the plight of the Palestinian people who, after losing their lands and being displaced in 1948, continued their lives as refugees and second-class citizens (Gençoğlu, 2023). Said et al. (2004) emphasize that the Palestinians, uprooted to make room for the Jewish people, are the real victims. They also point out that Arabs are condemned to conflicting identities and belongings. Similarly, Frantz Fanon, in his work "The Wretched of the Earth" (2018), considered a manifesto of anti-colonial movements in the postcolonial era, indicates that the West, as the greatest cultural rival of the East, consistently exalts itself while systematically positioning the East and Eastern culture as uncivilized. The concept of the "other," into which Palestinian Arabs are readily situated, stems from this understanding. The West, viewing its dominance over Eastern culture as a responsibility to bring its own values to all societies, perceives the hardships endured in this pursuit as a "legitimate" ordeal. Fanon, highlighting the coexistence of violence and colonialism, underscores how the superiority of the West over the East and the otherness of the East present violence as a legitimate option for the West. In other words, Eastern culture, perceived as the "other" by the West, is seen as a low culture that must be subjugated and clearly distinguished from the West. The Jewish people, positioning themselves as part of the West in actions taken against the Palestinian Arab people, have sought to legitimize these actions through legal motives such as land sales.

Israeli Jews, while attaching illegitimacy to the Palestinian Arab population through labels such as non-peaceful, uncouth, and distant from Western values, savage, and wild, attempt to legitimize their actions and existence based on these descriptions, which seems perfectly coherent with the "other" in the postcolonial perspective. As a result of various persecutions in Jewish history and events such as the Holocaust, security concerns have shaped their mindset, while simultaneously fostering a reflex to continuously portray themselves as victims (Turkel, 2015). As

Zionism's influence grew in the region, tensions escalated between Jews and Palestinian Arab populations. Particularly with the emergence of systematic Jewish land acquisitions, Arabs began attributing insidious and demonic traits to Jews. For instance, during the Nebi Musa uprising in 1920, Palestinian Arabs were incited, chanting slogans like "Palestine is our land, Jews are our dogs." The greatest threat to the Palestinian Arab way of life and livelihood came from these land sales to Jewish workers. This systematic land acquisition triggered hostility and anger within Palestinian society, leading to harsh criticism from Arab politicians and media, accusing those involved in land sales of betraying their fathers' blood and heritage (Segev, 2001).

On the other hand, after a series of military gains such as the Six-Day War, Israel expanded its territories and solidified its presence in the Middle East. Particularly following the Six-Day War in 1967, Israel gained control over the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and Jerusalem. During this time, the emerging Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), which was launching attacks on Israeli targets, had its elements expelled to Jordan (Turkel, 2015). As a result of this war, Israel not only expanded its territory within Palestine but also multiplied its land with the gains against Syria and Egypt. Palestinian Arabs, who perceived the events of 1967 as an injustice that needed to be compensated at all costs, increasingly found any compromise with Israel, which expanded its territories after the war, such as a two-state solution, to be more challenging (Karsh, 2017). Subsequent proposed solutions were insufficient to address the acute asymmetry in Israel-Palestine relations. As of 1991, the economies of the West Bank and Gaza accounted for only 5% of the Israeli economy, and the Palestinian Arabs living under occupation were highly dependent on the lower tiers of the Israeli labor market (Bose, 2007). Framing the Israel-Palestine issue within the context of internal colonialism, as defined by Mitchell and Williams (1978), referencing political and economic inequalities within a state, seems indirectly plausible. Yet, internal colonialism aims to explain a racial or ethnic group's subjugation within the borders of a larger state that is ruled by another group (Chávez, 2011, p. 786).

The current situations and distinctions between Palestinian Arabs living in Gaza, the West Bank, and those residing in Israel are noteworthy. Various economic, political, and social differences exist between Palestinian Arabs living in Israel and those in Gaza and the West Bank. Palestinian Arabs in Israel hold Israeli citizenship and are considered a minority within the Israeli political system. Conversely, Palestinian Arabs in Gaza and the West Bank reside in areas under the control of organizations like Hamas, which are either occupied or under blockade by Israel. Moreover, sharp ideological differences exist between Israeli Arabs and Israeli Jews,

which may impose certain constraints on Arabs' access to employment, housing, state aid, and Jewish institutions. However, despite these factors, the contribution of the conflict between Israeli Arabs and Israeli Jews to the Israel-Palestine conflict remains relatively minimal (Smooha & Peretz, 1982). Unger (2008) emphasizes the lack of mutual trust between Israel and Palestine as the missing element in the efforts towards a two-state solution. The challenge of finding common ground between two distinct peoples, continuously struggling to build a homeland within a narrow strip of land under constant occupation, and determined to defend their territory at all costs, is evident in attempts to reach a solution.

Conclusion

The identity of Palestinian Arabs is rooted in a complex relationship between Palestinian nationalism and Arab nationalism. Palestinian Arabs faced challenges within the context of Arab nationalism before forming a distinct identity. Zionism exacerbated the identity crisis of Palestinian Arabs and laid the foundation for the conflict. As emphasized by Edward Said, Palestinian Arabs have confronted the realities of land loss and refugee status, leading to their marginalization and otherization. This otherization has fueled ideological divisions and conflicts between the parties in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Significant military gains such as the Six-Day War have led to Israel's expansion of territories and strengthened its presence in the Middle East. However, these gains have deepened conflicts among Palestinian Arabs and complicated efforts for resolution. The two-state solution faces challenges due to a lack of trust. Economic, political, and social differences between Palestinian Arabs living in Israel and those in Gaza and the West Bank further complicate resolution efforts.

It is possible to argue that Palestinian Arabs living particularly in Gaza and the West Bank serve as a tangible and contemporary example of the "other" in post-colonialism. This is because, in addition to the various underlying factors of the conflict that have been articulated for years, Israel has systematically sought to legitimize its actions by positioning itself as superior to Palestinian Arabs and relegating them to a subaltern identity. The attack carried out by Hamas, designated as a terrorist organization by Israel, towards the end of 2023, ignited a new conflict, resulting in the deaths and injuries of thousands of civilians. Israel's actions, which equally disregard international law in response to Hamas attacks, can be attributed to reflexes that perceive Palestine as the "other" rather than a response to a terrorist attack, undermining its legitimacy in the eyes of the international community.

The Israel-Palestine conflict traces its roots back to the inception of Zionism and the partition proposal of Palestine in 1947. In 1890, the Arab population in Palestine outnumbered the Jewish population by more than two-fold, but due to the influence of the Zionist movement, Jewish migration increased. This demographic shift created profound ruptures in power dynamics and triggered conflicts between Arab nationalism and Zionism. On the other hand, the identity of Palestinian Arabs appears to have been shaped under the influence of Zionism and anti-Semitism. Throughout this process, processes of othering and struggles for legitimacy have impacted the identity formation efforts of both sides. Palestinian Arabs have endeavoured to preserve their identities by sustaining resistance movements in the struggle for land. The Six-Day War of 1967 and the subsequent historical processes saw Israel expand its territories, deepening mistrust between the parties to the conflict. Proposed solutions have failed to transcend triggering further conflict by emphasizing the asymmetry in Israel-Palestine relations. Israel's economic and military superiority has exacerbated dynamics resembling a form of internal colonialism between Israel and Palestinian Arabs.

