



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 to 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 “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 resulted 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 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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A SHORT REVIEW OF GEOPOLITICS OF THE AZERBAIJANI MULTICULTURALISM ¹

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ABSTRACT

Today states, societies and individuals are in transition to a new order at global, regional, national and local levels, gaining new experiences. The issues in multiculturalism with dimensions that have never practiced before are also important for everyone. The Republic of Azerbaijan, located on the border of Europe and Asia, was established at the crossroads of different civilizations. The region's favorable geographical location and rich nature have made it one of the large ancient settlement areas. Azerbaijani society's understanding of tolerance has developed and has reached a high level of awareness in paralel with its historical, political, economic, social and cultural evolution. These processes sometimes proceeded naturally, sometimes inevitably. The aim of this research is to investigate the basic geographical, historical, political and economic dynamics of Azerbaijani multiculturalism and to draw the geopolitical framework of it. The study claims that in addition to historical and political processes, geographical location and rich fossil energy resources play a major role in the formation of Azerbaijani multiculturalism. While geographical location enables the development of transportation networks, trade and interaction between societies, a strong economic structure based on energy resources has paved the way for the settlement of different identities in this country.

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Introduction

The end of the Cold War accelerated globalization, providing more opportunities than ever for societies to get to know each other. However, the number of identity-based conflicts, which were seen as relatively weak in a world divided into two camps by the bipolar system, has also increased during this process. Conflicts based on identity - religion, language, race, ethnicity and nationality - threaten societies in every corner of the world, regardless of their level of development. The increasing number of the contacts, cooperation and similarities that globalization has resulted in on the one hand, the separations and differentiations based on identity on the other hand have created a paradox that extends into the 21st century. The phenomenon of globalization makes a network of intertwined relationships inevitable. The current outlook of the world highlights the concepts of “international society” or “global society”. The global society and global political understanding require to decrease the levels of conflicts. Otherwise, the intervention of the global society is inevitable for the positive progress of global relations. Therefore, it is seen that global networks shaped by global economic relations have turned different cultural groups into “business partners”: While multinational companies and consortiums unite many different social and political structures for the same goal, the fact has emerged that old clichés cannot produce solutions and conflicts block processes. The understanding of multiculturalism and tolerance of societies has vital importance in order to build a secure future for future generations in this sense.

The South Caucasus is one of the conflicted regions in the world. The aim of this study is to investigate the geopolitical dynamics of multiculturalism in Azerbaijan, which is the main regional actor in the South Caucasus. In this study, a literature review was used as a research method. Literature review can generally be defined as the basic systematic way of collecting and synthesizing previous studies. Academic studies, press and media materials, reports and statistical data, published by official institutions have used in the study. The vast majority of previous studies conducted in this field have addressed the issue in terms of the coexistence of different cultures. However, this study focuses on research question of how different cultures come together in the territory of Azerbaijan. Therefore, it is aimed to contribute to the literature by addressing Azerbaijani multiculturalism from a geopolitical perspective.

It is considered that it will be useful to draw more comprehensive framework from the perspective of the origins of the Azerbaijani multiculturalism for the future studies.

The Outlook of Azerbaijani Multiculturalism

The outlook of the Azerbaijani multiculturalism can be evaluated from two different perspectives: ethnic and religious. As a result of the policies of the Russian Tsardom based on the principle of "divide and rule", the ethnic composition, number and location of the population of the Northern Azerbaijan were purposefully changed, and the number of the settled Turkish-Muslim population of the South Caucasus decreased significantly. After the Russian occupation, the mass settlement of Armenians from different regions to the lands of the Northern Azerbaijan seriously affected the ethno-political situation. In the demographic and statistical sources of the Tsarist government, information about the peoples living in Azerbaijan was deliberately distorted. Despite all this, as in previous historical periods, Azerbaijanis succeeded to remain the main ethnic factor in the Caucasus between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, including the period of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. Alimardan Bey Topchubashov, one of the founders of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, who served as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Speaker of the Parliament in the government, submitted a special memorandum to the representatives of the Allies in Istanbul in November 1918. This document records that 7,667,370 people live on the 237,055.00 km² territory of the South Caucasus, and their ethnic structure was as follows: 3,306,000 (43.1%) Muslims, 1,786,000 (23.3%) Armenians, 1,641,000 (21.4%) Georgians. Accordingly, 2,353,000 people lived on the territory of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, which constituted 30.7% of the population of the South Caucasus. In the documents submitted by the government of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic to the Paris Peace Conference, it was stated that the territories under the actual sovereignty of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic cover 38% of the South Caucasus, and together with the territories under Azerbaijani control, it covers 60.7%. According to the aforementioned documents, the total population of the South Caucasus was 8,081,668 people. Of these, 4,617,671 (57.1%) lived in Azerbaijan. 75.4% (3,481,889 people) of the Azerbaijani population were Azerbaijani Turks, 17.2% (795,312 people) were Armenians, 0.6% (26,585 people) were Georgians, and 6.7% (310,885 people) were of other nationalities (Presidential Library

of Azerbaijan 2024).

The last census in the USSR in 1989 recorded a total of 7,021,000 people in Azerbaijan, representing 112 national and ethnic groups. The majority of them, 5,805,000 people, or 83% of the population, were Azerbaijani Turks. Other large groups were Russians, Armenians and Lezgins. During the same period, more than 87% of the population were recorded as Muslims (Shia and Sunni), 12% as Christians (Orthodox and Gregorian) and 0.5% as Jews (Yunusov 2001).

According to the latest data of the State Statistics Service of the Republic of Azerbaijan, published in 2009, the population of the country is 10,119,000 people (The State Statistics Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan 2009). Approximately 92% of the total population consists of Azerbaijani Turks. Lezgins are the second largest ethnic identity in the country with a share of 2% of the total population. Other ethnic groups are Armenians (1.3%), Russians (1.3%) and Talysh (1.3%), respectively. Apart from these, there are approximately 50,000 Avars (0.6%), 38,000 Meskhetian Turks (0.4%), more than 25,000 Tatars (0.3%), 25,000 Tats (0.3%) and 21,000 thousand (0.3%) Ukrainians. Sahurs, Georgians, Jews and Kurds each constitute 0.1% of the total population. According to 2009 data, Gryzs (0.04%), Udins (0.04%) and Khinalqs (0.02%) are the peoples whose numbers are above a certain percentage in the country. Apart from these, other ethnicities also live in Azerbaijan in small groups, the total number of which was approximately 10,000 in 2009 (The State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan 2021).

Comparing the last census conducted during the USSR period in 1989 and the last census conducted after independence in 2009, significant changes are observed in the number of people living in the country. While the share of people belonging to different ethnic groups in the population in Azerbaijan was 17.3% in 1989, this rate changed to 8.4% in 2009, meaning that the number of people belonging to other nations decreased. This situation can be explained by the economic difficulties that arose with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Nagorno-Karabakh war. As a result of the difficult socio-economic conditions of the period, Russians, Jews and other Slavic peoples in Azerbaijan migrated to countries such as Russia and Israel, where they found more secure in terms of peace, economy and stability. The war in Nagorno-Karabakh also resulted in a decrease in the number of Armenians in the country. Despite this, Armenians still live in the Karabakh region and outside of it (Mikailov 2015). It should also be emphasized that the Tats, Talyshs, Kurds and Mountain Jews, which are included in the Iranian language group of the Indo-European language

family; The Lezgins, Avars, Udins, Sahurs, the people of the "Shahdagh" group, Ingiloy, Assyrians, Rutuls, Gypsies and Azerbaijani Turks, who are the majority population in the country, are the settled ethnic groups included in the North and South Caucasus language groups. Other than these, Russians, Ukrainians, European Jews, Georgian Jews, Molokans, Tatars, Germans, British, Meskhetian Turks are ethnic minorities that settled in the region later for political or economic reasons.

The characteristics of Azerbaijan's historical development, geographical location, and ethnic structure of the population have created a suitable environment for the existence of different religions in these lands. At different times, idolatry, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam and many other religious movements have spread to different degrees in the country's territory. There are various religious beliefs in the Republic of Azerbaijan, but the predominant religion is Islam. Islam, which emerged in the Arabian Peninsula in the early 7th century, quickly spread in the lands of Azerbaijan.

The Soviet rule banned all kinds of religious activities throughout the country. After the collapse of the USSR, hundreds of new Muslim religious communities began to operate in Azerbaijan, and the Caucasian Muslim Administration was established on the basis of the Transcaucasian Muslim Spiritual Administration. Muslim religious communities operating in the Republic of Azerbaijan are united in this historical religious center and are subordinate to it in organizational matters. The history of Christianity in Azerbaijan practically begins with the emergence of the Albanian Church. In general, the Albanian Church has a special place in the history of Christianity. The Caucasian Albanian lands are considered one of the places of origin of the first Christian communities. The existence of the Alban-Udi Christian religious community is an important event in terms of its history, character, content, religious and political value.

In Azerbaijan, Christianity is represented by Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Protestantism, as well as various sectarian communities. Orthodoxy began to spread in Azerbaijan in the early 19th century due to the "resettlement policy" pursued by Tsarist Russia in this region. Lutheranism was the first Protestant sect to become widespread in Azerbaijan. The emergence of Lutheranism in Azerbaijan is associated with the settlement of Germans and Poles in the South Caucasus in the first half of the 19th century (Presidential Library of Azerbaijan 2024a). Currently, Orthodoxy in Azerbaijan is represented by the Russian and Georgian Orthodox churches. The

Russian Orthodox churches in the country were united in the Baku and Khazar Diocese, established in 2000. The largest Christian denomination in Azerbaijan is the Russian Orthodox Church. There are also 11 Malakan communities in Azerbaijan, which belong to the old Orthodox religion. Catholics are represented by the Roman Catholic Community in Baku. After Azerbaijan gained independence, conditions were created for the revival of Catholicism in the country, and full state support was provided to the Catholic Community against the background of close diplomatic relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Vatican. Protestantism in Azerbaijan is represented by various movements, and there are several Protestant religious communities officially registered with the state.

Today, there are three different Jewish communities in Azerbaijan: Mountain Jews, European (Ashkinazi) Jews, and Georgian Jews. Historically, Judaism is represented in Azerbaijan by Mountain Jews. There is information that Jews have settled in Azerbaijan for more than 2,500 years. Although 96% of the population living in Azerbaijan is Muslim and 4% is non-Muslim, the state treats representatives of all religions equally (Gurbanli 2021). The process of official re-registration of religious institutions in the country has been initiated since January 1, 2009. As of December 2021, a total of 970 religious institutions have been officially registered with the state. 933 of them are Islamic, 26 Christian, 8 Jewish, 2 Bahai, and 1 Krishna faith. There are 2253 mosques, 16 churches, and 7 synagogues operating in the country. At the same time, 10 religious educational institutions (colleges) have been registered (The State Committee on Affairs with Religious Associations of the Republic of Azerbaijan 2021). The climate of religious tolerance in the country serves to ensure solidarity and peaceful coexistence among different nations and sects. Here, the ideology of Azerbaijanism stands out as a system of ideological views that promotes national-religious identity, tolerance and civil solidarity.

