

GLOBAL RELATIONS FORUM

**YOUNG ACADEMICS PROGRAM
2017 TERM HANDBOOK**

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GLOBAL RELATIONS FORUM

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

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

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

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

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

GRF YOUNG ACADEMICS PROGRAM 2017

The *GRF Young Academics Program* will be carried out with the participation of young academics who are either in the last year of their doctoral studies or have completed their Ph.D. within the last three years.

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

The GRF Young Academics Program is open to academics from all areas of study.

The recommended length of the papers will be approximately 10-20 pages. In return for their contributions, GRF will present an honorarium to the authors of the papers that are published by the end of the program.

The GRF Young Academics Program consists of two meetings, the details and aims of which are described below.

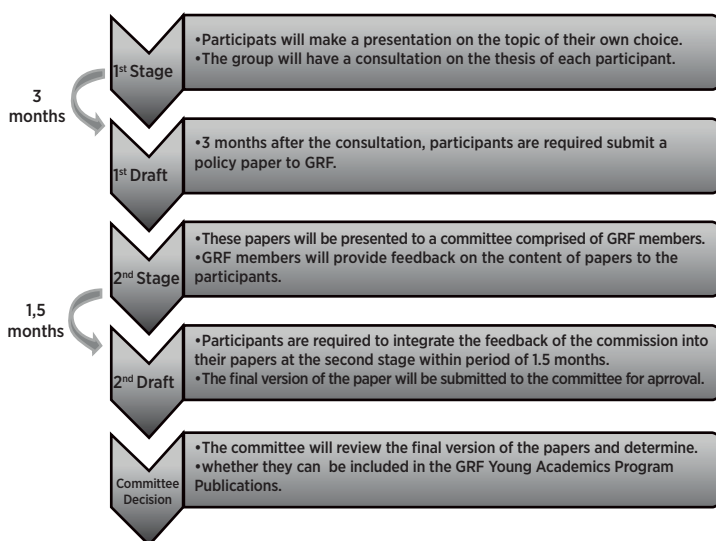
First Meeting: The academics will present their topic of choice to other participants of the program, and a discussion will follow each presentation. This will provide each participant with the opportunity to clarify and improve his or her thesis with the feedback they receive from fellow participants. The participants are required to submit the first draft of their paper to GRF within three months of this consultation meeting.

Second Meeting: The institutional experience and contribution of the GRF comes into play more explicitly at this stage. Within this framework, the GRF will put together a different commission for each participant. The commissions will be made up of a select group of GRF members with knowledge and expertise in the young academic's topic of choice. Two weeks after submitting their first draft, participants will present their

paper to a GRF commission and will receive personalized feedback from the commission members.

When preparing the second draft of their paper, the participants are required to integrate the feedback they received from the commission. The young academics are given a period of six weeks to submit their revised drafts.

The final drafts of the papers will then be sent to respective commissions for approval. The commissions have the final say in determining whether to publish a paper as part of the Young Academics Program Publications.



Criteria for the Young Academics Program Publications

The following criteria for the publications will help to sustain GRF's prudent and constructive analytic culture in the long-run.

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

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

September Group

Aslı Cansunar

Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, Duke University

“Limited Information and Opposition to Redistribution”

Ole Frahm

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

“How the EU’s Reinvention After Debt Crisis, Brexit, Refugee Crisis, Right-Wing Populism and Trump is Going to Affect Turkey”

Ian Johnson

Ph.D. in History, Ohio State University

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

“The Role of the US-Turkey Partnership in the Establishment of Collective Security Arrangements Between 1947 and 1953”

Stephen O’Connell

Ph.D. in Economics, City University of New York

Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Economics and SEII at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

“Can Quotas Increase the Supply of Candidates for Higher-Level Positions? Evidence from Local Governments in India and Brazil”

Ezgi Uzun

Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, Sabancı University

Visiting Research Scholar, Columbia University

“Iran’s ‘Axis of Resistance’ Policy and Its Regional Implications”

Yuval Weber

Ph.D. in Government, University of Texas-Austin

Visiting Assistant Professor, John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University

“Russia and Turkey in a Power Vacuum: American Uncertainty and Policy Options for Moscow and Ankara”

Ayşe Yemişçigil

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

Visiting Doctoral Research Fellow, John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University

“How Political and Business Leaders Can Cultivate Purpose”