Understanding the Israel-Palestine conflict requires an understanding of the relationship between power and identity. Political leaders' disregard for justice has hampered efforts at settlement and prolonged the conflict. The conflict's deep and complex nature is demonstrated by the fault lines that run through its Israel-Palestine, Israel-Arab, and Jewish-Islamic elements. As a result, this emphasizes how complex the Israel-Palestine conflict is, including components related to history, power dynamics, identity, and resolution. This tension is fundamentally caused by power dynamics, identity creation, and historical roots. However, future attempts at resolving the conflict will require the development of mutual trust and the achievement of fair compromises amongst various identities.

Israel's territorial advances since 1967 have had a profound impact on Palestinian identity in addition to having a tangible effect in terms of land staying in Palestinian hands. Palestinian unity and solidarity have become stronger as a result of this process, which has also raised national identity consciousness and resistance. As a result, two significant civil revolt movements (Intifadas) were started. While Israel aims to ensure its security and build its national identity by eradicating threats and fabricating a story that supports its actions, the Palestinians work to shape their identities through the traumas they have endured and the loss of their lands. The Israel-Palestine conflict revealed the idea of the "Other" as a conflict centered on the formation and reconstruction of cultural identities. Language, symbols, and historical

narratives are employed by the sides to the dispute to shape their identity struggles. One way to understand the dispute is as a mirror of the attempts on both sides to create identities. Palestinian resistance groups, on the other hand, may be viewed as an attempt to maintain their identity. The rise of Palestinian resistance organizations can be understood as attempts to uphold Palestinian identity and achieve national independence within the context of the conflict's historical development.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

CHAOS THEORY: A NEW PERSPECTIVE IN APPROACHING COMPLEX ACTIONABILITY, CULTURE, CIVILIZATION, AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY ¹

Part II: Disorder created by the Order Perception

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ABSTRACT

The perception of order and disorder has been the most mysterious part of mankind's thousands of years of existential struggle. After becoming a social entity, humans have always desired to live within an order. However, every established order has ended in some way. Every state, every empire has settled into the dusty leaves of history. In other words, when we look at history and civilizations clearly, it turns out that order cannot actually maintain its existence forever. Therefore, the approach that there is no real order but there is an order within disorder will yield better results. This can only be possible by looking at history, civilizations, and cultures through the details of Chaos Theory.

In the article, the principles of Chaos Theory are examined through the perception of order and disorder, and historical and intercultural relationships and conflicts are attempted to be studied according to the principles of the theory. In the study, an analytical examination at the theoretical level is conducted, and it is discussed how Chaos Theory will shape the civilizations and cultures of today's and tomorrow's world. In this context, it has been attempted to demonstrate that the theory has now shattered the past perception of order and that all societies are shaped by the perception of order within disorder.

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Introduction

In the first part of the paper, Chaos Theory and Karma structures were introduced, based on the imbalance created by the perception of order. Now, in the second part of the paper, the main principles of Chaos Theory and the irregular structure of societies will be examined and the connection between disorder and Karma within the order will be investigated.

The relationship between Karma and the principles of Chaos theory is quite clear. Humans are constantly conscious beings engaged in actions. The reactions arising from their actions become Karma for them, and at the same time, they have direct or indirect effects on others. Each individual is unique, which also makes their actions unique. Consequently, unique actions emerge at any moment, and their karmic reactions occur with uncertain and irregular timings. As mentioned in the first section, when humans transitioned into society, those who governed them also pursued order. The greatest fear for the kings and emperors of countries was the emergence of chaos that could render them powerless. However, regardless of their efforts and precautions, their kingdoms and empires remained in balance for certain periods and then returned to the first proposition of chaos theory, which is the complete dependence on initial conditions, emphasizing that disorder is the main element. Looking back in history, no empire or kingdom has been seen to stand indefinitely. In today's conditions, with the rapid development of technology in various fields, especially in communication and transportation, it is evident that any system anchored to the logic of order is quite fragile.

Another point is that the identity-based cultural ties inherent in the characteristics of Homo sapiens create disorder in the way people perceive good and evil. Personal and collective actions that may seem normal to some societies are considered very bad behavior by others. Therefore, there is a kind of disorder in the impact force of Karma. Ultimately, every system created by humans has an action-based disorderly karmic structure. This leads us to another proposition, which is that no event repeats in the same way.

In terms of the connection between Chaos theory and Karma, one of the most important principles is the "Butterfly Effect." To understand the relationship between the Butterfly Effect and Karma, it would be appropriate to understand the significance of this effect. The namesake of the "Butterfly Effect," which is one of the foundations of Chaos theory and closely related to Karma, is Edward Lorenz, a meteorologist. In 1967, when he wanted to conduct a weather forecasting simulation on what could be considered the most advanced computers of the time, the underlying idea was to establish an order in which weather conditions could be predicted according to Newtonian mechanics. After numerous studies, he made a tiny data change that was so small that it would not even be considered in the data (he used 0.762 instead of 0.762815). However, this very small data change unexpectedly led to significant changes in the simulation's results. Lorenz delved into the idea that this small change could have major consequences and presented this topic as a scientific article. He named it the Butterfly Effect and coined the slogan, "A butterfly flapping its wings in the Amazon could set off a tornado in the Atlantic." In fact, it was not a deeply thought-out slogan, but it became such a powerful expression that it could inspire future centuries (Lorenz, 1993,p. 126).

Of course, according to Lorenz's statement, it was not possible for a butterfly's wing flap to cause a tornado in the Atlantic. However, the point being made here was that a small change so imperceptible to the main system could lead to significant changes in subsystems and, through interactions between systems, could eventually result in much larger changes in the future. However, Lorenz's paper remained only in meteorology science journals. Years later, those involved in theoretical physics stumbled upon this article when they were searching for solutions to the theory, and they began to establish the mathematical and physical foundations of Chaos theory. Subsequently, Chaos theory found its place in economics, religion, philosophy, history, and various other fields. Now let's look at the Butterfly Effect from the perspective of Karma.

As mentioned earlier, the foundation of Karma is based on our actions and the reactions that arise from these actions. Human beings carry out their actions throughout their lives, shaped by the cultural elements they have acquired, combined with their free will. This makes their actions disorderly, unpredictable, and uncontrollable, just like themselves. Therefore, the consequences also occur as unpredictably as their actions. All systems created by humans, from families to companies to governments, share these same action-based characteristics.

In this context, humans are greatly influenced in two areas: the effects of their own actions and the effects of others' actions reflected upon them. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, a person grows up within the culture and moral elements introduced by the system in which they were born and transforms into a conscious being. Culture is the primary factor that differentiates the behaviors of societies from one another. Therefore, subjective concepts such as good and bad, right and wrong become relative. In other words, a behavior or perception that may be considered very wrong in one society may not be as wrong in another. This means that all artificial systems created by humans are in a chaotic state of action, can produce unexpected effects, and, even if they remain in balance for a short period, will eventually transition into disorder.