Factors Shaping the Azerbaijani Multiculturalism

The factors that shape the current multicultural structure of Azerbaijan can be explained by geographical, historical, political and economic reasons. In this sense, the geographical location of the country can be considered as the most fundamental factor. The Caucasus is a small region as a piece of land, but it is located at the intersection of continents, right in the middle of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, which host different civilizations. If to evaluate separately, both the European and Asian

continents and the Black Sea-Caspian basin address a vast geography that hosts many cultures within itself. In short, the geographical borders of Europe extend from the Urals to the Caucasus, from the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea, to the Mediterranean, to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, and to the Norwegian Sea in the north. When we look at Asia, we see the world's largest continent, spreading from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean, from the Urals to the Red Sea. In such a geography, Azerbaijan has a maritime climate in one part and a continental climate in the other. The climate of Azerbaijan provides suitable conditions for the cultivation of various plant species in the country. Its natural environment and favorable location have been an important reason for this place to become one of the permanent civilization centers. Geographical formations such as rivers, plains, mountains, lakes, and seas have made Azerbaijani lands attractive in terms of the survival of ancient tribes in terms of both nutrition and military defense. Geographically, Azerbaijan is located not only on the borders of the continents - Europe and Asia, but also on the borders of religions and cultures. The country is the end of the Islamic world and culture in the north, and the beginning of the Christian world and European - Western culture (Ismayilov 2014).

From a historical perspective, it is known that the first political formations in the region emerged in ancient times. The material culture remains discovered as a result of archaeological excavations in the Azykh cave indicate that the Azerbaijani lands were included in the area of formation of ancient people. The fact that the materials found were used by primitive people 1.5 million years ago proves that these lands have been a settlement area for centuries. The Gobustan rock art collection is an important monument of art and culture of the Mesolithic, Neolithic and later periods. The settlements in the Azerbaijani lands dating back to the middle of the 6th millennium BC provide a definite picture of the economic, cultural and social relations of the inhabitants who were in close contact with neighboring environments. In the process of formation of the ethnic structure of Azerbaijan, it is necessary to emphasize the role of the migrations of the Turkic tribes, which started from the end of antiquity and continued until the beginning of the Middle Ages, originating from the foothills of the ancestral homeland of Central Asia, the Tien Shan Mountain, and moving to the south, west and southwest.

Inter-empire conflicts over the Azerbaijani lands at different periods of history are one of the most important factors in the formation of its ethnic structure. The Azerbaijani people have their own history of formation and development. Research shows that this history combines two important periods: 1) differentiation and 2) integration. The differentiation period is the period when the process of separation of

the Turkish ethnic identity into different peoples, also Azerbaijani Turks or Azerbaijani peoples, intensified. Integration, on the other hand, belongs to the later periods of the ethnic history of the Azerbaijani society and includes the process of unification of a number of Turkish and non-Turkish ethnic groups and the emergence of a unified nation. The main socio-political events that took place during the formation of the people and language in Azerbaijan and the surrounding regions directly affected the process of formation of ethnic identities (Ceferov 2005). What is meant here is the achievements of Azerbaijan in the context of multiculturalism as an area where numerous interstate wars, internal political conflicts, socio-political, religious and ideological movements, natural migration processes, settlement policies followed by various heads of state and similar historical events took place. Due to its geographical location, "multiculturalism" in Azerbaijan has developed simultaneously with historical consciousness. If we consider that every person and every social life style is shaped in the orbit of time and in line with the course of history, in other words, if the past is associated with the present, the permanent effects of all the above briefly mentioned on the multicultural appearance of Azerbaijan are clear and understandable. The flow of time together with life in this geography has built the texture of Azerbaijani multiculturalism.

When evaluating Azerbaijani multiculturalism, it is understood how deep the impact of political processes on this formation is. In the context of the ethnic identity map, it is possible to consider these political effects in two periods at a two-dimensional level. The first of these covers the period from ancient times to the Middle Ages, when settled ethnic identities – indigenous peoples were formed in Azerbaijani territory. The second is the new period starting from the 18th century and ending in the early years of the 20th century, which includes ethnic groups that settled in Azerbaijani lands later.

Although the first state bodies or ethno-political associations were formed in this geography, which has been dynamic since ancient times, in the late 4th - early 3rd millennium BC, it has always been difficult to establish long-term socio-political alliances. The contemporary ethno-cultural landscape of the region shows that various ethnic groups, languages, religions, worldviews and cultures, which have been sharply different from each other throughout history, have been in constant motion. The Sassanids and Arabs prevented the Greeks, who had gained strength especially with the spread of Christianity and conquered all of Anatolia, from expanding further eastward through military-political interventions. These military-political initiatives first pushed ethnic groups of Caucasian origin and then of Iranian origin to the

mountains, which were not very suitable for settlement, and to the semi-deserts on the Caspian coast. The Kipchak Turks from the Huns settled in the mountain ranges or steppes, completely in accordance with Turkish life technologies. The ethnic landscape of contemporary Azerbaijan also reflects this (Ceferov et al. 2016). The ethno-geographical position of the Kipchak Turks, who settled in Azerbaijan from the 1st century AD, was strengthened by the increasingly intense Oghuz-Seljuk campaigns in the 9th-11th centuries. These marches, which started in Central Asia and continued in stages towards Anatolia by passing south of the Caspian Sea, were more of a military-political nature, unlike the nomadic Hun-Kipchak movements. Indeed, while the culture of the Kipchaks was based more on oral creativity and a nomadic lifestyle, the culture of the Oghuz was dominated by writing and settled city life (Ceferov et al. 2016). The completion of the formation process of settled ethnic groups in Azerbaijan coincides with the periods of the establishment of the Shirvanshahs, Atabeys, Karakoyunlu, Akkoyunlu and especially the Safavid states. Here, it is necessary to emphasize the effects of the Mongol invasion.

The invasion of Azerbaijan by the Mongol-Tatars in the mid-13th century, especially the destruction of palaces and cultural centers, had a great impact on the active ethnic processes in the country and in the border regions. The arrival of various Turkic tribes in Azerbaijan during the Mongol-Tatar march increased the density of Turkic ethnicity in Azerbaijan.

As mentioned above, the events that took place in the context of the formation of ethnic groups settled in Azerbaijan from ancient times to the beginning of the 18th century can be explained as the objective reasons for contemporary Azerbaijani multiculturalism; the events that followed this period and will be discussed below can be explained as the subjective reasons.

In the second half of the 18th century, Azerbaijan was divided into small states - khanates. The country entered a period of military and political decline. Taking advantage of this, the Shah of Iran and the Russian Tsardom, which had been continuously occupying the Azerbaijani lands since 1803, divided Azerbaijan into two. As a result, a period of Russification began in the north of Azerbaijan and a period of Persianization began in the south. In this sense, Russia's political influence on the formation of the current multicultural structure of today's independent Republic of Azerbaijan is very strong. The mass settlement of Armenians in Azerbaijani lands in the first quarter of the 19th century is noteworthy as the third important change in the ethnic map of the region in the context of the identities that came here later. The end

of the Russian-Iranian and Russian-Ottoman wars coincides with the mass influx of Armenians to Azerbaijan. The process of changing the ethnic map of Azerbaijan through political moves continued in the 20th century. In the 1960s, with the decision of the USSR State Defense Committee dated 17 November 1944, the Meskhetian Turks who had been exiled to Central Asia and Kazakhstan were acquitted and the process of settling them in Azerbaijan began. When the Georgian government did not allow the Meskhetian Turks to return to their own lands, the first group of people of the same ethnic origin and religious belief came to Azerbaijan in September 1958. As is known, with the Edirne Treaty of 1829, the historical Turkish population of the Meskhetian region of Georgia was deported to Turkiye, and Armenians from Erzurum and Kars were settled in their place. As a result of the bloody conflicts between Meskhetian Turks and Uzbeks in various regions of Uzbekistan, the second phase of the settlement of Meskhetian Turks in Azerbaijan took place in 1989 (Cavadov 2000).

Economic conditions in the country have encouraged migration to Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan has been one of the important trade and transportation centers since ancient times due to its geostrategic location. The empires that dominated the region established suitable transportation routes to ensure their security and facilitate their administration, and they attached importance to wealth and therefore trade in order to maintain their power. This in turn created mutual interaction. While the favorable conditions of the region for trade and transportation increased human mobility, this mobility also encouraged economic activities. The Silk Road in particular enabled the region to become a trade center. During the periods when the Silk Road was active, Azerbaijani lands constituted one of the most important transportation axes of trade between the East and the West, and this commercial mobility also played a major role in the discovery of the region's own commercial potential and the creation of its own economic activity areas. As Azerbaijan's economic activity capacity increased, the number of foreign labor coming from neighboring countries also increased, and over time, they settled here permanently. The industrialization process of oil production in Azerbaijan, which has the rich oil and natural gas resources of the Caspian basin, has proceeded in parallel with the formation and development of capitalist relations. The number of workers employed in Russia's oil industry increased from 7,000 in 1894 to 27,000 in 1904, 24,500 of whom were in Azerbaijan (Mirbabayev 2007). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, thanks to the oil industry, Baku became a multicultural city. With the development of the oil industry in the 1970s, Jewish immigration to Azerbaijan from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Poland increased.

Conclusion

With its ancient historical background, Azerbaijan is a country with many identities today due to objective and subjective reasons. Therefore, the ethnic and religious structure of the country includes some sensitivities brought about by diversity. However, the different identities living in these lands preserved their own characteristics, integrated into a single society over time, became an inseparable part of the Azerbaijani people, and made this place their homeland. On the other hand, like many painful experiences in its history, the Azerbaijani people paid a heavy price for this sensitivity in our more recent past, 20% of its lands were subjected to Armenian occupation for more than 30 years, and the world public opinion did not react to this injustice in accordance with international law.

Azerbaijan, which has carried its relations with many states, especially the Republic of Turkiye, to important strategic cooperation after the 2000s, ended 30 years of injustice by liberating its lands in Karabakh as a result of the Second Karabakh War that ended on November 10, 2020. Aware of being faced with such a problem, Azerbaijan has preferred to direct itself towards a future where multiculturalism, interfaith and intercivilizational communication is strong, harmony and tolerance prevail, and ethnic diversity is experienced together. Today, multiculturalism attracts attention as one of the state policies that is given priority in Azerbaijan. Similarly, Azerbaijani citizens also embrace this policy put forward by the government with the understanding of tolerance and the habit of living together that has been passed down from generation to generation throughout history. As President Ilham Aliyev, who supports the understanding of tolerance that the society has developed for centuries and has carried to the present day as an official state policy and is the architect of this process, said, multiculturalism in Azerbaijan has been accepted as a “lifestyle” at the level of the government, civil society or the people. In particular, in recent years, very important steps have been taken in public-private, society-public cooperation to adapt Azerbaijani multiculturalism to every area of life, from politics to economy, from education to employment, from social media to communication, and in short, the work carried out has been carried out in a way that will leave peace, friendship, tolerance and understanding as a legacy to future generations. It should be emphasized that Azerbaijani multiculturalism policy is designed to prevent different identities living in the country, including Armenian minorities, from finding themselves in a conflict like the Karabakh issue again. In this context, defining the

Karabakh War between Azerbaijan and Armenia as a solution to a fundamental problem from the previous millennium, instead of defining it as a new area of conflict, will allow the region to look forward within the framework of new world conditions. Azerbaijan continues its work in this direction, considering that conflict and war harm everyone, regardless of ethnic or religious identity. Thus, the Azerbaijani multiculturalism model is a unique model that needs to be learned, examined and developed in today's world, where identity-based conflicts are increasing, in terms of encouraging coexistence without ostracizing different identities by drawing lessons from the past, based on historical experiences, and taking into account past experiences.