November Group

İsrafil Boyacı

Ph.D. Candidate in Economics, Boğaziçi University

Visiting Ph.D. Student, MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies, Yale University

“Competition, Regulation and Planning in the Turkish Hospital Industry during the Health Transformation Program (2003-13)”

Ali Fisunoğlu

Ph.D. in Political Science and Economics, Claremont Graduate University

Junior Research Fellow, Carlos III – Juan March Institute

“Consequences of Major Wars and Determinants of Postwar Recovery: Case of the Syrian Civil War”

Arnaud Koehl

Ph.D. Candidate in Public Health and Environmental Economics, Imperial College London

“Health and Economic Co-benefits of Interventions to Reduce Transport Related GHG Emissions in Populous Middle Income Countries (MICs)”

Emma Nyhan

Ph.D. Candidate in Law, European University Institute

“What Role Do Transnational Organizations and Networks Play in the Construction of and Contestation over Internationally-Created Concepts and Categories, and How Do They Help Constitute New Socio-Legal Formations in the Middle East Region?”

Duygu Sever

Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science and International Relations, Koç University

“Turkey’s Nuclear Energy Policies”

Cem Veziroğlu

Ph.D. Candidate in Private Law, University of Istanbul

Research Assistant, Koç University Law School

“The Role of Arbitration in Commercial Dispute Resolution”

Pontus Wallin

Ph.D. in Political Science, Linnaeus University

Head of International Large-Scale Assessment, Analysis Department at Swedish National Agency for Education

“Issues of Digitization in Education: Case of Turkey”

LIMITED INFORMATION AND OPPOSITION TO REDISTRIBUTION

Aslı Cansunar

Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, Duke University

Why do a significant number of low-income individuals oppose taxation? For the last decade, the poor's opposition to redistributive policies have been the focus of intense research in political economics. These studies identify various mechanisms concerning the formation of individual preferences for redistributive policies. Yet, no parsimonious explanation has emerged from this extensive theoretical and empirical discussion. Most accounts assume, incorrectly, that individuals use factual information about income inequality to calculate expected benefits and losses from prospective taxation policies. This paper challenges that basic assumption. It suggests that in making decisions about taxation policies, individuals often rely on misperceptions of income distribution, income inequality, and their standing in the economy; they do not use factual information. Ultimately, citizens who would be net benefiteres of redistribution often oppose such policies due to misperceptions about economic inequality.

This project points out that individuals have a lot of misinformation, even on concepts that are parts of everyday political and economic discourse. Very strikingly, citizens are unclear about the definitions of the income groups. Many respondents overestimate or underestimate the annual income thresholds of the income groups by large margins. Through a survey on perceptions of economic inequality, I find ample evidence that shows the amount and the substance of information that is available to individuals is perhaps more important than the actual data in predicting as well as to shaping political behavior. My results show that, on average, individuals judge the level of inequality in proportion to the level of inequality they perceive. Similarly, the demand for taxation increases (decreases) as the perceived income level of the rich increases (decreases).

Other than having direct disciplinary implications, my study also speaks to a broader audience concerned about the production of knowledge and democratic governance. If political misinformation is perpetuated by cognitive limitations or the limited information supplied by politicians, there are some practical issues that must be solved for a democratic choice to be functional. People have strong values and opinions about inequality as well as the affluence of income groups. It is important to demonstrate that these values and opinions are often based on misperceptions that do not reflect the actual state of the economy to help facilitate the possibility of informed democratic decisions.

I am a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at Duke University. My research focuses on different aspects of the political economy of redistribution and the welfare state. I mainly pay attention to the preferences over taxes and social policies.

My dissertation examines the effects of information about the design of the fiscal state and inequality on the preferences over redistributive policies and tax rates, with a special focus on how and why voters have strong misperceptions that affect such decisions.

I am also working on projects analyzing the political and economic institutions of the Ottoman Empire. In particular, I study the elite funded welfare institutions and the political economy of social and religious inequality in the Ottoman Istanbul during 17th and 18th centuries.

I hold a BA in Economics and a BS in Mathematics from Koç University, Turkey, and an MA in Economics from Duke University. I will join Oxford University as a post-doctoral researcher in February 2018.

HOW THE EU'S REINVENTION AFTER DEBT CRISIS, BREXIT, REFUGEE CRISIS, RIGHT-WING POPULISM AND TRUMP IS GOING TO AFFECT TURKEY?