The Butterfly Effect, on the other hand, refers to the influence of certain actions that the main system does not perceive, affecting the subsystems in an unknown time frame, growing, and becoming a problem for the main system (sometimes leading to unexpected positive developments). Providing examples on both individual and state levels will help us better understand what is being expressed here.

For example, Hitler coming to power in Germany in 1933 and subsequently leading the world into a world war, resulting in the deaths of millions of people, is not a Butterfly Effect. The Butterfly Effect in this case dates back to earlier events. Austrian Adolf's youth coincided with World War I, and he was wounded in the leg during the war, rendering him unfit for further military service. In the subsequent years, despite being an ardent supporter of Germany, he could not become a German citizen. In 1930, he founded his party in Germany with a large following, but due to his lack of German citizenship, he could not participate in elections. A formal maneuver was required for this, and the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Duchy of Brunswick, a separate small state in Germany at the time, came to his rescue. By appointing him as the firebrand to Berlin, Hitler automatically became a German citizen and was able to run in the elections. Here, the Butterfly Effect is the action taken by the Minister of Internal Affairs. This person carried out an action that did not directly affect the main system. However, it paved the way for Hitler's unstoppable rise. Nine years later, Hitler, with the support of the masses, would paint the world in blood for five years.

When we look at Chaos theory from the perspective of societies, we can see that they also create Butterfly Effects. Let's provide an example of this.

After being discovered by Columbus in the mid-15th century, the American continent, though unaware itself saw an influx of Europeans who established a capitalist trade system and killed the indigenous peoples while bringing tons of gold

back to Europe. Their actions were very, very bad in a way that went against the moral values of every society. In other words, their actions were bad, and the consequences would be bad as well. However, how and when? That was uncertain. When Europeans went to the new continent, they unknowingly created a Butterfly Effect. They brought with them a hidden enemy to these lands: the common but non-lethal flu virus in Europe! The indigenous people of the new continent were defenceless against this virus, and as many of them fell ill and died from it as were killed by Europeans.

However, over centuries, this virus underwent changes. It adapted to the characteristics of the tropical climate. While the residents here found a way to protect themselves, the evolved virus eventually spread first to Europe and then to India via the spice route. It couldn't find a suitable environment for its spread until the devastation of World War I. But suddenly, in the first half of the 19th century, it emerged. It was called the "Spanish Flu," and it reached almost every corner of the Asian continent where it had not yet reached, killing twenty million people. This is an example of a societal Butterfly Effect!

Indeed, there is another good example that is quite similar. Around 300 BC, a deadly virus appeared in the Nile Delta. The Black Death! The plague remained in the coastal regions of North Africa for a long time. However, Asian states that were determined to conquer these lands encountered the plague in the Nile Delta and carried the virus to their continents. The plague settled in Asia with the soldiers of invading groups and the captives they took, and it began mass killings in Central Asia for the first time around 250 BC. After about 50 years, Alexander the Great arrived in these lands, and among the spoils of war were soldiers infected with the plague. These soldiers were sent to Greece. These individuals were ruthlessly exploited to create great works, but the plague manifested itself here as well, resulting in the "Plague of Athens," which would go down in history as the greatest calamity. Thousands of people died in a very short period of time, and it was no longer possible to stop the plague. The entire European continent was affected by this.

As you can see, the Butterfly Effect is a central element of chaos theory, just as it is a central element of karma. Therefore, every individual can easily engage in actions with their free will. But the important thing to note is whether the actions have the potential to create a Butterfly Effect.

Actions do not necessarily have to physically occur. Advising someone or giving advice to someone at a crossroads in a project is also a kind of Butterfly Effect. This effect is not necessarily a bad one. A simple action in the past can lead to very positive

developments in the future. However, the real issue is how an individual in a chaotic structure will act. Our actions often become significant through the decisions we make in the face of developments or situations. This brings us to the point of examining the other principles of chaos theory.

There are two important points to note here. First, at a certain point in time, the actions of individuals or societies are actually so small that they will not affect the main system. In fact, they are so small that it is not even possible to notice them. However, in the future, these actions will have or will have had significant effects. Second, these actions that do not affect the main system lead to unpredictable developments. Hitler's being a German citizen was seen as important at the time in terms of his party's elections and him becoming its leader. It is likely that many of those who voted for the party did not want a new world war. They were simply those who longed for Germany's return to prosperity. But this simple maneuver had led to unexpected results.

Similarly, the Americas were important for the wealth they could provide. However, a completely different result emerged that caused the deaths of millions. Therefore, when looked at from the perspective of Newtonian mechanics, the idea that the causes of the past are the reasons for future developments is proven wrong. This is because actions that begin with the unpredictability principle of chaos theory create a Butterfly Effect. Systems are established within an order. Even though the capitalist system grew further with the valuable materials brought from the Americas, this balance was temporary, and the system collapsed with the great wars and the subsequent Spanish flu disasters.

On the other hand, when Western capitalist countries are considered, their actions of making the world into colonies and sharing it have created a huge karma in terms of actions. After the wars, the collapsing capitalist system created a completely disorderly environment in the world, and as a result, the period of "decolonization," which is the independence of colonies, began, and the bad actions of the West came back to haunt them.

All unnatural structures create a chaotic situation. Perhaps the most important principle of chaos theory is that these structures have the property of determining their behavior, performance, and processes of growth and dissolution and controlling time. This is called "Entropy." Entropy is the main element of chaos theory. First, it is appropriate to learn what this concept means and then delve into its philosophical dimension from the perspective of individuals and society.

Entropy is one of the four laws of thermodynamics that guide all modern physical and mathematical systems. The laws, without going into explanations of physics, chemistry, and mathematical explanations, are briefly as follows: "The amount of energy unique to the creation of the universe is constant. Energy cannot be created or destroyed, and energy is always moving from more to less to create balance. Energy moves in one direction, decaying, i.e., changing form. This is 'entropy'."

Entropy is defined as the process in which the fixed amount of energy in the universe is used up, causing a change in form and the release of unusable energy. In short, everything in the universe is material and contains energy. Every material is active, and the actions occurring at any given moment transfer some of its energy to another area. As a result, matter undergoes a process of decay over time.

What does this mean? In simple terms, a human is born, grows, ages, and dies. From an energy perspective, during this process, they use up their expendable energy, and eventually, their energy is transformed into another form, becoming "spent energy." Entropy is inevitable and has a beautiful explanation:

**"You can't win,
You can't tie,
You can't leave the game."**

As seen, entropy is inevitable. It cannot be stopped. However, it can be slowed down by conserving energy. Therefore, entropy is the master of time. When we consider that everything is in action and that the foundation of action is energy, it becomes clear that energy is the most important component for the matter to preserve its existence within the assigned time. Therefore, entropy is the main element of thermodynamics, chaos theory, and, as we will discuss in detail later, karma.

Before moving on to the human and societal aspects, it is important to understand how entropy operates according to physical laws. Firstly, as the master of time, every material deteriorates (actually transforms energetically) through entropy. The state of equilibrium in the movement of energy is critical. In other words, heat tends to move towards cold, and this continues until the temperature on both sides becomes equal. This shows us another characteristic of entropy: a larger force moves some of its force toward the smaller one. Material uses its energy to go through its life cycle and eventually becomes unusable. This is often referred to as material death in our human way of thinking, but it is, in fact, a change of energy.