Disclosure statement

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RISING RIGHT-WING PARTIES IN EUROPE: GLOBALIZATION AND MULTICULTURALISM

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to explain the concept of globalization and to examine its social, economic, and political impacts. One of the factors affecting the issues of nations and nationalism is the extraordinary acceleration of the globalization process in recent years and the impact this acceleration has had on the mobility of people. The connection between this globalization process and the concept of international migration strengthens each other more with each passing day. International migration significantly influences changes in the political order. We can associate globalization with almost every topic, such as trade, education, politics, science, football, or music awards. On the other hand, multiculturalism begins with acknowledging the significance of culture and cultural identity. Secondly, the consequences of this migration issue in Europe will be examined, and the European Union's migration policies will be analyzed historically. The decline in trust in EU institutions regarding migration, disagreements among governments, and the question of how beneficial a long-term migration policy would be pose significant challenges for the European Union. Finally, how the rising far-right movements in Europe have left an impression on both domestic and foreign policies, and how far-right parties with anti-EU and anti-migrant stances have reacted to these migration policies will be examined.

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1. Introduction

First, the aim of this study aims to explain of the concept of globalization and to examine its social, economic, and political impacts. In today's world, we face the consequences of wars and migrations that have taken place over centuries. It is possible to say that Europe is experiencing unprecedented ethnic diversity. For instance, considering that more than 10% of the population in some countries like Sweden is foreign-born, it is a fact that this process cannot be reversed (Held, 1999: 485). Secondly, the process of radicalization will be examined to establish the connection between multiculturalism and terrorism in the globalized world.

The consequences of this migration issue in Europe will be examined. The study will explore the reasons behind the influx of migrants to Europe, such as whether they come for better living conditions or for personal safety, and where they are coming from. This study aims to explore the impact of migration to Europe on both domestic and foreign policies, and to address the question of the effectiveness of EU migration policies through a historical analysis.

The reactions of far-right parties that are anti-EU and anti-immigrant to these migration policies will be examined, along with their own political stances. Through data analysis, this study will examine the political influence of far-right parties and assess the role globalization has played in fueling the rise of the far-right in Europe. Finally, in light of the findings, the study will aim to introduce new questions to the literature regarding the future of the European Union.

In the literature, Mark Almond examined the migration crisis in Europe (1992), while Topçu defined the phenomenon of globalization and migration and analyzed EU migration policies (2019). Additionally, there are many studies contributing to the literature on the increasing far-right movements in Europe. The aim of this study is to analyze the efficiency of EU migration policies while exploring the connection between globalization and migration. On the other hand, the current vote shares of rising far-right parties in response to the migration issue will be empirically analyzed, and their stances on the EU and anti-immigration will be examined to expand the literature.

2. Globalisation

The concept of "globalization" has been criticized for being Eurocentric or merely a form of Western modernity, as it emerged as a result of modernity in Western Europe. However, some writers argue that globalization began with the discovery of America in the 1500s. The end of the Cold War and the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990 accelerated the pace of globalization. As a result of globalization, innovations arise, including increased interdependence, a rise in multidimensional migrations worldwide, and the gradual erosion of domestic politics. It is an undeniable fact that migration and colonialism have accelerated cultural exchange, whether positive or negative (Pooch, 2016, p. 17-21).

One of the factors affecting the issues of nations and nationalism is the extraordinary acceleration of the globalization process and its impact on human mobility. This process increases both temporary and permanent movements within state borders and intensifies them to unprecedented levels. Between 1999 and 2001, approximately 4.5 million people entered the fifteen countries that joined the European Union (Hobsbawm, 2007, p. 87-88).

Societies have been more affected by political globalization, which focuses on the increase of regional and international governance mechanisms such as the European Union and the United Nations. These institutions bring together nation-states through common decisions they make to regulate the global system (Giddens, 2014, p. 23).

In short, globalization can encompass many issues. We can relate almost every topic, including trade, education, politics, science, football, or music awards, to globalization. In a globalized society, migration includes not only displaced persons due to wars but also types of migration such as labor migration and brain drain. The connection between the globalization process and the concept of international migration is becoming stronger every day.

2.1. Globalization and Economy

Economic globalization generally refers to the spread of international trade and investments. This has led to the rapid growth of economic organizations, the development of foreign trade volume, and the advancement of market economies. With the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, transactions in the foreign exchange market significantly increased, rising from \$15 billion in 1973 to over \$1 trillion in daily transactions today. Approximately 40% of world trade is conducted by multinational corporations, highlighting the dominance of developed countries in global trade (Aktel, 2001, p. 197-198).

While the increase in foreign trade volume, market development, and rising interdependence due to globalization has positive aspects, it also means that the entire world is affected in times of crisis. The best example of this is the oil shock of 1973. The success of the neoliberal economic programs implemented in the United States and the United Kingdom in mitigating the effects of the 1973 crisis also played a significant role in the spread of a strong globalist wave across Europe (Arman, 2021, p. 145).

Another event impacting the world economy was the crisis of 2008. Banks, in order to secure more financing from the early 2000s, began to transform risky mortgage loans into debt securities and started securitization. Meanwhile, investors tried to earn more income by purchasing these securities sold by banks at low-interest rates. However, as homeowners failed to pay their mortgage loans, the value of the securities derived from these loans rapidly declined, leading to a collapse (Polat, 2018, p. 178-191). During the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, European countries with already high levels of public debt implemented a series of rescue packages for the economy, sharply increasing their public debts and leading to the European Debt Crisis.

Germany quickly recovered from the crisis due to its strong position in the manufacturing industry, unlike many developed countries. Spain, despite having a very low debt ratio, fell into a debt crisis due to its real estate bubble. Greece emerged as one of the countries most affected by the crisis for various reasons. The country was on the brink of bankruptcy due to its high budget deficit and public debt stock. Significant conflicts occurred between the Greek public and the Greek governments due to the policies implemented after the crisis, and scenarios of exiting the EU were

discussed in the country (Çelik, 2021, p. 1619-1629).

2.2. Social Effects of Globalization

Globalization, in a sense, refers to the encounter and interaction of different cultures and lives, leading to transformation (Topçu, 2019, p. 53). Within nation-states, citizenship is typically divided into various categories. These categories include native-born full citizens, immigrants who have become naturalized, resident with legal status and asylum seekers. Similar distinctions can also be observed at the international level. In this context, categories may include American citizens, citizens of developed countries, and those from industrializing and newly developed countries. Being a citizen of a country that ranks high in the international citizenship hierarchy can make it easier to attain a higher status in other countries as well (Castro, 2018, p. 125). This situation can create significant disparities in income distribution or an unequal environment.

The process of globalization has unlocked unprecedented opportunities for humanity, especially in areas such as the economy, technology, and information exchange. However, it has also given rise to numerous challenges across various dimensions. Issues like environmental degradation, global justice, terrorism, and migration are just a few examples. Migration, whether orderly and regulated or irregular (including asylum seekers, refugees, and undocumented migrants), presents significant challenges within the framework of global relations (Görgün, 2017, p. 1325). For instance, the Arab Spring, which began in Tunisia in 2010, rapidly spread to Yemen, Jordan, Algeria, and Egypt, significantly affecting these countries. Arab regimes, which did not want to be held accountable, feared the rapid spread of street protests made possible by the increased use of social media in their countries (Sorenson, 2011, p. 25-26). The ease of communication brought about by globalization allowed events to escalate quickly in Arab countries, contributing to the acceleration of migration movements as a result.

It was thought that migrants would assimilate in the countries they moved to after being separated from their homelands. However, globalization has added a new dimension to this situation. Globalization has facilitated communication between migrants and their homelands. Furthermore, migration is increasingly becoming a political issue, in addition to being a social situation. It significantly impacts the changes in international migration policy (Topçu, 2019, p. 58-59).

With the acceleration of the globalization process, it is possible to say that migration movements have also increased in parallel. Globalization may compel people to migrate by making them observe that better living conditions exist in another country. The easier communication facilitated by globalization, the ability for people to travel easily from one end of the world to another, and changes in government policies due to global events, or conversely, an event occurring in any country that affects the world, can all contribute to increased migration.

2.3. Political Globalization

With the process of globalization, there has been an attempt to redefine the relationship between society, the state, and the individual, leading to a weakening of the sovereignty of nation-states. This change has encompassed a broad spectrum, from the understanding of citizenship to the organization of states, from localization to the increasing effectiveness of civil society (Aktel, 2001, p. 199).

Regional institutions are the ones that have had the biggest impact on changing the political landscape of the world. The European Union (EU) has turned Europe from post-war disarray into a situation where member states may pool their sovereignty to handle common challenges. It is astounding to observe how fast the EU has progressed since 1945, even though many continue to question the EU's legitimacy. The nation-state is not going to disappear as a result of this change in international politics. Rather of displacing the traditional world of nation-states, the multilateral revolution overlays and modifies it (Held, 1999, p. 488–499).

Another development that has contributed to the weakening of the nation-state structure is the increase in the number and interactions of supranational institutions. The establishment of the European Union, which began efforts for economic integration in the 1950s and represents a unified European initiative, is a prime example of supranational structuring (Doğruluk, 2021, p. 116).

In the international environment where geographical boundaries are becoming increasingly blurred, the quest for security and threat perceptions are also undergoing a qualitative transformation. The globalization process, which involves the erosion of borders between countries in technological, political, economic, and cultural terms, has

led to the "negative" effects of a self-centered and individualistic market culture in traditional societies (Ağır, 2015, p. 108-111).

3. Multiculturalism and Terrorism

Throughout history, almost every society has been multicultural in some form. However, the ways in which states have responded to this cultural diversity have varied. Some states have actively worked to maintain their multicultural makeup, while others have chosen to ignore it, or even attempted to eliminate subcultures in pursuit of a homogenous society. Multiculturalism begins with acknowledging the significance of culture and cultural identity (Barn, 2011, p. 59).

Despite this, multiculturalism has faced growing criticism. For example, former German Chancellor Angela Merkel once claimed that multiculturalism in Germany had failed (Weaver, 2010).

On another note, although there has been a long and complicated history of trying to reach a universal definition of terrorism, a certain level of agreement has been reached. However, this consensus has often been achieved by sidestepping the question of what terrorism truly entails. A definition that closely resembles that of terrorism can be found in the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. Although the convention does not provide a direct definition of terrorism, it criminalizes the financing of any act intended to cause death or serious harm to civilians or non-combatants during armed conflict. If such an act aims to intimidate a population or to pressure a government or international organization into taking or avoiding certain actions, it falls under the scope of terrorism (Douglas, 2014, p. 46-47).