Ole Frahm

Postdoctoral Researcher, University of St. Gallen

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

The paper I am proposing for the Global Relations Forum's Young Academics Program aims to present a new perspective in the crowded field of thinking and writing about the complicated relationship between the European Union and Turkey.

What makes this paper's approach different is that it does not directly engage with bilateral relations but aims to follow a three-step process:

1. Establish potential and likely scenarios of how the EU will respond to the existential crisis/crises it is currently facing;
2. Expand upon these scenarios by assessing how they might affect Turkey and Turkey's decision-making process in the field of diplomacy, regional integration, security and trade;
3. Develop policy suggestions to both Turkish and European decision-makers on how to maximize the potential for amicable cooperation.

Relevance of the project:

Several seminal events of 2016 have brought the EU to breaking point and in conjunction with a series of longer-running challenges have led to a focus in Brussels and other European capitals on reinventing and thereby reinvigorating the European project. A non-exhaustive list of these challenges which are closely interrelated includes:

- The Brexit vote in June 2016 and the start of negotiations over the future status of bilateral relations after Article 50 will have been triggered in March 2017.
- Donald Trump's election victory, his outspoken enmity towards the European project, protectionist trade policy and uncertainty over the future mission of NATO.
- Failure of the intra-European response to the refugee crisis and resettlement agreement, lack of burden sharing and continued arrival of refugees on EU borders (e.g. Libya, Turkey).
- Rise of anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim extreme right populist parties which undermine both the EU and liberal democracy (Hungary, Poland, Austria, France, Netherlands etc).
- Greece's and to a lesser extent Italy and Spain's persistent debt crisis and lack of a sustainable economic growth strategy.
- The unresolved war in Ukraine and the difficulty in maintaining a common front vis-à-vis Moscow's antagonistic interventionist stance.

Step 1: EU responses to the crises

Based on this assessment of the status quo, there are several likely developments that are going to characterize the EU and that the EU is likely to pursue in the coming months and years. A tentative list of these includes:

- German leadership of the EU will become entrenched as alternative economic and political power centres do not exist given Brexit, France's political crisis, Southern European economic stagnation and Eastern European divisions and anti-democratic turn. Even an unlikely defeat for Angela Merkel at the ballot box in September 2017 would not change Berlin's centrality to all key decisions over Europe's direction.
- The essential place of liberal democracy inside the Union and of democracy promotion outside of it are at stake.
 - A formula will have to be found on how to deal with illiberal member states (Hungary, Poland) that moves beyond the flawed responses to Jörg Haider and Silvio Berlusconi in the early 2000s.
 - The role of human rights and democracy as opposed to strategic and economic interests in dealing with a largely authoritarian neighbourhood (Russia, North Africa, Middle East) will have to be determined.
- We may finally see a Europe of different speeds which would allow select groups to embark on further integration measures while others could decide to opt out. It remains a very open question whether that strengthens the EU's capacity to react to a changing world quicker and more substantially or whether it undermines the very concept of union.
 - Given uncertainty over NATO, a key area where this principle might be applied is the reawakening of the late 1990s dream of a European security dimension that is currently being discussed.

Steps 2 and 3: Implications for Turkey & Policy Recommendations

The final two sections of the paper – *What does this mean for Turkey and her policy options vis-à-vis the European Union?* and *What are policy implications and recommendations for the EU and for Turkey?* – are still somewhat unclear as there are a number of factors, above all the result of the constitutional referendum in April 2017, that are up in the air. I also seek to benefit from discussing my ideas as part of GRF's Young Academics Programme and to integrate ideas emanating from the discussion into the paper before passing it onto the GRF commission.

Ole Frahm is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of St. Gallen where he works as part of the European Union-funded EU-STRAT project that analyzes Turkey's policies towards the Eastern Black Sea region. Prior to moving to Switzerland, he was a research fellow at Edinburgh University and Boğazici University Istanbul. Ole has studied philosophy, politics, economics and European studies at Oxford, Bath, Sciences Po Paris and the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences and completed his Ph.D. at Humboldt University Berlin. His thesis developed a novel typology of state-building and nation-building in Sub-Saharan Africa and focused in detail on the anomalous case of South Sudan. Ole Frahm has teaching experience in Germany, Algeria and Turkey and also worked at the Berlin-based political think Das Progressive Zentrum. His research interests include foreign policy analysis, state-building, transitional justice, nationalism, conflict studies and democratization.