From the perspective of chaos theory, we can see that the description of order within disorder aligns perfectly with entropy. This is because we see that every part of the universe is an energy and that it progresses with the logic that, although it may seem disorderly to us, it is based on a truly magnificent order. When we operate with the logic that every material undergoes decay, transforming its energy from its own structure into another form, we can say that the future is being rewritten at every moment. Subsystems within the universal system constantly experience energy decrease and increase, meaning that energy flows from some areas to others. This movement leads systems to constantly move towards a state of initial conditions or disorder. However, after a while, with the action of entropy, we must accept that a new system is born.

What does this mean? The universe is constantly evolving, while the amount of energy remains constant. Therefore, development occurs through the exchange of places in entropy. From this perspective, another approach to the speed of entropy emerges. If the flow of energy is fast, this leads to "high entropy," and if it is slow, it results in "low (negative) entropy." High entropy is dangerous for all entities in the material world because it accelerates the decay of matter.

This situation causes entropy to increase rapidly, and consequently, energy deteriorates more quickly. Low entropy, while less dangerous than high entropy, implies inaction, which is an impossible state for conscious beings living on Earth who sustain their life cycle by utilizing all the vital values on Earth. Therefore, "balance" becomes important here, meaning "preserving energy at an appropriate level and speed."

Hence, when we delve into the expansion of entropy, the most important principles of chaos theory emerge. First, every system is doomed to decay because entropy cannot be prevented. Second, energy moves from less to more, from hot to cold, until a balance is reached, but it cannot remain in a state of balance because it requires compensating for deficiencies in other areas. Entropy presents these two facets, and after the advent of quantum mechanics following the shattering of Newton's mechanical world, theoretical physicists and mathematicians focused their efforts on this field. However, that's not our topic here. We are more interested in exploring the chaotic behaviour of entropy in human and societal systems and its relationship with karma.

As mentioned before, according to chaos theory, every system tends to return to its initial state, which is a state of disorder. This tendency arises from the inevitable disintegrating power of entropy. However, when we say that the system is breaking down, a frightening aspect emerges. This system could be a workplace, a production activity, or a living space, and those who create these systems never wish for such a breakdown. This scenario is a nightmare for everyone. However, the expression may evoke thoughts of something bad, but the situation is not as dire as it seems.

Chaos signifies the disorder that comes with it, actually describing a new system that will replace the old one. Therefore, it is emphasized, "chaos is a step." This also means that the future is variable, constantly being rewritten and that due to human tendencies for disorderly behaviour, there are multiple alternatives at any given moment.

When it comes to entropy, individually, when we consider that each of us creates small systems within one of the systems within the main system, everything we possess materially is moving towards decay in some way. This is clearly inevitable. The only thing we can do against entropy is to slow it down or speed it up. This is something that will be determined by our actions. Therefore, our actions as individuals in the material world become the determinants of how long a system will stand.

Looking at it from the perspective of creating karmic entropy, the most dangerous thing for us is to create high entropy. The result of our decisions and actions is essentially entropy. Therefore, when we understand karma well, we also find ways to avoid high entropy. In short, it involves creating relatively good behavior. For example, making an effort to lead a healthy life as an individual and exercising self-control for that purpose reduces the level of entropy. This way, the outcome of the chain of actions, which is karma, is to live longer in good health.

Therefore, living with low entropy while maintaining a low level that varies according to each society essentially means creating good karma and reducing the rate of decay caused by entropy. It is possible to exemplify this in the context of personal systems in numerous ways.

On the other hand, entropy in societies created by humans is crucial, and as explained in the Karma book, creating social karma is a variable that directly affects all the societies that make up that society. Today, societies are defined by countries and states. Those who govern the state, through their decisions, determine the entropy rate of the state's resources. The efficient and appropriate utilization of resources is good

karma for the state and at the same time, an example of low entropy that reduces the state's decay process.

Entropy's second characteristic is even more critical, that is, the transfer of energy from one place to another and the creation of a kind of balance! It's clear that the potential of the karma created by states is measured by entropy. Now, let's provide some historical examples of this characteristic from the past to the present.

Look at the Ottoman Empire! It transitioned from a disorderly structure under Fatih Sultan Mehmet to become a state and then an empire. During the reign of his son, Yavuz Sultan Selim, it reached its widest boundaries, spanning three continents, and became the world's largest political power. However, the era of Suleiman the Magnificent (Kanuni) was a period of high entropy. Although the empire's borders remained the same, its resources, which constituted the components of power, were rapidly depleted, leading to high entropy. Subsequent sultans and their rulers, even if they realized the situation, could not keep up with the political, scientific, and demographic developments in the surrounding world. Finally, at the beginning of the 20th century, the imperial system found itself in a state of disorder, in its starting position. However, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who fully implemented the subsequent principles of Chaos theory, established a new system: the Republic of Turkey. This is a simple example of the way entropy moves!

Today, similar problems are observed in developed countries. Globally, the most important sources of life for humanity are food and energy. While nearly one-third of the world's population lives below the poverty line and cannot continuously meet their energy and food needs, the United States and European countries are experiencing high entropy in terms of food and energy. These countries, which make up approximately 10% of the world's population, use approximately 64% of the resources for their own countries.

Access to an abundance of food products, often glorified as indicators of prosperity and a well-preserved standard of living, has actually become a high-entropy generators. According to data from the World Health Organization, easy access to food has turned into a disadvantage in these countries, leading to a rise in obesity. Due to obesity, healthcare expenditures, which are increasing exponentially every year, will soon impose a significant financial burden on the people of these countries, making life more expensive, and these nations will begin to experience economic stagnation. On the other hand, a significant number of people, who have lost hope of survival due to hunger, become refugees and try to enter these countries illegally. The data is very

alarming. Every day, 34,000 people become refugees worldwide. However, these countries continue to take ruthless measures that ultimately lead to death. The resources allocated for the people entering illegally are increasing day by day.

The same holds true for the ongoing Ukraine-Russia Federation war, which began recently but has been ongoing for several years. While Russia is the invading party in Ukraine's territories, the fundamental reason for the war is the European Union countries and the United States. However, due to the war, a significant amount of grain, especially vital to the famine-prone African continent, is not reaching its destination. The energy expended by Western countries for this war is actually creating high entropy in their own countries. In the past year, the number of refugees trying to enter these countries from Africa via the Mediterranean has increased dramatically. Consequently, these countries have allocated more resources for protection measures. This has led to the creation of high entropy in the West.

However, these examples are social karma scenarios. Powerful and developed countries have established systems that will use a significant portion of the world's limited resources for themselves. Therefore, achieving balance has become impossible. However, every system is inherently disorderly, and entropy is the most critical factor in disrupting these orders. The limited nature of global resources is the most significant indicator of this. So, when resources start to decline after a while, the countries that will face social problems are also in this group. Because people are accustomed to the welfare system created by capitalist logic, when they cannot access these resources at the levels they are accustomed to, the high entropy of their systems will manifest itself, and government systems will become disorderly.

The important thing to note is this: energy tends to move from abundance to scarcity. In other words, the energy used to transfer to the other side is not energy created out of nothing; rather, it is a portion of its own energy. When the transfer occurs, its own internal energy will decrease. The energy it transfers actually increases the entropy of its system, which means that the system's disorder accelerates.