To better understand the roots of terrorist actions, Moghaddam's staircase theory can be examined. Some individuals begin their journey on the ground floor, seeking to improve their living conditions. These individuals do not perceive themselves as terrorists or as supporters of terrorist ideologies. At this stage, they are mainly influenced by opportunities for social mobility and having their voices heard. As they move to the second floor, they become exposed to messages that blame external enemies, such as foreign powers, for their struggles. On the third floor, some individuals adopt a moral framework that justifies terrorism. Gradually, they distance

themselves from the dominant moral values of their society, embracing the belief that "the ends justify the means." Those who continue climbing reach the fourth floor, where they adopt a rigid "us versus them," "good versus evil" mentality, believing that attacking the perceived forces of evil is entirely legitimate (Moghaddam, 2009, p. 375).

In conclusion, in today's globalized world, a connection between multiculturalism and terrorism can be observed through the lens of radicalization. In a culturally diverse society, individuals – particularly immigrants – may experience identity crises, feelings of alienation, and difficulty integrating into societal norms and values, which can generate tension. Additionally, societal dynamics, such as the majority group imposing its values on minorities, can lead to increased polarization, the emergence of extremist groups, and in some cases, terrorism (Keleşoğlu, 2021, p. 41).

3. Migration Situation in Europe and EU Migration Policies

The migration issue in Europe primarily concerns migrants from the South, many of whom are political refugees fleeing wars or persecution in their home countries. The three countries that most applicants come from are those that have experienced civil wars, such as Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Most "economic migrants," on the other hand, come from various regions in Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe in search of a better life (Joris, 2019: 7). In 2022, there were approximately 4.25 million legal migrants living in Europe (European Commission, 2022).

In terms of the European Union's immigration policies, the "Schengen Agreement," which was signed in 1985 by the five European Communities' members – Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands – is regarded as the first product of intergovernmental collaboration. This pact strengthened oversight at external borders while gradually easing regulations at the signing states' common boundaries. Furthermore, the 1993 Maastricht Treaty is noteworthy for having both granted authority to EU institutions in this field and anticipated intergovernmental collaboration in these subjects. Consequently, efforts in the field of migration and asylum policies began to intensify at the Community level. Finally, one of the most striking changes in the structure of EU migration regulations is attributed to the Lisbon Treaty, which was signed by member states and came into force on December 1, 2009. In accordance with the relevant provisions of the Lisbon

Treaty, measures have been adopted to develop a universal migration approach in cooperation with other countries, while considering the needs of the labor market to create a common policy among member countries (Güleç, 2015: 85-89).

Although the Schengen Agreement provides the possibility of free movement and seeks to maintain unity in Europe, it also requires significant responsibility for controlling external borders. Furthermore, it is possible to state that the European Union has acted balanced in migration matters after the Lisbon Treaty. However, the policies implemented should not remain legally limited, and the sentiments of the local population are also important.

Research indicates that the attitudinal effects of migration are largely dependent on the countries migrants come from and their skills. Migrants from the Middle East (including North Africa) create approximately three times more negative redistribution countereffects compared to other types of migrants. It has also been concluded that the skills of migrants shape the attitudinal responses of locals regarding both formal education and professions in the labor market. Looking at welfare policies that vary at the local level, they may be insignificant in some countries (for example, France) but carry more significance in others (for example, Sweden or Germany) (Alesina, 2019: 1-2).

The EU's expanding role in managing new migration flows has sparked concerns among citizens, while overall public support for the EU remains relatively low. Fewer than 50% of EU citizens report having confidence in EU institutions. In contrast, there is a significantly higher emphasis on national institutions. For example, 68% of citizens believe that the party that wins national elections holds considerable importance, compared to only 58% for those participating in European Parliament elections. New migrants may become targets for rising public frustrations associated with increasing globalization and economic interdependence among nations. The Dutch government has urged the EU to implement much stricter migration legislation. Reports from 2011 underscored some of the Dutch government's efforts to alleviate public concerns regarding the EU's migration policies and the issue of high unemployment (Pietsch, 2015: 50-54).

The decline in trust in EU institutions regarding migration, the existence of disagreements among governments, and the question of how beneficial a long-term migration policy would be pose significant challenges for the European Union. Particularly during times of economic distress, the local population may point to

migrants, leading to the rise of anti-immigrant right-wing parties.

5. Rising Right-Wing Movements in Europe

The first and most significant success of Euroscepticism came in 2005 with the rejection of the European Constitution in the referendums held in France and the Netherlands. It is possible to observe the most notable rise in votes for authoritarian political parties in Europe starting from 2008. Parties such as the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), the Sweden Democrats, the True Finns (PS, Sannf), the Movement for a Better Hungary (JOBBIK), and the UK Independence Party (UKIP) have seen increasing vote shares in both national and European Parliament elections, shaping the politics of today. The 2014 European Parliament elections were a complete victory for authoritarian populists. UKIP's success in the UK, where it became the first party outside the Conservatives and Labour to win the election, as well as the doubling of votes for the National Front in France and the Danish People's Party, demonstrated the power that authoritarian populism had reached (Arman, 2021, p. 41-46).

The Alternative for Germany (AfD) stands as Germany's foremost far-right party, established in 2013 and recognized for its nationalist, Eurosceptic, anti-immigration, pro-Nazi, and Islamophobic agenda. Since September 2016, the party has gained a foothold in 10 of the country's 16 state parliaments. Although the AfD is not the only populist movement in Germany, its rhetoric has been adopted by the Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West (PEGIDA). While the AfD is frequently viewed as anti-Semitic, PEGIDA is overtly anti-Islam and exhibits racial discrimination. However, both parties share the common belief that "Islam does not belong to Germany" and continuously assert that multiculturalism has failed in Germany (Najimdeen, 2017, p. 61-62). In the recent local elections, the AfD emerged first in Thuringia with 32.8% of the vote and second in Saxony with 30.6% (Cole, 2024).

The success of a far-right party in local elections in Germany after 1945 can be considered a historical achievement for the party. Since 2016, the AfD has been successful in elections, and its significant impact shortly after its establishment raises questions about its position in future elections.

The far right populist ideas of Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front party were closely associated with against the Semitism, anti-Islamic attitudes, Euroscepticism,

and anti-immigration views. Compared to his daughter Marine Le Pen, Jean-Marie Le Pen was unable to make the party as popular. Marine Le Pen has greatly refined and renamed the party, while inheriting her father's legacy. The anti-globalization, anti-EU, and anti-immigration stances of the French National Front are similar to those of other populist groups in Europe. It has never been secret that Marine Le Pen and her party despise Islam (Najimdeen, 2017, p. 62–63). In the first round of France's unexpected two-round general elections, the National Rally (RN) received 33 percent of the vote, according to the latest election figures. The left-wing New Popular Front (NFP) alliance received 28%, while President Emmanuel Macron's centrist Together bloc garnered 21% of the votes (Henley, 2024).

In the Netherlands, former Prime Minister Mark Rutte, who served four terms, announced that he would step down due to ongoing debates within the coalition government regarding immigration (Boztas, 2023). In the recent elections, Geert Wilders' party, the PVV, which is anti-EU and anti-Islam, won more seats in the Dutch parliament than any other party (Slawson, 2023).

It is essential to understand how these parties institutionalize good and evil by creating a "rescue narrative" or a "moral panic across Europe." For example, National Front leader Le Pen refers to immigrants as "invaders" who "represent a burden." Geert Wilders, leader of the Freedom Party, went even further, calling them "filth." The words chosen by these leaders have a singular purpose: to dehumanize and demonize migrants (Akbaba, 2018, p. 210).

Although 45% of citizens seem to support the idea of the EU being a simple international organization that provides economic benefits, the fact that opposition to immigration has reached 63% shows that the issue of immigration has become a challenging matter for the EU. In this regard, three countries stand out: Poland, Hungary, and Croatia. Positioned between moderate right and authoritarianism on the political spectrum, are Hungarian Civic Alliance, the Croatian Democratic Union, and the Law and Justice Party in Poland are the ruling parties in these countries (Arman, 2021, p. 150).

As part of its "Eastern Opening" policy, Hungary has publicly increased its reliance on Russia for energy and financial support under Orbán's rule. One of the most powerful figures in the EU, Orbán advocates for a "Europe of nation-states" that prioritizes the return of authority to national capitals over further integration or "closer unity." Even though Hungary gains from being a member of the EU, it is

frequently perceived as a country that threatens the Union's unity and cohesiveness, creating problems rather than strengthening the EU or supporting the European project. This trend is not unique to Hungary; it is also noticeable in member states like Spain, Italy, Greece, and Cyprus that are experiencing serious financial and economic crises (Végh, 2016, p. 72-73).

Looking at Italy, by 2018, the Northern League (NL) had become a right-wing party focused on sovereignty issues. The party expressed anti-immigrant and Eurosceptic positions while showing antipathy toward variously defined "elites." The party frequently used the slogan "Italians First," echoing positions adopted in other regions of the Western world. In the 2022 elections, Giorgia Meloni declared victory, stating that exit polls had given a clear majority to the right-wing coalition, thus positioning her to form the most right-wing government since World War II. Meloni led one of the six founding member nations of the EU and became the first female prime minister of Italy. She also served as a role model for nationalist parties throughout Europe (Giuffrida, 2022). Following the emergence of a video on January 7, 2024, showing hundreds of people giving fascist salutes at an event in Rome, Italian opposition leaders called for Giorgia Meloni's right-wing government to ban neo-fascist groups (Giuffrida, 2024).

In addition to the rising far-right movements in other European countries, the elections in the European Parliament are also significant. In the 2024 European Parliament elections, populist right parties achieved surprising successes not only in France but also in Germany and Austria. Nevertheless, pro-European center parties appear to have managed to maintain their positions in a set of outcomes that would complicate the EU legislative process. In France, Emmanuel Macron called for sudden general elections after Marine Le Pen's far-right National Rally party suffered a crushing defeat. In Germany, the AfD made significant gains (Rankin, 2024).

6. Conclusion

The process of globalization has undoubtedly had both positive and negative impacts on migration movements. Countries that have adapted to globalization have implemented various policies to integrate incoming migrants and have made efforts for them to be a part of the integration process. In addition to labour, they have also opened their doors to migrants who can contribute to the education sector. It is

possible to say that trade volumes have increased due to globalization and migration movements.

On the other hand, alongside the aforementioned positive effects, the negative aspects have become more pronounced in the twenty-first century. The local population often believes that job opportunities are being taken away by incoming labor. Moreover, the idea of multiculturalism and living alongside different communities can raise concerns among locals about losing their culture and identity. Countries believe that international migration will also increase trade volumes. However, it is a harsh reality that illegal activities such as smuggling may occur along migration routes, and that members of terrorist organizations could use these routes, leading to the potential for significant attacks if security is compromised.

Economic stagnation, low employment rates, and declining living standards can be linked to the rise in support for right-wing parties. Far-right parties may target migrants based on these issues. When we look at the rhetoric of Geert Wilders, it is evident that he aims to target migrants in a very aggressive manner. His goal is to dehumanize them and use derogatory language, and despite the public backlash, he can still garner support from the right. The recent election results in the Netherlands, where Geert Wilders' party came in first, are a prime example of this.