THE UNITED STATES, TURKEY, AND THE SEARCH FOR COLLECTIVE SECURITY, 1945 – 1953

Ian Johnson

*Associate Director, Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy at Yale University
Ph.D. in History, Ohio State University*

My dissertation explored the strategic partnership between the Soviet Union and Germany in the interwar period. Despite immense ideological differences, international isolation led the Soviet Union to host thousands of German soldiers, engineers and scientists at secret military bases inside the Soviet Union. At these facilities, the German military rearmed. In return, the Soviet Union received vital military, technological and economic assistance. In September 2016, I received a contract from Oxford University Press for a monograph based upon my dissertation. The targeted publication date is late 2018.

My next book project, currently under research, explores the construction of the international order after the Second World War. In particular, the project examines the Military Staff Committee, an attempt by the victors of the Second World War to create a large standing army for the soon-to-be-founded United Nations. But negotiations with the Soviet Union foundered over the issue of nuclear weapons. Undeterred, the Western Allies founded the North Atlantic Treaty Organization instead. The book will approach the post-war international order through the aspirations embodied in the founding of the United Nations, the quest for collective security after World War II, and the issue of nuclear weapons. It offers critical analogies for ongoing public policy issues ranging from arms control to strategic cooperation.

Turkey played an important role in the strategic considerations of the Truman administration as it attempted to build a stable collective security framework in Europe and the Middle East. With the failure of the Baruch Plan to establish a global structure for peacekeeping and nuclear weapons within the United Nations, President Truman changed tactics. During a speech before a joint session of Congress on March 12, 1947, Truman announced a reorientation towards direct aid to the Greek and Turkish governments in the face of communist aggression, a program that would become known as the Truman Doctrine. But the new program marked only the beginning of a process that would last from 1947 to 1953, by which time NATO and the UN had clearly delineated functions in the minds of American and European policymakers.

Turkey thus played a central role in the reorientation of Truman's foreign policy away from a global collective security arrangement – impossible without Soviet cooperation – towards NATO and other regional security agreements. This manifested itself most clearly in Turkey's participation in the Korean War under UN auspices between 1950 and 1953. The presence of Turkish soldiers in Korea played a major role in Turkey's

NATO accession in 1952, as well as its place on the UN Security Council as an elected non-permanent member in 1951-1952 and 1954-1955.

Drawing from document collections in the National Archives, the United Nations and the Truman Library, my paper for GRF would explore the US-Turkish relationship during the Truman administration through the critical moments in the postwar order. Specifically, my paper would examine the role of that partnership in the establishment of collective security arrangements between 1947 and 1953. As the purpose of the NATO alliance is increasingly challenged – including by the president of the United States – it is critical to reassess NATO’s founding functions and purposes. Highlighting the overlapping US and Turkish roles in the UN and NATO demonstrates the broader vision of NATO as more than a mere exigency of the Cold War. Instead, NATO represented a second attempt to build a values-based mutual defense association aimed at the promotion of global stability and prosperity. Exploring the US-Turkish relationship in the critical moments of the early Cold War offers a powerful set of analogies to present-day policymakers as they seek to adapt NATO to the post-Cold War world.

*Ian Johnson is the Associate Director of the Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy at Yale University, where he also teaches in the Department of History. Born and raised in Edina, Minnesota, he received his B.A. from Claremont McKenna College in 2009. He then worked as a professional cartographer and consultant before beginning his doctoral work at the Ohio State University. He received his MA degree in history there in 2012, and completed his Ph.D. in 2016, with a dissertation that explored secret military cooperation between the Soviet Union and Germany in the interwar period. He is the editor of a forthcoming book, *The White Nights: Pages from a Russian Doctor's Notebook* (Bowen Press Books, Fall 2017), and author of the soon-to-be released *The Faustian Bargain: Secret Soviet-German Military Cooperation in the Interwar Period* (Oxford University Press, Fall 2018).*

CAN QUOTAS INCREASE THE SUPPLY OF CANDIDATES FOR HIGHER-LEVEL POSITIONS? EVIDENCE FROM LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN INDIA AND BRAZIL

Stephen O’Connell

Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Economics and SEII at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Ph.D. in Economics, City University of New York

My research focuses broadly on labor market policy evaluation and gender gaps in education and the labor force. Recent dissertation work evaluated effects of a policy aimed at promoting greater gender parity in local politics in India, and the project I propose for the Young Academics Program is an extension of this analysis to Brazil.