Another type of this is ensuring the disruption of a system in another region as a result of transferring a portion of the energy to one region. The best example of this is still hidden in the corners of history. With Vasco da Gama's discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, a new trade route was opened for Westerners: the "Spice Route." Large ships began transporting more Eastern goods by sea, and suddenly, Eastern trade fell into the hands of Westerners. This situation led to another entropy. The "Silk Road" had been the only trade route for thousands of years from east to west, and all the states

in the East became very wealthy. However, the Spice Route completely disrupted the Eastern gains of the Silk Road. In other words, the trade system here underwent chaotic disruption, and this situation only began to improve after the collapse of the Soviet Union. So, even though a trading system that lasted for a thousand years underwent entropy and disruption, and even though a long time, about 450 years, had passed, a new system emerged.

Here, those who govern states need to understand chaos theory and entropy very well. This includes understanding that every step taken in relations with other states results in a loss of their own energy. Typically, in relations between states, especially advanced capitalist countries, every action they take in line with their own interests leads to an increased need for more energy transfer due to development. This is high entropy and essentially an acceleration towards disorder. On the other hand, this is an action, and every action will have a karmic reaction. What matters is whether the karmic response is worth the action.

For instance, following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the United States moves to enter Afghanistan with NATO forces to eliminate the Taliban and Al-Qaeda eventually turned into a difficult situation for other NATO countries. They became targets of terrorist organizations themselves, and as a result, a significant portion of their state resources was allocated to ensuring internal security. The United States, on the other hand, suffered both financial and military/civilian losses and eventually had to withdraw. The developments that occurred here are important both in terms of entropy and karma. From an entropy perspective, these states, despite being powerful, have increased their entropy by expending a significant portion of their resources here.

From a karma perspective, their collective action to participate in the Afghanistan operation resulted in a reaction that was damaging to themselves. When we look at Afghanistan's history, it would not be wrong to say that the karmic consequences of the actions taken by the Soviet Union in these lands, when they also invaded them, were one of the factors that accelerated the disintegration process.

A Look at the structural principles of Chaos Theory

The main requirement for separating this part of the theory is to examine the structural principles necessary to understand the conceptual dimension of Chaos and

grasp its behavior. Structural principles are important for understanding how to act against the strong influence of the theory's core principles. In this context, the first structural principle is "**Bifurcation.**"

Bifurcation in Chaos Theory actually shatters the perception that past events are the causes of future events, and everything follows a linear progression, so everything is predetermined (Verma, 2005,p. 92).

While every system is engaged in an operational state connected to its own upper system and at the same level as others, when developments that affect the system's order occur, although it may seem like a dilemma, it actually means the emergence of new alternatives. This is a moment of decision that will bring about a change in action. Bifurcation can have two or many points. What matters here is the deviation it will create in the linear path. This means the beginning of writing a new future. Bifurcation is inherently in direct interaction with other principles because Chaos is flexible, and this flexibility is actually a feature that revitalizes the system at bifurcation points and also has a butterfly effect on other systems. As understood from the nature of the principle, it is directly related to Karma within Chaos Theory. Just as karma responds to our actions with a reaction, it should not be forgotten that the factor that leads us to choose these actions is the bifurcations in the system.

However, the two characteristics of this principle known in the literature as "bifurcation points" are crucial. The system reaches the bifurcation point at its most sensitive moments. The paths that emerge generally include one that is linked to the origins and prevents deviation onto a different path, and the other is a path that leads to transformation according to the criteria required by the circumstances. The choice is actually related to the fundamental dynamic of chaos theory, which is the principle of change, whether it opposes the principle of change or adapts to the conditions of change. Therefore, the choice actually signifies a situation that will either increase or decrease entropy, sustain, or lead to extinction.

The most important thing here is as follows. Chaos theory focuses on a process that moves towards disorder. Therefore, one end of the bifurcation, known as the "radical way," shows the predictable and easy path of choice. However, when considering disorder, this option is already a path that will accelerate the system's collapse. Therefore, the essence should be to choose the "unpredictable". Only through this can the system survive in an unpredictable future, combine with others, and settle into a new orbit. As seen, when a decision is made at the bifurcation point while the system is moving in one direction, it changes the direction of the system.

Especially contrary to expectations, i.e., going against the radical decision, makes the system both unpredictable and offers different bifurcation points on its new trajectory. Therefore, in the face of this situation, there is an important saying to remember: "Chaos always presents new opportunities." Radical choices cannot provide these opportunities because they are predictable. The outcome of such choices is predictable, creating situations where what will come next can be foreseen. Therefore, the most crucial thing is to make choices based on the fundamental principles of Chaos Theory, which are non-linear, unpredictable, and undeterministic.

Now it's time to ask a question:

But how can it be possible for this choice to be correct within a context that is unpredictable and disorderly?

The answer to this question lies in the other two principles that work on the same frequency as bifurcation: "**cross-analysis**" and "**attractors**."

Cross-analysis is actually a well-known but rarely applied principle. It involves creating a method for making decisions by evaluating the paths emerging at the bifurcation point in terms of their orientation toward the future and comparing them with each other. Scientifically, this method is used as the "visual analytic support decision method" and is based on evaluations and decision-making processes at the bifurcation point.

The important thing here is how the decision of which path to choose at the bifurcation area is made. In making this decision, another principle of the theory comes into play, which is the "**attractors**." Attractors, as we call them, are influential and compelling factors that become most prominent during the bifurcation. In general, there are three types of attractors:

Punctual Attractor

These attractors occur during periods when the system has not yet become disordered. They may not create significant changes in the system's general trajectory but can have accelerating or decelerating effects on disorderliness and can lead to bifurcation. When considering an individual as a system, these are the behaviors and events that have a relatively minor impact on life but draw attention and prompt action.

Periodical Attractor

These attractors manifest themselves at certain times or during specific activities within the system's general flow. These types of attractors are not significant bifurcation points because there will be opportunities for them to reoccur within the system's general trajectory. They follow the system as it moves towards disorderliness in a predictable manner. Therefore, they do not have a profound impact on the system, either positively or negatively, as they can be anticipated to some extent within the disorderliness.

Strange Attractor

These attractors are the ones that significantly affect the main trajectory of the system, creating high entropy within it. They possess unexpected and unpredictable characteristics and are true bifurcation points. They exhibit chaotic behavior and can have a substantial impact on the system's development. Analyzing these attractors requires advanced cross-analysis because they are powerful enough to cause changes in the system.

The principle that has had the most profound impact on the philosophical discussion of chaos theory is the principle of "self-renewing flexible structures." The dynamic that contributed to the formation of this principle is the planet Jupiter and the storm eye found on its surface.

For thousands of years, Jupiter was merely a faint light in the sky, observed as its orbits intersected. It played a central role in Greek mythology, associated with Zeus, the chief of the gods on Mount Olympus, and also held significance in astrology. Mythologically, in the context of Crete, it was the son of Chronos, the primary deity of the thousand-year-old Minoan civilization. However, in Crete, Kronos had become synonymous with a wrathful god who constantly spewed smoke and lava, earning the displeasure of the Minoans. They consistently offered sacrifices to their god and placed him at the forefront of their mythology. Jupiter was seen as the feeble son of the powerful and angry Kronos, only relevant to them. Eventually, Kronos revealed his might to them, unleashing a cataclysmic explosion and earthquake that reshaped nearly the entire Mediterranean region.