Generally, it can be said that far-right parties have been increasing their success rates year by year. A significant achievement for these far-right parties is that the European Conservatives and Reformists Group, led by Meloni, secured 78 seats in the European Parliament, surpassing Renew Europe. After the success of the far-right party in 2022, Meloni's ability to showcase further success in the European Parliament in 2024, combined with the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment in Italy, suggests that she may achieve significant success in the next elections as well.

In France, the left coalition won the most seats but failed to achieve a majority, while the far-right also experienced success in the European Parliament elections. The upcoming general elections in France are particularly intriguing. It can be said that Le Pen's party, with its anti-EU and anti-immigrant stance, will shape the political landscape in France and will play an important role in future elections during a period when the far-right is gaining strength.

In Germany, the success of a far-right party in local elections for the first time since 1945 is a symbolic and historically significant event. In light of this information,

it can be observed that the increasing populist rise in Germany may have an even more substantial effect. Additionally, attention must be paid to AfD's position in the next election.

The rise of the far-right in almost all European countries should not be limited to anti-immigrant sentiments; anti-EU sentiments also pose a significant issue in Europe. Many far-right parties are no longer advocating for European integration and instead wish to return to their nationalist roots. The question of how these far-right parties will shape their policies regarding the European Union after obtaining a significant majority in the future is another matter. With European skepticism rising even now, the question of whether a dissolution could occur within Europe in the future could be a new area of research.

As a result of the findings, it is possible to observe a decline in trust in the European Union. The EU needs to approach the issue of international migration not only from a political perspective but also socially and economically. Furthermore, the EU's reaction to the concept of terrorism associated with international migration is also receiving backlash from far-right parties.

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USING LITERARY TEXTS TO IMPROVE LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE: PROJECTIONS FOR GREEK STUDENTS LEARNING ENGLISH AND FRENCH ¹

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ABSTRACT

This article is an attempt to make an overview of the effects of using literary texts in foreign language teaching environment in general and, in particular, to improve the language skills of Greek learners of English and French. Based on existing literary texts and prior knowledge of how literary texts help language learning and other aspects, it outlines the predictions of how literary texts can improve vocabulary, grammar, cultural understanding and critical thinking skills in Greek classrooms during the teaching of English and French. Although no research has been conducted for some time on this topic, this study provides a road map for exploring how literary texts can transform language learning according to previous studies and opinions and sets out practical perspectives on the impact of literary texts on foreign language teaching.

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¹ This research is part of author's PhD project devoted on this problem and further, a school based investigation is to be conducted.



Introduction

In recent years, the potential of literary texts to enhance language learning has attracted attention and a growing number of educators are exploring the integration of literary texts into language curricula. Scholars such as Krashen (1982), Brumfit & Carter (1986) and Kramsch (1993) have long argued that literary texts provide authentic linguistic input that stimulates both language acquisitions, offering rich context for language use and cultural understanding. Similarly, Collie and Slater (1987) highlighted the dual role of literary texts in engaging learners with both language and culture, emphasizing how exposure to literary texts can motivate students to explore language in meaningful contexts. Although there were studies emphasizing that literary texts could enhance language learning and also other aspects language learning has traditionally focused on the acquisition of grammar and vocabulary without the use of literary texts. In recent years, however, teachers have turned to literary texts as a way of developing language skills. For English and French language learners in Greek schools, literary texts is a unique way to immerse themselves in language and culture, and as proposed by Ghosn (2002) to stimulate higher-order cognitive skills such as critical thinking and problem solving. In this study, I aim to test these suggested benefits in practice and investigate how literary texts influence the language learning experience of Greek students learning English and French. Using a carefully designed questionnaire, I will analyze student feedback on some specific areas: language learning experience, cultural immersion, learning through literary texts, critical thinking and content difficulty, assessment of language development. This research will allow us to provide informed recommendations for integrating literary texts into language curricula based on actual classroom responses according to the feedback of the questionnaire and to the suggestions of participants.

This article summarises how the use of literary texts can improve the language skills of Greek learners of English and French. Drawing on established research and theoretical frameworks, it predicts how literary texts can influence students' vocabulary, grammar, cultural sensitivity and critical thinking skills and addresses potential challenges. The present article examines the role of literary texts in language learning, particularly among learners of English, and presents findings from both theoretical research and practical classroom applications.

Literary texts as catalysts for language learning - theoretical foundations

Sociocultural theory

Vygotsky (1978) states that literary texts function as a cultural artifact and allows students to understand not only the language but also the cultural context in which it is used. Vygotsky's theory argues that interaction with culturally rich material enhances the learning experience. According to this opinion with which I also agree and having faced it also many times in my classrooms as French teacher, I expect results similar to this direction. Through literary texts, culturally rich material is provided to the students such as that not only they can engage themselves with the regional cultures, but also their learning experience can be enhanced with this exposure to the different cultures and additionally develop a greater motivation for language learning and knowledge.

In the following years, Krashen (1982) and Brumfit & Carter (1986) suggested that literary texts provide rich and authentic linguistic material that facilitates language acquisition. These studies suggest that literary texts not only introduce students to new vocabulary and structures but also offer context for authentic language use. This leads us to expect that literary texts could play a similarly pivotal role in Greek classrooms, serving as a dynamic tool to motivate students to learn English and French. Additionally Collie and Slater (1987) argue that literary texts expose learners to both language and culture and motivate them to learn. In this context, Greek-speaking students are expected to develop a cultural understanding of English and French-speaking countries through exposure to such literary texts gaining insights into the social and cultural fabric of these regions.

Intercultural and sociolinguistic competence

Many studies have dealt with the development of intercultural and sociolinguistic competence through literary texts. Many authors analyzed the contribution of literary texts to linguistic and cultural education. Byram, M. (1990) focused on intercultural communication and language education through literary texts. Kramsch, C. (1993) in her work *Context and Culture in Language Teaching* contributed to the study of the relationship between language and culture and how

literary texts help in the development of intercultural competence, addressing these concepts in her work. Similarly, Byram (1997) suggests that through the study of literary texts, students are expected to develop intercultural competence through exposure to texts that reflect different social norms and cultural backgrounds. Guilherme (2002) emphasizes critical intercultural education, which links language, identity, and culture. According to the aforementioned studies, literary texts are expected to act as bridges that allow students to apply language in culturally relevant contexts. Through literary texts students are exposed to different worldviews and social norms and develop sociolinguistic competence. Literary texts allow students to encounter dialects, idiomatic expressions and cultural references necessary for language acquisition.

Following this direction, I expect that Greek students will finally also engage themselves to the cultural worlds of English and French speaking countries. I expect that students will expose themselves to the different world views and social norms of the books containing English and French stories and will have the opportunity to explore the historical background of the mentioned countries and the historical events that lead to today's cultural mixtures in those countries. It will also be an opportunity for exposing themselves to the cultures of all those countries and have a first opinion of the differences and similarities of their own cultures. They will also have the opportunity to be a member of a new world full of regional dialects, idiomatic expressions, religions, politics, historical backgrounds and various cultural references that can contribute to language acquisition. This can develop their sociolinguistic competence as well and can be more ready to this direction if they go to these countries.

Impact on Vocabulary and Grammar

Vocabulary development

According to a study by Lazar (1993), exposure to the rich and varied language found in literary texts is expected to increase students' vocabulary. The wide variety of expressions, idioms and descriptive phrases encountered in literary works provides students with a practical vocabulary beyond what they learn from school textbooks.

The advanced language sentences of literary texts are expected to develop students' syntactic awareness.

Reading literary texts allows students to observe grammar in action and develop their ability to construct more advanced sentences in their own writing and speaking. Exposure to a variety of sentence patterns in literary texts helps students to internalise grammatical rules more effectively than traditional methods, and Duff and Maley (2007) emphasise the importance of authentic texts for developing grammatical skills.

Developing critical thinking skills

Engaging students in literary analysis will develop their critical thinking and analytical skills. Through class discussion and written reflection on themes, depiction of characters and authorial intentions, students are expected to develop their ability to interpret and understand texts. This is in line with the findings of Duff and Maley (2007), which highlight the cognitive benefits of literary texts-based learning.

Increased awareness and sensitivity towards cultural understanding

Literary texts provide insight into the social and cultural context of language use. As Byram (1997) points out sociolinguistic competence is expected to develop as students gain a deeper understanding of cultural differences. Exposure to culturally rich texts is expected to enable students to understand the nuances of language use in different contexts, in particular vernacular and vernacular language, idiomatic expressions and cultural references. Students will become more aware of historical, social and cultural nuances through reading traditional literary works in English and French. Finally as Kramsch (1993) suggests, exposure to different viewpoints will develop empathy and intercultural communication skills.

Challenges and constraints

More advanced content and language level

One of the anticipated challenges is that some students, especially those with lower language skills, may struggle with the advanced vocabulary and sentences

found in literary texts. Many students, particularly those at lower levels of proficiency, struggle with unfamiliar vocabulary, advanced sentence structures and cultural references and cannot easily understand them without guidance. This challenge may initially discourage students, but it is hoped that teacher support (e.g. dictionaries, guided reading and discussion) will alleviate these difficulties. I expect that this could also be improved in the end of this research because it could help such to the evaluation of existing practices facing these challenges as to the recommendation and proposal of other methods for facing these challenges.

Challenges for the teacher

Teachers often find it difficult to select texts that are interesting and appropriate for their students' language level. They also find it difficult to find a balance between literary texts and other learning materials. I expect that this research could help them in this direction and may be proposed methods of finding appropriate texts for their students according to their interests and language level. Moreover, I expect that will also be proposed other learning materials and suggestions on how to balance them with literary texts. Especially in Greek classrooms of English and French, there is a lot of space for improvement and Greece is far behind in these methods.

Cultural barriers

Another challenge is the cultural distance between students' experiences and the foreign cultural background of the texts. However, with appropriate guidance from the teacher and classroom activities that frame these cultural references, it is expected that students will gradually overcome these barriers and find the whole thing relevant. For example, various stories in these books could present cultural elements and facts that come in contradiction with the religious beliefs and opinions with many students. Moreover, these literary texts could contain critics and opinions of the writers that could contradict to students' opinions and religious beliefs.

Methodology

The research employs a questionnaire distributed to students enrolled in English and French language courses across various Greek schools. The primary aim is to evaluate the role of literary texts in enhancing linguistic skills. The questionnaire comprised both closed and open-ended questions designed to assess benefits of literary texts as vocabulary acquisition, cultural understanding, and critical thinking according to the opinions of students. A total of 20 students participate, with 10 from English classes and 10 from French classes.

The data will be collected anonymously over a period of 2 weeks, ensuring a diverse range of responses from students of different language proficiency levels. Responses will be analyzed quantitatively to identify patterns in language development and qualitatively to explore students' personal experiences with literary texts in their language studies.

Data Collection

The questionnaire was designed to gather both quantitative and qualitative data on students' experiences with literary texts. The data will be gathered and analyzed using digital tools like SPSS for quantitative data and NVivo for qualitative data. The analysis will involve descriptive statistics to summarize the sample, along with advanced statistical techniques to address the research questions.