In “Can quotas increase the supply of candidates for higher-level positions? Evidence from local government in India,” I found that the introduction of women into local politics through a quota system increased later candidacy of women for state and national political seats through a “pipeline” (or supply) channel, as well as through improved voter attitudes regard the capacity of women as effective leaders. While methodologically rigorous, the evidence produced is specific to a single country, and it is not clear whether such a policy would obtain similar effects in other contexts. To this end, international comparative evidence is useful both in its own right but also as a complement to earlier findings. Over the past year of my postdoctoral fellowship, I spent considerable time collecting the data necessary to carry out a meaningful extension of this project in Brazil. The data collection has recently been completed, meaning the project is feasible on the timetable for the Young Academics Program. I have not yet begun the analysis, however – meaning the project is at a stage in which it could definitely benefit from the Program involving feedback and consultation from experts in shaping the work to be of greatest possible interest to a broad audience.

I am a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Economics at MIT and a member of the School Effectiveness and Inequality Initiative (SEII). I graduated from the Ph.D. program in Economics at the CUNY Graduate Center in 2016. My research is in labor and development economics, with a focus on labor market policy, firms, and gender. My dissertation work investigated the long-run career effects of a national quota policy for women in local government in India in which one third of seats were reserved for women beginning in the mid-1990s. Although the quota policy increased female candidacy for higher-level offices up to 15 years later in the late 2000s, representation did not increase as the candidates were not incorporated into major parties and did not win the races they contested. Current work looks at the effects of competitive elections in garnering higher office candidacy and representation in India, and an extension of this research to other contexts, including Brazil and the U.S.

IRAN'S "AXIS OF RESISTANCE" POLICY AND ITS REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Ezgi Uzun

Visiting Research Scholar, Columbia University

Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, Sabancı University

Introduced by Jordan's King Abdullah II in 2004, the concept of Shiite Crescent has attracted the attention of scholars, researchers, and policy makers as a salient theme in the politics of the Middle East during the recent years. The concept refers to a geographically crescent-shaped alliance between Iran and various Shiite political and military groups in the Middle East, spanning from Lebanon on the Northwest of the Middle East to Syria and Iraq in the East and down to Bahrain and Yemen on the southern edge of the Arab peninsula. While the concept of 'Shiite Crescent' has consistently been rejected by the Islamic Republic at the discursive level due to its overt sectarian references, it maintains a strong presence and relevance as a foreign policy strategy. As a matter of fact, the Islamic Republic uses a different term corresponding to the same conceptual content: The Axis of Resistance. The concept of 'resistance' is the central tenet of the Islamic Revolution of 1979, which is ideologically informed upon anti-imperialism and Shia political activism. The concept was revoked by the Islamic Republic in support of the military resistance of Lebanese Hezbollah and Palestine against Israel in the following years. Upon the eruption of the sectarian conflict in Syria in 2011, the rise of ISIL across the Iraq-Syria border in 2014, and the exacerbation of political uprisings in Yemen and Bahrain in the later periods, the concept has acquired an expanded discursive and operational content. Today, foreign policy decision makers of the Islamic Republic refer to the dense alliance network of fellow state and non-state actors including the Shiite government as well as the Shia groups fighting against ISIL in Iraq, the Assad regime in Syria, the Lebanese Hezbollah, as well as Iranian allies in Yemen and Bahrain as the Axis of Resistance.

This research is an attempt to understand the ideological and institutional pillars of the Axis of Resistance as an Iran-led alliance system. The first part of the research will examine the ideological discourses Iran uses for the recent political transformations in the region. The second part of the research will analyze Iran's political and military activities on the northern axis after the American invasion of Iraq in 2003, the eruption of the Syrian civil war in 2011, and the rise of ISIL in 2014 as three turning points in the recent history of the region. This section will refer to the discourse analysis in the previous section in discussing the institutional transformations of the political and military systems in Iraq and Syria. The Iranian role on the development of popular mobilization forces, 'the Hashd al-Shaabi' in Iraq, as well as the Shia militia in Syria will be the focus of analysis. The analytical contribution of this study is two-fold. First, this study shows that 'religion' is a form of power shaping the transnational politics of the

Middle Eastern states. Secondly, this study indicates that transnational alliances have the capacity to change political orders with extensive ideological, political, and military networks they create. Understanding the ideological and institutional infrastructure of The Axis of Resistance will also inform us on many other puzzling issues in the Iranian politics ranging from domestic political balances to the nuclear deal with the USA. This research is based on the observations, interviews, and data retrieved from English and Persian primary and secondary sources during two field trips conducted in summer 2015 and 2016.