Most of the Minoans perished, some migrated to North Africa, and others settled along both coasts of the Aegean Sea, establishing a new civilization after the fall of Minoan culture—the Greek civilization. However, this time, Kronos was no longer present, as Zeus had taken his place.

Over thousands of years, Jupiter was observed from Earth and followed. With the advent of modern telescopes, Jupiter became more visible and detailed, and as telescopic power increased, its clarity improved further. Eventually, Jupiter was studied as a planet rather than just a source of light. During these observations, the famous "eye" of Jupiter was noticed. It had always been there, a colossal and intriguing feature. Some scientists speculated that it might be continuous smoke from a volcano, while others considered it to be a satellite very close to the planet.

In the following years, the Viking-1 spacecraft, sent to explore the solar system, entered Jupiter's close orbit and began sending detailed photographs of the "eye." It was then understood that this was a continuously self-renewing and massive storm. This short story provides insight into the "**self-renewing flexible structures**" principle, which has made a significant contribution to chaos theory.

In this context, there are three essential characteristics of this principle: "flexibility, self-renewal, and energy." When the activity on Jupiter's storm eye is examined, it is observed that the storm moves around the planet, loses power as it progresses, but eventually regains its former strength. In other words, it continually renews itself in every situation. This can be explained by its ability to adapt to new circumstances as needed, rather than waiting for conditions to occur. Therefore, this feature also emphasizes the importance of flexibility in chaos theory. Additionally, the continuity of Jupiter's storm eye is based on the principle that, instead of continuing its journey by constantly gaining new energy, it rejuvenates itself by utilizing the energy within itself. This explains that systems renew themselves while still retaining their old energy.

Disorderliness, unpredictability, and undeterministic developments and outcomes are the fundamental characteristics of chaos theory. Systems are constantly moving towards disorder. This implies that staying rigid will only lead to high entropy and subsequent disruption. Therefore, the only way for systems to develop without creating high entropy, shaping themselves according to new opportunities, and gaining strength from other systems is by maintaining a flexible structure. Flexibility provides the system with the opportunity to renew itself.

Conclusion

When we look at the interaction between chaos and karma in this context, we see that similar aspects come to the forefront. When we minimize the topic to the individual level, we observe that a human being is a conscious, intelligent entity that is disorderly, unpredictable, and constantly engaged in action, composed of physical and spiritual bodies. Here, it may be worthwhile to briefly mention the two types of actions of the individual. These are the first group of actions related to oneself, and the second group of actions directed towards others.

The karmic consequences of the first group of actions may manifest themselves in the short or long term, while the second group of actions has karmic aspects that can either harm or benefit others. When we see human beings as part of artificial systems that span from the family unit to companies, states, and international organizations, it becomes evident how effective their actions actually are.

Throughout history, all philosophers have described the consequences of human actions as karmic, but their primary goal has been to create systems that operate within the chaos of the Chaotic universe, which we call order within disorder, by taking predictable actions and obtaining definite outcomes to protect these systems. However, Chaos Theory also tells us that no artificial system (created by humans) can continue indefinitely without disruption (Dandoy and Plaza, 1998,p. 175).

Here, flexibility becomes of paramount importance. In the face of problems (other artificial actions) that an individual encounters at any moment and in an unforeseen time, being flexible and adapting to this new situation is critical for the development of individual or societal systems. This is referred to as "Situation Awareness."

Therefore, it is essential for humans to be aware that every action they take will result in a reaction, and to live in a way that creates good karma, first for themselves and then for the people around them. This is the state of "living by creating good karma," and it is the most important way to be in harmony with the unpredictable and disorderly universe that is moving towards chaos and disruption.

To put it plainly, as mentioned earlier, systems move in one direction towards disruption. It is impossible to prevent this. However, it is possible to slow down its pace, establish a balance, make good use of the moments of bifurcation, and live as a flexible system. Therefore, it is necessary to live with low/sufficient entropy, and this can only be achieved through "right action, right reaction, that is, creating good karma."

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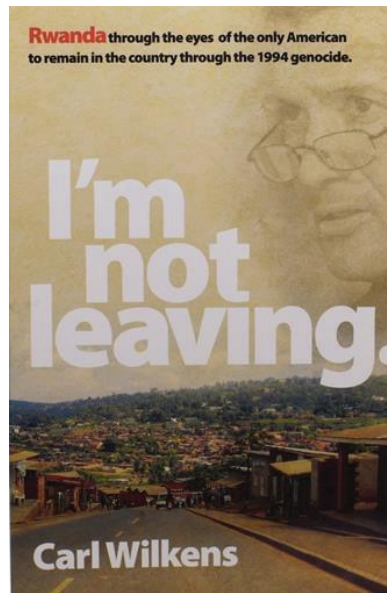
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BOOK REVIEW

CARL WILKENS AND RWANDA: LEARNING AND GROWTH



Reviewed by: David PENDERY

National Taipei University of Business, Taipei, Taiwan

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Carl Wilkens was an American missionary working as the head of the Adventist Development and Relief Agency International in Rwanda in 1994, when the tragic genocide pitting the two peoples, the Hutus and Tutsis, broke out to worldwide shock and dismay. While virtually all foreigners fled the country, Mr. Wilkens announced, “I’m not leaving” and stayed behind, offering help to many different people, notably orphanages that needed supplies, water and protection. Mr. Wilkens stayed in Rwanda for the entire length of the brutality and slaughter, dodging marauding bands of military and civilians, before finding his way back to his wife and children, who had left to a nearby country at the beginning.

Mr. Wilkens spoke in my Global Issues class, by Skype, in 2020 and again in 2022. He explained all that had happened to him, and all that he had learned. We also watched Mr. Wilkens’ film, “I’m not leaving,” (also the title of his book). In it, he says, “Of course, with the killing going on [in Rwanda] the smart thing to do was get out.” But he chose not to.

When all was said and done, Mr. Wilkens found that we could and must “inspire and equip people to respectfully enter the world of the other.” He sought a community filled with educators, advocates, and supporters who share this mission – striving to build an environment of respect, where we can learn other’s stories, and where empathy leads to new levels of inclusion. This became the founding philosophy of his “World Outside my Shoes” educational foundation, with the aim of spreading the word about the Rwanda catastrophe, and how the country had recovered, rebuilt, and

sought transitional justice – “Rwanda’s pathway back to trust” as Wilkens says. The country has even embarked on what Wilken’s calls a “reverse state of the union” in which citizens and governors work together to provide “Increased transparency, accountability, and a deeper sense of responsibility to others.”