Construction of the questionnaire

For the questionnaire to be constructed, I leaned to four basic elements that according to the aforementioned theories I agree with. Without doubt, using literary texts in the FLT classroom is of great benefit. I prepared a list of questions in order to find out whether learners of French and English believe that these are the benefits they

expect to enjoy. The elements considered as basic advantages when/if using literary texts in language learning are:

1. Improved Vocabulary: Literary texts provide various advantages as a tool for language learning like exposure to a wide range of vocabulary, including idiomatic expressions and advanced sentence structures, which traditional textbooks may lack.

2. Cultural Immersion: Students gain a deeper understanding of the culture associated with the language they are learning, enhancing their intercultural competence.

3. Critical Thinking Development: Analysing characters, themes, and authorial intentions encourages students to engage with the material on a deeper level, fostering critical thinking and analytical skills.

4. Motivation and Engagement: Well-chosen texts can improve language learning experience sparking interest and motivating students to learn by connecting with themes that resonate with their own experiences or pique their curiosity about foreign cultures.

This is why the questionnaire has been constructed with these aforementioned basic elements (language learning experience, cultural immersion, learning through literary texts, critical thinking and content difficulty, assessment of language development).

This structure will allow us to collect numerical data for statistical analysis, as well as more detailed personal accounts of students' learning experiences.

Example questionnaire's questions

- 1) Language learning experience: *Do you enjoy reading literary texts (e.g., novels, poems, short stories) in English/French?*
- 2) Learning through literary texts: *Has reading literary texts helped you improve your language skills?*
- 3) Critical thinking and content difficulty: *Do you think the literary texts used are appropriate for your language level?*

Suggestions and assumptions of how the use of literary texts in language learning could be improved

Based on theories and some teachers' suggestions, it is recommended that language instructors:

Integrate culturally relevant texts: It is important to be selected by teachers' literary works that resonate with students' cultural backgrounds to enhance engagement and motivation.

Gradual increase in text difficulty: It is considered as a good professional approach that teachers start with simple literary texts that align with students' proficiency levels, and gradually introduce more advanced material to avoid overwhelming students. Early indications suggest that students with higher proficiency levels will engage more deeply with the material, while beginners may struggle with more advanced vocabulary. Teachers' guidance and supplemental materials will likely play a crucial role in mitigating these difficulties.

Use of digital resources

Instructors should use supplementary digital tools. They could incorporate digital tools such as e-books with annotations, vocabulary assistance apps, and online discussions to help students overcome linguistic challenges.

Digital tools such as e-books, audio books and online discussion platforms are expected to increase the student-text interaction. These tools can further support vocabulary comprehension and allow students to interact with the material in a multimodal way. The use of e-books, online dictionaries and annotated texts can help students to overcome language difficulties. These tools provide definitions and explanations, reduce the cognitive load and allow students to focus on comprehension.

Active classroom participation

Instructors should encourage active participation. Implementation of creative writing, role-playing, and discussions based on the texts can encourage deeper

interaction with both language and culture. These recommendations will be further refined after the final analysis of the student feedback.

Teachers are expected to incorporate group discussions, creative writing activities, and role-playing games to enable students to actively participate in the literary texts project. These activities are designed to encourage greater interaction with both the linguistic and cultural aspects of literary texts. Teachers can organise discussions, role-plays and creative activities based on literary works to encourage pupils to engage actively with literary works. These activities help to bridge the gap between understanding language and applying language in creative ways.

So as a summary, it is suggested that students should learn to handle literary texts: appropriate choice of texts: teachers are expected to carefully select texts appropriate to the language level of their students and also their religious and cultural backgrounds. Graded reading and annotated texts can be effective in introducing literary texts with appropriate language level, while ensuring students' comprehension. More advanced texts can be introduced gradually as pupil's progress. Also, a good communication with students and spend time with them can help teachers to choose appropriate texts according to their religions and cultures. Finally teachers can encourage active participation of students with various activities like creative writing, role-playing etc in order to encourage deeper interaction with both language and culture.

Conclusion

This study aims to bridge the gap between theory and practice in language teaching by integrating literary texts into English and French curricula for Greek students. While the full analysis is still ongoing, early expectations point to significant improvements in vocabulary, cultural awareness, and critical thinking among students who engage with literary texts.

Future research will build on these findings, with more comprehensive data collection across different age groups and proficiency levels. The results from this study will provide valuable insights into how literary texts can be effectively incorporated into language education in Greece, offering a roadmap for other educators seeking to enhance language learning through literature.

Although no research has been conducted in recent years, existing research suggests that the integration of literary texts for Greek students in English and French language curricula has yielded promising results. Challenges such as the language level of texts and cultural distance are to be expected, but can be addressed through appropriate teaching methods. Future research will provide more information on how these expectations can be realised in practice. When teaching English and French to Greek learners, the use of appropriate texts has proven to be a particularly effective tool for developing language skills. Although there are challenges in selecting such appropriate literary texts and adapting them to language teaching in general, there are significant benefits, particularly in terms of vocabulary development, cultural understanding and critical thinking. Finally, it could lead to sociolinguistic competence providing a richer and more national and cultural based language speaking using idiomatic expressions and other linguistic exceptions, making them closer to these countries linguistic worlds. Teachers should continue to explore ways of integrating literary texts into the curriculum, using both traditional and digital materials to make literary texts accessible and engaging for all learners.

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RETHINKING EU-TURKIYE RELATIONS: A MULTICULTURAL APPROACH TO GREEK MINORITIES¹

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ABSTRACT

The European Union (EU) approach to multiculturalism has resulted in legal framework based both on texts from other international organizations and on the mission conferred by the Copenhagen Criteria's emphasis on respect for minority rights. The requirement for EU candidate states to meet the Copenhagen criteria became binding on Türkiye in 1999, putting pressure on it to adapt its policies to EU standards, particularly with regard to cultural diversity and the protection of minorities. This paper examines the EU framework for multiculturalism in light of the Copenhagen Criteria and then discusses the subsequent legal and policy reforms in Türkiye. The study outlines the evolution of the Turkish minority regime, which has its roots in the Lausanne Peace Treaty, with a special focus on Orthodox Greeks, drawing on EU progress reports, publications by international organizations and secondary sources. It also looks at the milestones and policies that have oppressed the Greek community in Türkiye and analyses what the EU expects from Türkiye in terms of reforms in this area. While the study shows that Türkiye has made great strides in its approach to minority rights, it also points out that challenges remain on the road to full equality. The study is important for improving knowledge of EU integration and the protection of minority rights, while helping to further clarify EU-Türkiye relations. It also provides an indication of the international community's pressure for domestic reform and discusses the complexities of integrating multicultural policies into Türkiye's evolving legal and social framework.

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Introduction

The European Union's (EU) approach to multiculturalism is the result of various political, historical and social factors and has manifested itself in social inclusion and respect for minority rights. Although the issue of minorities is a sensitive one for EU member states, the EU's emphasis on cultural diversity and the protection of differences has, over time, given rise to legal bases. These legal bases were based both on texts from other international organisations and on the legitimacy conferred by the emphasis on respect for minority rights in the Copenhagen Criteria.

The requirement for EU candidate states to fulfil the Copenhagen criteria became binding on Türkiye, which officially became a candidate country in 1999. As a result of EU harmonisation pressure, Türkiye, whose minority regime is based on Articles 37 to 45 of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, has made a number of commitments to the minorities living within its borders. Moreover, these commitments apply not only to non-Muslim groups officially recognised as minorities, but are also designed to include diverse groups with ethnic and linguistic differences.

Türkiye's minority rights reforms on the road to EU membership have been implemented since the early 2000s. In this context, the aim of this study is to show how and what kind of changes the EU has made with regard to minority rights in Türkiye within the framework of the multiculturalism approach. The scope of the study is limited to the Greek minority in Türkiye. The study used EU progress reports, which provide a roadmap by tracking Türkiye's progress in the EU accession process, reports published by international organisations and secondary sources. The study first provides a framework for the EU's approach to multiculturalism and its legislation on minority protection. It then presents a conceptual framework for the Turkish minority regime. It then explains the status of Greek minorities in Türkiye and the main events and policies that have led to the decline in the number of Greeks over time. Finally, a framework of the EU's expectations of Türkiye regarding minorities is presented and Türkiye's reforms in this process are analysed.

EU Multiculturalism and Legal Framework for Protecting Minority Rights

According to Britannica, multiculturalism is the view that, within a prevailing political culture, cultures, races, and ethnic groups—especially those of minority groups—deserve special recognition for their distinctions (Britannica). Multiculturalism, in other words, is the acknowledgment, acceptance, and encouragement of cultural diversity in a community. Proponents of multiculturalism advocate an ideal in which members of minority groups are able to maintain their distinctive collective identities and practices and reject the melting pot model in which members of minority groups are expected to integrate into the dominant culture (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy). Modern states are structured based on the language and culture of the dominant groups from which they historically emerged. As a result, members of minority groups face obstacles in exercising their social practices in ways that are not the case for members of dominant groups. Some argue that minority groups should be spared from government interference; while others argue that recognition represents a positive accommodation to minority group practices through additional rights.

The approach of the EU towards multiculturalism has evolved with time and has been molded by various historical, political, and social factors combined. There is no unified framework within which the EU pursues multiculturalism; its policy has been a diverse set of policies and initiatives that advance social inclusion, promote diversity, and address migration and demographic challenges in its member states. Multiculturalism in the understanding of the EU is deeply rooted in the spirit of social cohesion and tolerance. It's not about the recognition of cultural differences only, but about the actual equality of rights and chances for all.

The EU's basic policies to prevent social exclusion and protect minority rights were formulated as an expression of the multiculturalism approach. Accordingly, the EU has made the protection of minority rights a fundamental principle of the multiculturalism approach and, in this context, has taken measures to help minorities to be better protected and accepted in society. However, due to the objections of some member states about the possibility of a violation of their national integrity, the EU was unable to take a direct initiative on minority protection and to provide a fundamental text on the subject. It therefore relies on other principles recognized in international law for the protection of minority rights and expects member states to

cooperate in this regard. For example, the Commission, as the EU's executive body, is not responsible for minority affairs, but nevertheless closely analyzes the reports and decisions of bodies such as the Venice Commission and the European Court of Human Rights, as well as documents from other international institutions (Oran, 2018). However, the EU member states refrain from delegating decision-making powers over minorities to a supranational organization. Since they retain the main competence in this area, each member state has its own system of minority protection.

Although the EU *acquis* contains no regulations regarding minorities, a number of documents produced by the EU take into account the fundamental human and minority rights principles recognized throughout the EU. The Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1992 and ratified in 1993, is the first of these. Article F(2) of the Treaty ensures that the Union respects fundamental rights (Baydarol, 2023). The Maastricht Treaty was significantly modified by the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam, which came into force in 1999. A human rights regime was also added to the Union's founding documents (Baydarol, 2023).

The most important regulations regarding minorities were made within the framework of the Copenhagen Criteria, the foundations of which were laid at the Copenhagen Summit in 1993. These criteria, originally developed for EU accession candidates, require regulation in three main areas. These include economic criteria that require a functioning market economy; Harmonization criteria requiring compliance with the EU *acquis*; and political criteria that ensure respect for the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law, as well as minority rights in the candidate country. As can be seen, this is the first time that minorities have been explicitly mentioned in an EU regulation and a condition for membership has been introduced that candidate countries respect minority rights.