Ezgi Uzun is a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at Sabanci University in Istanbul. She is currently a visiting scholar at Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University in the City of New York and her research at Columbia University is funded by The Scientific and Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK). Her research interests include the role of religion in international politics, transnational religious networks, sectarianism, religious insurgencies and popular mobilization forces in the Middle East with a geographical focus on Iran, Iraq, and Syria.

Her doctoral dissertation examines Iran's Axis of Resistance policy in the Middle East, with a specific focus on the Islamic Republic's religious ideology and ties to transnational Shia networks in Iraq and Syria. Her previous research concentrated on Iran's nuclear program and its ramifications for regional power transitions. She has co-authored two publications on nuclear politics, which are 'Bureaucrats, Ayatollahs, and Persian Politics: Explaining the Shift in Iranian Foreign Policy' and 'The Path to an Entrenching Alliance: Utilitarianism and Historical Institutionalism in Committing to NATO's Missile Defense System'.

She received her Master's degree in Political Science from Sabanci University. She holds a Bachelor's degree in Translation and Interpreting Studies from Bogazici University.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY IN A POWER VACUUM: AMERICAN UNCERTAINTY AND POLICY OPTIONS FOR MOSCOW AND ANKARA

Yuval Weber

Visiting Assistant Professor, John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University

Ph.D. in Government, University of Texas-Austin

The war in Syria poses the greatest post-Soviet challenge to Russian-Turkish relations. Both countries seek nearly diametrically opposed outcomes in resolving the conflict: Vladimir Putin is looking to buttress the very ally, Bashar al-Assad, that Recep Tayyip Erdoğan wishes to remove or control. Both states face various serious limitations in achieving their strategic and tactical goals. For Russia, these include its ongoing conflict in Ukraine, economic difficulties resulting from low oil prices and international sanctions, and the logistical challenge of projecting power beyond its own borders, which it had not done since the end of the Soviet Union. For Turkey, the conflict has produced a serious humanitarian crisis of refugees fleeing from the fighting, terrorist attacks from ISIS within its own country, emboldened Kurdish actors who potentially pose a threat to the Turkish state, and serious disagreements with NATO allies over the strategy and conduct of the war.

The breakdown of authority and order in Syria from 2011 onwards coincided with Barack Obama's clearly stated preference not to intervene widely in another war in the Middle East, leading Russian and Turkish leaders (among others) to conceive of wider geopolitical roles in the international politics of the Middle East. While Obama was the U.S. president, American policy in the region was roughly predictable albeit underwhelming, but Donald Trump's election has generated tremendous uncertainty regarding American strategy and tactics in the Syria War and more generally towards the Middle East and Europe.

This proposed policy brief for the Young Academics Program for the Global Relations Forum addresses not only the current conduct of the war in Syria and its direct effects on Russia-Turkey relations, but reevaluates Russian and Turkish strategic objectives in light of uncertain and potentially volatile U.S. foreign policy objectives in the region and beyond. Without clearly stated and pursued strategic goals in the region, Donald Trump's presidency poses a number of risks, challenges, and opportunities for Russia and Turkey in the shaping of the Middle East.

In the proposed policy brief, I address and update Dr. Chris Miller's Policy Brief #4 in this series to evaluate those risks, challenges, and opportunities. In that brief, Dr. Miller reviewed Russian and Turkish strategic interests, convergence from 1991 to 2014, and

the Syria war. This brief evaluates Russia's global ambitions to become recognized as a great power by the international community while (allegedly) interfering in the elections of the same states from whom it's seeking validation, the reevaluation of Turkey's relations with Western states following the 2016 coup attempt and its aftermath, the direction of U.S. policy in the Middle East under Donald Trump, and the interactions between these actors.