Although Wilkens and his wife say that they were living above the unrest brewing between the Hutu and Tutsi peoples in the early 1990s, “we could tell there was tension.” In spite of this pressure, the Hutu and Tutsi people he worked with “worked together in a way that wouldn’t indicate that there was a problem.” Not long after, however, with the downing of a jet containing the Hutu president of Rwanda resulting in his death, the extremist Hutu government launched the genocide against the Tutsis. His wife says of this time, “I remember looking across, seeing groups of mostly young guys, they’d be carrying sticks or machetes...going from one house to another,” and with that the massacre was underway, a “twisted, collective insanity” as one UN commander said. Wilkens found himself “venturing out each day into streets crackling with mortars and gunfire,” and he “worked his way through roadblocks of angry, bloodstained soldiers and civilians armed with machetes and assault rifles in order to bring food, water, and medicine to groups of orphans trapped around the city.” Working with Rwandan colleagues, he and his aides helped save the lives of hundreds. “You did what you had to do with each threat, each challenge that came,” says Wilkens. After reuniting, Wilkens and his family lived in Rwanda for another 1.5 years before returning to the U.S. and launching their educational and restorative justice program. For him, “a whole new world, a whole new life” came upon them. “Surviving is more than just staying alive,” he says; “surviving is learning how to live again.” A U.S. State Department spokeswoman later said of Wilkens’s stay in Rwanda, “if he believed he kept a presence there, if he kept that mission open, he could make a difference.” Carl Wilkens certainly did this, in ways that few other people could ever imagine.

Thirty years after the genocide against Rwanda’s Tutsi, many battle to reconcile with the country’s grim past, despite its government’s attempts to bridge ethnic divisions.

The diggers’ hoes scrape the brown soil, looking for – and often finding – human bone fragments. Women then wipe the bone pieces with their hands as others watch in solemn silence. The digging goes on, a scene that has become all too familiar in a verdant area of rural southern Rwanda, where the discovery in October last year of human remains at the site of a house under construction triggered another search

for new mass graves believed to hold victims of the 1994 genocide against Rwanda's Tutsi.

In the months since, Rwandan authorities say the remains of at least 1,000 people have been found in the farming community in the district of Huye, a surprisingly high number after three decades of government efforts to give genocide victims dignified burials. Rwanda commemorated the 30th anniversary of the beginning of the genocide on Sunday, but continuing discoveries of mass graves are a stark reminder not only of the country's determination to reconcile with its grim past, but also of the challenges it faces in aiming for lasting peace.

Speaking to The Associated Press, the head of a prominent genocide survivors' group and several other Rwandans said the discoveries underscore that more needs to be done for true reconciliation.

Rwanda has made it a criminal offense to withhold information about a previously unknown mass grave. For years, perpetrators of the 1994 genocide, including those who served prison terms and were later released, have been urged to speak up and say what they know.

Yet the mass graves are still mostly found by accident, leading to new arrests and traumatizing survivors all over again. The discovery in October resulted in the arrest of Jean Baptiste Hishamunda, 87, and four of his relatives. After the remains of six people were discovered under his home, diggers started going through his entire property, finding dozens and then hundreds more remains as their search extended to other sites in Huye. An estimated 800,000 Tutsi were killed by Hutu in massacres that lasted more than 100 days in 1994. Some moderate Hutu who tried to protect members of the Tutsi minority were also targeted.

The genocide was ignited on April 6 when a plane carrying then-Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana, a member of the majority Hutu, was shot down in the capital, Kigali. The Tutsi were blamed for downing the plane and killing the president. Enraged, gangs of Hutu began killing Tutsi, backed by the army and police.

The government of Rwandan President Paul Kagame, whose rebel group stopped the genocide and whose party has ruled the East African country since 1994, has tried to bridge ethnic divisions. The government imposed a tough penal code to punish genocide and outlaw the ideology behind it, and Kagame has fostered a culture of

obedience among the country's 14 million people. Rwandan identification cards no longer list a person's ethnicity and lessons about the genocide are part of the curriculum in schools.

Hundreds of community projects, backed by the government or civic groups, focus on uniting Rwandans, and, every April, the nation joins hands in somber commemorations of the genocide anniversary.

Today, serious crimes fueled by ethnic hatred are rare in the small country where Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa live side by side, but signs persist of what authorities say is a genocidal ideology, citing the concealment of information about undiscovered mass graves as an example. There are also incidents of villagers asking mass-grave investigators if they are searching for valuable minerals or dumping dog carcasses at memorial sites, said Naphtal Ahishakiye, executive secretary of Ibuka, a genocide survivors' group based in Kigali.

"It's like saying: 'What we lost during the genocide are dogs,'" Ahishakiye said.

There are still those who resist coming forward to say what they witnessed, he said. "We still need to improve, to teach, to approach people, up to [when] they become able to tell us what happened," Ahishakiye said. As more mass graves are discovered, Tutsi survivors "start to doubt" the good intentions of their Hutu neighbors, he said.

Their pleas for information about relatives lost in the killings go unanswered.

In the village of Ngoma, where shacks roofed with corrugated sheets dot lush farmland, diggers come across decaying shoes and pieces of torn clothing among skulls and bones. "I have tried very hard to forget," said Beata Mujawayezu, her voice catching as she recalled the killing of her 12-year-old sister at a roadblock on April 25, 1994.

The girl pleaded for her life with militiamen, going down on her knees in front of a gang leader whom she addressed as "my father." She was hacked to death with a machete.

"She was a lovely girl," Mujawayezu said of her sister as she watched the digging at a mass grave site on a recent afternoon in her Tutsi-dominated neighborhood.

“One day, hopefully, we will get to know where she was buried,” she said.

Augustine Nsengiyumva, another survivor in Ngoma, said the new mass grave discoveries have left him disappointed in his Hutu neighbors, whom he had grown to trust.

“Imagine sleeping on top of genocide victims,” he said, referring to cases where human remains are found under people’s homes. “These are things I really don’t understand,” he said.

Young people are less troubled by the past. Some Rwandans see this as a chance for reconciliation in a country where every other citizen is under the age of 30. In the semi-rural area of Gahanga, just outside of Kigali, farmer Patrick Hakizimana said he sees a ray of hope in his children that someday Rwanda will have ethnic harmony.

A Hutu and an army corporal during the genocide, Hakizimana was imprisoned from 1996 to 2007 for his alleged role in the killings. He said he learned his lesson and is now trying to win the respect of others in his neighborhood.

“There are people who still have hatred against Tutsi,” he said. “The genocide was prepared for a long time.”

David Gakunzi wrote a poem expressing what Wilkens now feels:

We remember.

We are watching.

We will not forget their names.

We will speak of their silence to the end of the horizon.

They are no longer there but they are.

We are, they are."

The above takes in all that Carl Wilkens has lived and experienced, and his generous response. He has sought to motivate and prepare people to reverently enter the world of all other peoples and ethnicities. He has sought a community filled with teachers and activists and who share his mission to construct a living environment of reverence and esteem, wherein we can learn others’ narratives, their stories, and with compassion and inclusiveness leading to new levels of awareness and presence.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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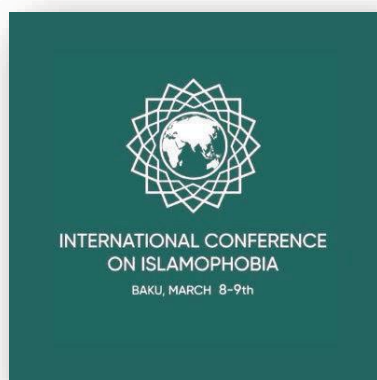
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EVENT REVIEW

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE THEMED “EMBRACING DIVERSITY: TACKLING ISLAMOPHOBIA IN 2024”

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On March 8-9, 2024 in the "Nizami Ganjavi" hall of the Fairmont Baku Hotel, the Baku International Multiculturalism Center (BIMC) and the Center of Analysis of International Relations (AIR Center) in partnership with the G20 Interfaith Dialogue



Forum organized the conference entitled "Embracing Diversity: Tackling Islamophobia in 2024". Regarding to the fact that the United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution on "International Day to Combat Islamophobia" on March 15, 2022, the conference dedicated to the 2nd anniversary of the International Day of Combating Islamophobia.