Work on minorities has continued in subsequent periods. Article 21 of the Declaration of Fundamental Rights, published in 2000, entitled "Prohibition of Discrimination", states: "*Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, descent, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion. Opinion, membership of a national minority, peculiarity, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation is prohibited*" (İnsan Hakları Derneği, 2023). As can be seen, this article explicitly prohibits discrimination against minorities. The 2009 Lisbon Treaty states that the EU is committed to the fundamental freedoms and principles of the Charter of Fundamental Rights. This means that the declaration, which has become the main

source of EU law, has become legally binding (Metin and Kaygısız, 2011). However, although there are EU-wide rules on the protection of minorities, which impose responsibilities on the acceding countries, there are no concrete obligations on the member states. This situation is interpreted as an indication that more powerful states, unwilling to enforce the provisions on minorities in their own territories, do not break with their centuries-old traditions and continue to apply double standards (Oran, 2018).

Minority Regime in Türkiye

The Turkish minority regime is based on the Lausanne Peace Treaty. The main text of the Lausanne Peace Treaty was signed on July 24, 1923, six months after the forced migration agreement between Greece and Türkiye. Since it was concluded six months after the exchange agreement that created a Greek minority in Türkiye and a Muslim minority in Greece, it should not be assumed that the minority regime created in the Treaty of Lausanne extends only to Greeks (Akgönül, 2016). During the negotiations in Lausanne, the parties struggled to agree on the definition of minorities. While the Allies, following the general trend of the time, introduced minority criteria based on ancestry, language and religion, Türkiye sought to introduce a minority system that protected only non-Muslim groups under the Millet system adopted from the Ottoman Empire. At Türkiye's insistence, the Allies defined minority groups as non-Muslims rather than Christians or Jews, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter III of the Lausanne Peace Treaty on the Protection of Minorities. In this context, all non-Muslim citizens of the Republic of Türkiye are entitled to the protection regime established by the Treaty of Lausanne (Oran, 2018).

The multinational structure of the Ottoman Empire was largely influenced by the Greeks and other Christian minorities. Under the Ottoman Empire's millet system, numerous ethnic and religious groups were allowed to live freely, and each religious group was allowed to maintain its distinctive religious and cultural identity. However, with the Republican era, major changes occurred in the social structure in Türkiye, as it developed a narrow interpretation of the relevant articles when formulating its minority policy. Since the governments acted selectively in this regard, they allowed only Greeks, Armenians and Jews to benefit from the rights provided for in Articles 37 to 45 of the Treaty of Lausanne and did not allow other non-Muslim communities of Turkish nationality such as Catholics, Syrians, Protestants and

Yazidis should benefit from the rights recognized in the treaty.

Türkiye's preference for a narrow interpretation of the minority approach is analyzed in three subcategories, including historical, political and ideological reasons. For historical reasons, the founding fathers of the Republic of Türkiye did not accept the view that the newly founded nation-state was a continuation of the Ottoman Empire. However, they directly reflected the millet system that formed the basis of the Ottoman social order in Türkiye's minority system. Although this system began in 1453, immediately after the conquest of İstanbul, and lasted until the promulgation of the Tanzimat Edict in 1839, it became the model upon which the newly founded nation-state formed its own nation.

The second reason is based on political grounds by Baskın Oran (2018). Accordingly, during the period of the Muslim-majority Ottoman Empire, minorities were placed under the protection of Western states, which over time led to the weakening and destruction of the empire. Thus, non-Muslims, who after a while became the "others" in society, were seen as a threat to national integrity, and this tendency continued in the Republican period. Kızıllan-Kısacık (2010), who deals with the topic in the same context, analyzes this situation under the title cognitive reasons. According to the author, the political reasons are explained by the desire to create a homogeneous national state of the Young Turks who emerged at the end of the Ottoman Empire and the military elites who founded the Republic as a continuation of the Union and Progressive Party. In this context, while the emphasis is on the idea of creating a unified national identity centred on Türkiye's ethnic identity, protecting the unique characteristics of groups with different ethnic and religious identities is pushed into the background (Kızıllan-Kısacık, 2010).

Finally, Oran underlines the ideological justifications (Oran, 2004). Accordingly, the Republic of Türkiye has deliberately limited the scope of the definition of minority by making reservations to some international conventions to which it is a party. By defining the limits of its ideological approach to the protection of minorities, it has taken precautions against the possibility that the rights established in the conventions to which it has acceded cover situations prohibited by the Turkish constitution or grant special rights to groups other than those considered eligible for the Treaty of Lausanne.

Demographically, the exact figures on the religious composition of minority groups in Türkiye are not available. However, according to the US Department of State - Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Report on Türkiye, 2022, the number of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Christian population is estimated at approximately 90,000 persons. This group includes an estimated 60,000 citizens and 30,000 migrants from Armenia without legal residence. Furthermore, the Jewish community in Türkiye is said to number around 16,000 people, while the Greek Orthodox Christian population is estimated at around 2,000 to 2,500. These figures highlight the demographic diversity of the country's religious minorities, although the lack of accurate data highlights the challenges in producing accurate statistics about these communities (US Department of State, 2023).

Greek Minorities in Türkiye: A Historical and Demographic Overview

Greeks are among the indigenous groups of Anatolia, with marked ethnic, religious, and linguistic features. The majority are Orthodox Christians, while a smaller number are Protestants and Catholics. The Modern Greek Orthodox communities in Türkiye include the Greek Orthodox of İstanbul, the Arab Greek Orthodox from Antakya, and the Greeks of Gökçeada and Bozcaada. When the Sanjak region, Hatay, joined Türkiye in 1939, the Arab Greek Orthodox of Antakya became its minority groups. They belong to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antakya and the entire East, not the Greek Patriarchate of İstanbul, and were not covered by the minority protections of the Lausanne Peace Treaty since Hatay was outside of Türkiye's borders at the time. Whereas this community has gained some religious freedoms through the EU accession process of Türkiye, their situation is not the focus of this study.

The present research focuses on those Greeks who belong to the Greek Patriarchate of Fener, living in İstanbul, Gökçeada, and Bozcaada. Their exemption from the Convention and Protocol concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Peoples preserved their minority status in Türkiye. In return, approximately 1.2 million Greeks settled in Greece, and the ones who had lived in İstanbul, Gökçeada, and Bozcaada stayed in Türkiye as they were excluded from the exchange. Still, the Greeks living in Gökçeada and Bozcaada have different traditions, customs, and ways of dressing from the Greeks in İstanbul and they speak different Greek dialects

(Karimova and Deverell, 2023).

Whereas it is estimated that 110,000 Greeks remained in Türkiye after the population exchange, many Greek citizens had to leave due to pressures from government policies that will be discussed in more detail in the following sections. It is estimated that between 2,000 and 2,500 Orthodox Greeks are registered with the Fener Greek Patriarchate, though exact figures are unavailable (Oran, 2018). Of these, about 17 live in Bozcaada, and around 190 reside in Gökçeada. In addition, groups of Greeks, mainly elderly, travel to Gökçeada on the day of the Feast of the Assumption (Panayias) on August 15. The pilgrimage serves not only religious purposes but also as a means to preserve the history and memory of the island, driven mostly by the associations of Gökçeada people in Greece (Tsimouris, 2013).

Greeks in İstanbul, Gökçeada and Bozcaada have foundations, churches, ayazmas and monasteries. There is a small Greek community in İzmir, composed of Greek citizens who went there to work. They are active in the Dutch Church (New Hagia Fotini), which is leased by the government of the Netherlands for 99 years. Furthermore, religious services are allowed in the churches and ayazmas in neighbouring municipalities, such as İzmir and Selçuk. It had since 2010 offered services on the occasion of religious holidays such as Easter. Greeks are also allowed to conduct church services on Sundays.

Since churches cannot obtain legal personality, Greek Church foundations ensure the continuation of their places of worship. These foundations also support Greek schools and cemeteries. However, in 1927, against the Treaty of Lausanne, Greek education was banned in Gökçeada and Bozcaada, and instruction in Greek was suspended for 49 years. A primary school reopened its doors in September 2013, while secondary education restarted in 2015 (Oran, 2018). Moreover, the Greek community in Türkiye issues two daily newspapers, *Iho* and *Apoyevmatini*, and also established *Istos Publications* in 2017, which has published several works both in Turkish and Greek.

When Helsinki Watch representatives visited Türkiye in October 1991, they found that the Turkish government was violating the rights of Greek citizens by denying their ethnic identity, placing restrictions on religious freedom, practicing discrimination in schools, and permitting police violence. Today, the Patriarch emphasizes other pending issues, such as the refusal by the Turkish government to recognize 'Constantinople' or 'Ecumenism', the postponed reopening of the Halki

Seminary, and the lack of legal personality for the Patriarchate. The Lausanne negotiations allowed the Greek Patriarchate of Fener to stay in Türkiye on the condition that it would not use the ecumenical title and would deal exclusively with the religious affairs of the Greek community. However, the Treaty of Lausanne had left this issue unmentioned and referred it to Turkish domestic law. When the Treaty was ratified by the Turkish Grand National Assembly, no decision was made regarding the problem at hand (Fırat, 2005).

The Causes of the Decline in Türkiye's Greek Population

This section of the study examines the circumstances that led to the decline of the Greek minority in Türkiye. This section lists the events that were specifically directed against the Greek population, but these events and the policies pursued were the result of fundamental approaches in the history of the Republic, such as the nationalization of capital, the threat of wars and tensions with Greece and The belief that minorities posed a threat is not limited to the incidents addressed here. Chronologically, the first of these events is the "Speak Turkish" campaign, an initiative taken by university students in İstanbul in 1928 to promote the use of Turkish in public life as part of broader nationalist efforts following the establishment of the Turkish Republic (Lamprou, 2013). With wide public and media support, it sought the dominance of Turkish in various social and institutional spheres of life, strictly limiting the rights of minorities to use their languages, which was against Article 40 of the Treaty of Lausanne (Yıldız, 2015). This influence of the movement on the language policy of Türkiye continued through the beginning of the 1940s, and the repercussions were seen in the marginalization of minority languages.

Another milestone in the ongoing persecution of non-Muslim minorities in Türkiye, particularly Greek citizens, was the Incident of the Reserves in 1941. These discriminatory policies, including forced labour and exclusion from military service, undermined the rights of non-Muslim citizens and contributed to the marginalisation of minority groups. The decline of the Greek population within Türkiye led many Greeks to emigrate.

The 1942 Capital Tax Law, by which local tax commissions imposed much higher rates of taxation on non-Muslims, was the most powerful tool that Türkiye wielded in an attempt to redistribute what was perceived as the ill-gotten wealth of its non-Muslim minorities. This law aimed at the redistribution of the wealth of the non-Muslim communities and weakening their economic power was the cause of decline in the Greek population in Türkiye (Akar, 2005). Besides the financial consequences, the capital tax also became the most blatant example of a state-led, politically veiled attack on minority rights. This development contributed to accelerating the cultural erosion and demographic decline of Türkiye's non-Muslim communities.