Yuval Weber, PhD, is a Global Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, DC where he is also a Kennan Institute Fellow and Visiting Professor at the Daniel Morgan Graduate School. He joined the Wilson Center from Harvard University, where is currently a Center Associate at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies and was previous Visiting Assistant Professor in the Department on Government. Dr. Weber is on leave from the National Research University - Higher School of Economics in Moscow, where he is a tenure-track Assistant Professor in the Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs. Dr. Weber is working on a project on the sources of dissatisfaction for great powers in the international system based on their acceptance or rejection of political and economic liberalism, and their strategies to revise the international order. The first manuscript from the project is under contract (Agenda/Columbia UP) and is about the politics of economic modernization efforts in Russian political economy from the Imperial period through the present, and focuses on the tension between the market and the security state. His work has appeared in Problems of Post-Communism, International Studies Review, Survival, Cold War Studies, Orbis, and the Washington Post.

HOW CAN POLITICAL AND BUSINESS LEADERS CULTIVATE PURPOSE?

Ayşe Yemişçigil

Visiting Doctoral Research Fellow, John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University

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

Through the pursuit of economic growth; or the provision of health care, security, or education, public policy is assumed to promote the overall well-being of the society. Recent evidence, however, show that despite rising levels of per capita income, residents of the advanced countries hardly become more satisfied with their lives over time (Oswald, 1997) and are less likely to experience a sense of meaning or purpose (Oishi and Diener, 2013).

Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress in 2009 recommended that government population surveys should be oriented towards a more sophisticated and holistic measurement of people's wellbeing as a way of assessing societal progress. Since then, Subjective Wellbeing (SWB), which involves people's assessments of their own wellbeing, has been included among indicators like GDP (OECD, 2013); and many governments of developed and developing economies have shown commitment to understanding, measuring and promoting the well-being of their citizens (see World Happiness Reports 2012-16).

A crucial aspect of the well-being is a sense of purpose and meaning in life (National Science Foundation US, 2013). Purpose is distinguished from traditional measures happiness and satisfaction as it is about having a sense of direction in life (Ryff, 1989), being able and willing to undertake challenges (Mcknight and Kashdan, 2009), engaging in meaningful daily activities (Sheier et al. 2006) and contributing to something greater than one's self (Baumeister et al., 2013). Purpose guides people to actions that are beneficial for themselves and for the broader society. Purposeful people live longer (Boyle, Barnes, Buchman, & Bennett, 2009, Hill & Turiano, 2014), earn higher incomes (Hill et al., 2016), are more likely to volunteer to help others (Son and Wilson, 2012), sleep better (Kim, Hershner, Strecher, 2015), are less stressed (Zilioli et al., 2015) and have reduced risk of Alzheimer's disease (Boyle, Buchman, Barnes, & Bennett, 2010), heart disease (Kim, Sun, Park, & Peterson 2013), and disability (Boyle, Buchman, & Bennett, 2010).

Purpose has also been the focus of my academic and private work life for several years now. I have completed a research project where I analysed the mechanisms through which Purpose might help people achieve difficult but beneficial goals in life.

The manuscript is under review in a reputable journal now. I have also worked as a research consultant to Authentic Leadership Institute which has guided over 4000 executives in the last 10 years on the journey to discover and lead from purpose through senior leadership programs at GE to Unilever. In this work, I have witnessed the growing business interest in purpose both at individual (leaders, and employees) and organisational levels. From September 2017 onwards, I am going to be working as part of the Meaning and Purpose Impact Project at Harvard Kennedy School, researching experiences of purpose among managers and professionals in the federal government and their international counterparts, senior military officers, and corporate managers working with the public sector.

There is a fast-growing interest in purpose; policymakers and businesses repeatedly emphasize its importance as a desired goal. Global Relations Forum Young Scholars Program provides an excellent opportunity for me to engage with fellow young scholars and leading global figures in policy and business to produce a synthesis of policy-relevant evidence on the ways policy and business leaders can cultivate purpose among citizens, employees, and for themselves.

Ayşe Yemisciğil is a third year PhD student in Behavioral Science at Warwick Business School. She is a Visiting Fellow at Harvard Kennedy School, Center for Public Leadership currently and until July, 2019. She researches how people, policy-makers and business leaders can develop a sense of meaning and purpose in their lives or in relation to work. She also investigates the behavioral outcomes of meaning and purpose.

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