Over 130 representatives from 32 countries, including scientists, international organization experts, religious figures, and non-governmental organizations, participated in the conference. During the conference, participants discussed matters of intersectional approach in the fight against Islamophobia, conspiracy theories about Muslims, historical and contemporary perspectives on Islamophobia, joint cooperation in the fight against Islamophobia and the role of international organizations, building harmonious societies by promoting religious diversity and interfaith respect. It was not merely a gathering of minds, but a collective endeavor to understand the roots of Islamophobia, dissect its manifestations, and formulate strategies that pave the way towards a more tolerant and inclusive future. Hence, the second Islamophobia conference provided a platform for rigorous discussions, research presentations, and open dialogues surrounding the multifaceted issue of Islamophobia. Each panel consisted of 5-6 speakers and a moderator for 15 minutes and followed by Q&A.

The aim is clear: to nurture an environment where people of all faiths can coexist harmoniously, where diversity is celebrated rather than feared, and where the principles of justice and equality prevail.

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, has addressed the participants of the international conference held in Baku on the topic of "Preserving Diversity: Combating Islamophobia in 2024." The text of the address was read by Hikmet Hajiyev, the Assistant to the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan - Head of the Department of Foreign Policy Affairs of the Presidential Administration. The address drew attention to the increasing cases of Islamophobia in the world and the fact that Azerbaijan has also faced this negative trend. "Among the dire consequences of Armenia's 30-year long occupation of our lands was a deliberate destruction and annihilation of our cultural heritage of universal value, including the monuments associated with the Islamic faith. While initial estimates suggested that 65 mosques had been razed to the ground during the occupation, unfortunately, that number is steadily increasing as numerous new examples of Armenian vandalism against Islamic heritage continue to emerge."



The President also emphasized that respect for multicultural values is one the priority areas of Azerbaijan's state policy. "We take pride in Azerbaijan being a multinational and multiconfessional country. Representatives of all religions and ethnic groups live here in peace as one family. Religious equality and inclusivity, safeguarded in our country as an asset, embody the way of life for the Azerbaijani people, serving as a source of strength."



In his opening remarks, Executive Director of the Baku International Multiculturalism Centre Ravan Hasanov said that the issues to be discussed at the conference can serve as a roadmap. According to him, discrimination, hate speech and isolationist policies are currently among the main problems of the world. Such cases are prevalent in Western countries. "Although it is possible to live together peacefully, these negative situations against Muslims continue."

The conferences included the address by Mr. Yousef M. Al-Dobeay, Assistant Secretary-General of Political Affairs of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and Prof. Cole Durham, President of the G20 Interfaith Dialogue Forum.

Assistant Secretary-General of Political Affairs of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Yousef M. Al-Dobeay said that the designation of March 15 by the United Nations (UN) as the International Day to combat Islamophobia is a significant step in the fight against Islamophobia. "We have a great responsibility in this fight," he added. He mentioned that during these years, Azerbaijan has hosted various high-level events dedicated to the fight against Islamophobia, taking exemplary steps. Today's event also reflects Azerbaijan's strong commitment in this regard. "The OIC is looking forward to the results of today's conference," he added. The OIC Assistant Secretary General drew attention to the fact that provocative acts continue to be committed around the world, noting that people are being targeted because of their religious beliefs. Yousef M. Al-Dobeay stressed the need to take various measures to prevent oppression and discrimination against Muslims. "The OIC calls on international organizations and civil societies to unite and mobilize their efforts against these cases," the Assistant Secretary-General emphasized.

The conference featured plenary and breakout sessions including Plenary (A) Calling for global dialogue to promote tolerance, peace, and respect for human rights and religious diversity; Breakout sessions (B) Multiculturalism, Islam and the clash of civilizations theory: rethinking Islamophobia; (B1) Shaping Public Opinion: digital Islamophobia; (C) Confronting Islamophobia in the context of higher education; Plenary (D) Similarities and differences in the treatment of Muslims across Western Europe, basic human rights of the Muslim community; Breakout sessions (E) Anti-Muslim policies in France: Normalizing Islamophobia; (E1) Deliberate acts of destruction and desecration of Islamic cultural and religious heritage in non-Muslim countries; (F) The Matrix of Gendered Islamophobia: Muslim Women's Repression and Resistance, Gender and Society.



The plenary session on “Calling for global dialogue to promote tolerance, peace and respect for human rights and religious diversity” was moderated by Fariz Ismailzade, Vice-Rector for External, Government and Student Affairs of ADA University.

In his remarks, the Chairman of the Caucasus Muslims Office SheikhuIslam Allahshukur Pashazade said that it had become a tradition for Azerbaijan to host international conferences on tackling Islamophobia. “Azerbaijan, a country where the environment of interreligious brotherhood prevails, always remembers its national, cultural and religious values. Azerbaijan’s multiculturalism is an example to the entire world. People living here are treated with the same respect, regardless of their religion or race,” he mentioned.

Ambassador, Director of the Center for Civilizational Dialogue at ICESCO Khalid Fathalrahman Omer Mohamed said that thanks to the purposeful policy of President Ilham Aliyev the Azerbaijani government is doing great things in combatting Islamophobia.

Head of the OIC Islamophobia Observatory Dodik Ariyanto underscored that Islamophobia had already become a global phenomenon. He described the adoption of the resolution of the UN General Assembly on the fight against Islamophobia as a progressive case, saying that such documents confirm the existence of Islamophobia at the global level.

Former Ambassador of South Africa to the U.S. and founder of World for All Foundation Ebrahim Rasool emphasized that over the past hundred years, the world has been witnessing negative manifestations such as wars, racism, and Islamophobia. "This level of hatred and gender-based violence is a serious concern," he added.

Secretary General of the World Muslim Communities Council Mohamed Bechari put forward proposals to prevent cases of Islamophobia, stressing the importance of holding seminars and forums. The Secretary General expressed his gratitude to President Ilham Aliyev for the excellent organization of the event.



Speaking at the event, Vice-chair of APPG British Muslim, Shadow Minister for Exports in Labour's Business and Trade Team Afzal Khan said: "Islamophobia is a form of racism that is more evident in the West. So, the cases of Islamophobia in the world have recorded a 335 percent increase in recent months. Moreover, 51 Muslims were killed in New Zealand."

The two-day conference culminated with the adoption of the Joint Communiqué.

Following the conclusion of the engaging two-day event hosted in Baku, an enriching excursion was arranged for the esteemed guests to explore Shusha, a vibrant cultural hub designated as the Islamic world's cultural capital for the year 2024.

Disclosure statement

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