The İstanbul Pogrom of September 1955 was the violent answer to the Greek bombing of the Turkish consulate in Thessaloniki, birthplace of Atatürk. In İstanbul, a Turkish mob attacked the Greek community and destroyed businesses, churches, cemeteries, schools, and historical monuments (Aktoprak, 2010). Greek shops were also looted and set on fire, leaving a city in ruins. The pogrom caused substantial material damage and instilled feelings of fear and insecurity into the Greek minority. The violence that was carried out by nationalist and political motives further deepened ethnic and religious hostility, re-marginalizing the non-Muslim communities and thus contributing to the decline in the population of Greeks in Türkiye (Güven, 2005).

Last but not least, the deportation of Greeks from Türkiye in 1964 over the growing tensions over Cyprus was one of the sad chapters in the way Türkiye dealt with its Greek population. The Turkish government started evicting Greeks who were Greek citizens for security reasons on March 16. In excess of 1,000 Greeks had to leave hurriedly with just \$22 and one suitcase, having to forsake their houses and enterprises (İstanbullu Rumların Evrensel Federasyonu, 2014). This displacement, fuelled by geopolitical conflict over Cyprus, led to the permanent emigration of another 30,000 ethnic Greeks. Beyond its immediate social and economic impact, the deportations deepened insecurity, fostered long-term resentment, and damaged intercommunal relations.

Other Facts Leading to Decline in Greek Population

The above events outline the systematic discrimination and oppression of the Greek minority in Türkiye, which led to its decline throughout the 20th century. In addition to the events mentioned above, some of the most draconian measures taken were the banning of the use of the Greek language in the courts and restrictions on non-Muslim community foundations (wakıf). Until 2003, these foundations were not allowed to purchase property or build new places of worship. This policy severely hampered the social, cultural and religious life of the Greek community. Greek schools were financially neglected, while Greek Orthodox priests were banned from teaching religion or praying in minority schools from 1964 (Aktoprak, 2010). Land was confiscated, schools were closed and military zones were declared in Gökçeada and Bozcaada, severely disrupting the normal lives of the local Greek population (Tsimouris, 2013).

Besides these institutional barriers, Greeks in Türkiye faced many restrictions on their mobility and economic activities. A government decree froze their assets, restricted property transactions, and restricted their income, further exacerbating their economic marginalization. The implementation of the Religious Endowments Act of 1936 further resulted in discrimination against non-Muslim minorities by classifying them as "foreigners" and making their acquisition of property illegal after 1936. The 1974 ruling of the Court of Cassation, which barred non-Muslim foundations from acquiring real estate, further disenfranchised the Greek community. The closure of Halki Seminary in 1971 and the decline of religious and academic institutions such as the Armenian Patriarchate underscored broader state efforts to suppress the religious and educational autonomy of minorities (Macar, 2003).

EU's Impact on the Position of Greek Minorities in Türkiye

The 1980s, however, saw Türkiye change its policy toward religious minorities with the growing openness of the country to the international community and the desire for accession into the EU. Such a general shift in tendency enabled the adoption of even liberal policies that were responsive to European standards for smooth accession into the EU. Indeed, it was at the Helsinki Summit in 1999 that Türkiye was

declared officially an EU candidate. This process brought issues of the rights and protection of non-Muslim minorities to the fore in political debate.

The EU's involvement in Türkiye's minority rights reforms was filtered through the Copenhagen criteria stipulating that candidate countries must respect the principles of political and human rights, including minority protection. Although the EU has no binding standards on minority rights, its influence on reforms has been at play. Progress reports for candidate countries, in this case, Türkiye, highlight the areas of improvement that include legal recognition and property rights of non-Muslim community foundations, training of clergy, the attempt for reopening of Halki Seminary, management of minority schools, and easing of cultural restrictions. Other key issues involve lifting barriers to non-Muslim minorities in administrative and military positions, and recognition of the title "ecumenical" for the Patriarch in İstanbul (Türkiye 2023 Report).

Because of its political, normative and economic power, the EU has had more influence on minority rights reform in Türkiye than other international organisations such as the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) or the Council of Europe. Unlike the non-binding decisions of the OSCE and the Council of Europe, the EU's influence, particularly through the promise of membership, has provided a strong incentive for Türkiye to implement reforms. Over time, Türkiye has made progress on many issues related to minority rights, although challenges remain. Indeed, the EU's pre-accession push for compliance with European human rights standards has changed Türkiye's very strategy for protecting minorities, especially its non-Muslim citizens. However, full implementation is still in the process of being worked out due to pressure from the EU and domestic politics.

Reforms on Minority Policies under the Harmonization Packages

Since 2002, Türkiye has taken significant steps towards improving minority rights, especially through the reforms linked to its EU accession process. Restrictions on minority language media have been lifted, and the ban on broadcasting in languages other than Turkish was lifted, allowing greater freedom to express their culture and identity (T.C. Başbakanlık Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği, 2007). The new legal framework allowed people to form associations based on ethnicity, religion or sect, and granted the right to build places of worship other than mosques,

expanding religious freedoms (Resmi Gazete, 2003). The Law on Foundations facilitated the return of property previously confiscated from religious communities, allowing them to recover, register and restore their property (Dayıođlu, 2012). In addition, reforms addressed the issue of private schools for religious minorities, improving educational opportunities.

Recent developments included the restoration of the Virgin Mary Church in Bozcaada and a legal change giving churches and synagogues the same public service privileges as mosques, including free water and electricity. Foreign Orthodox archbishops were given dual citizenship to ease the administration of the patriarchate (Dayıođlu, 2012). The Fener Boys High School was given compensation for land previously confiscated. A major reform in identification policy introduced new national ID cards that did not require the person to state their religious status. These steps, together with the abolition of the Higher Council of Minorities, promoted inclusiveness and decreased state interference in minority affairs. There was also a more consultative dialogue between representatives of minorities and state officials (Bebirođlu, 2015).

Yet despite these advances, major challenges persist. Important reforms have come up short in addressing the problems minorities continue to face. Religious and ethnic minorities' daily life is still marked by the heritage of previous policies, and their road to complete legal equality is very long. Major areas of concern include the "ecumenical" title of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, obstacles to high-level military and administrative positions, and property rights. These barriers continue to hamper the complete integration of non-Muslim communities into Turkish society. The ongoing challenges that face Türkiye include sustained reform and making sure that minority rights are fully protected both in law and practice.

Conclusion

The issue of minorities is important on Türkiye's path to EU membership. According to the Copenhagen criteria, democracy, human rights, the rule of law and respect for minorities are among the basic principles that the EU requires of candidate countries. At the Helsinki Summit in 1999, Türkiye, which was granted candidate status, was expected to align itself with the EU *acquis* within these criteria. However, the EU, which does not have its own domestic law on the protection of minorities, has

determined the reforms to be carried out in this area based on the dynamics within the countries themselves.

The Lausanne Peace Treaty of 29 October 1923, which defined the borders of the Republic of Türkiye, also defined the minority regime of the newly established nation-state. By limiting the definition of minorities to Greeks, Armenians and Jews, the government continued the minority paranoia inherited from the Ottoman Empire. In this context, the perception of minorities as a threat to the territorial integrity and unity of the country has long persisted. In this process, non-Muslim citizens did not fully benefit from the protection guaranteed by the Lausanne Peace Treaty and, as part of the aggressive policy against them, they were silenced and their numbers reduced through emigration. It also referenced the regulations of organizations.

This study accordingly has examined the influence of the EU's multiculturalism framework on minority rights reforms in Türkiye, with a focus on the Greek minority. Despite notable progress, particularly since the early 2000s, in the legal system and policies relating to minority rights, difficulties remain. The challenges of integrating multicultural policies into Türkiye's legal and social framework are reflected in the continuing problems faced by the Greek minority, particularly with regard to representation, property rights and religious freedom. Moreover, although the EU has played a very important role in promoting reforms, full equality for non-Muslim minorities is still an ongoing process, and there is still a gap between proposed legislation and its full implementation.

Overall, this study underlines once more the complex interdependence between the EU integration processes and domestic reforms of minority rights in Türkiye. It stipulates that international pressure would be an important factor that determines domestic policies of Türkiye while marking how far Türkiye has still got to go in adjusting legal and social structures to the spirit of multiculturalism. Minority rights in Türkiye will further continue to change along with internal and external dynamics; their future will depend upon the political will which has been sustained, backed by international cooperation.

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BOOK REVIEW

EL APRENDIZAJE-SERVICIO Y LA EDUCACIÓN UNIVERSITARIA: HACER PERSONAS COMPETENTES

Title in English: *Service-Learning and University Education:
Making Competent Persons*



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Service-learning is a pedagogy integrating academically relevant service activities that address human and community needs into a course. Students connect knowledge and theory to practice by combining service with reflection in a structured learning environment.

Faced with a society progressively singled out by the most accelerated transformations and the persistent reciprocity of information in all spheres of the social imaginary. The institutions of higher education are distanced from this metamorphosis, remaining stuck to the usual teaching-learning patterns, which have little relation with the incipient tendencies of knowledge transmission.

The significance of this work lies in the aforementioned, as well as in the fact that it is shown as a spring to pleasantly value service-learning (ApS) as a seasoned technique to favor the speculative growth of the students of university institutions, assembling their experiences with the knowledge acquired and the work developed in certain communities.

This multidisciplinary line of work is articulated in four chapters. The first and second chapters, from a historical point of view, the evolution of the methodology within the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), relating it to the increase and acquisition of skills in real conditions and framed in a specific field, which favor the implementation of the learning received in order to respond to certain challenges.

In the third chapter we can see how the skills and requirements for the implementation of service-learning in higher education centers are dealt with in a concrete way, reflecting the stages and stages involved in the implementation of a PSA program and the consequent analysis of the results obtained in it, considering this last stage as a technique aimed at improving both the learning and the service carried out in the entities that collaborate in it. Likewise, in a clear and coherent way, it shows the correlation between the learning that arises from the achievement of an ApS project and the attainment of certain competencies, which are currently considered essential to be part of that social, labor and cultural imaginary that delimits the professional itineraries of various branches of knowledge.

The last chapter, the fourth, calls for a stable framework within educational institutions for this methodology, since its recognition and implementation is not linked to the responsibility of teachers, but requires the support and complicity of the "alma mater" for its sustainability and prolongation, either with specific plans and programs at the institutional level that support it or, rather, by creating specific structures for it. For this reason, it is necessary to show an example, a case study that illustrates the functioning of the service-learning methodology. The University of Santiago de Compostela, a pioneer in this methodology and with numerous studies on the subject, offers a series of certainties regarding the acquisition of certain competencies by students in different higher education institutions.

In the same way, we find ourselves with a publication characterized by a diction and a direct and easy to understand language, which, although primarily intended for teachers, can also be understood and assimilated by all university students in general and by any person interested in the subject in question in particular, regardless of the specific area of their training. A contribution, the work, to the dissemination of this methodology that, from its theoretical framework to its implementation, follows a path of progress and enrichment in those who put it into practice.

In conclusion, this is an illustrative work of great quality that constitutes a reference and a manual for the understanding and implementation, after a corresponding and detailed analysis, of the transfer of knowledge in the field of higher education and the analysis of the careful relationship between the University and the society it serves for a better quality of life for all its members.

Disclosure statement

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

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