

DISCUSSING THE GLOBAL SECURITY AND TERRORISM DILEMMA WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF CONSTRUCTIVISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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Abstract

The multidimensionality of the globalization process affects the management and security approaches of countries deeply. As a consequence of the globalization, problems, as well as solutions, are brought up to the world agenda and interests of people have become globalized. The nature of the questions also increases the political and systemic effects of elements such as terrorism. The global world that entered the 21st century with the September 11 terrorist attacks carried the power struggle to a different dimension. The security perception of nations has begun to be measured through the social reaction. Societies and nations that do not know each other in remote geographies face similar threats. In the analysis of this process, constructivism, which is the analysis level of the international relations, comes to the fore. States that have been established through specific processes in the construction of social reality such as globalization and terrorism have witnessed an attention-gathering transformation in the 21st century. In this context, it is necessary to proceed from the basic argument the state and all the elements that constitute it are subject to the process of social construction. The globalization and terrorism dilemma were discussed from the perspective of constructionism in the study. The impact of actors and identities, norms and institutions on international politics has been evaluated at the centre-of globalization and terrorism concepts.

Keywords: International Relations, Constructivism, Globalization, Terrorism, Security

21. YÜZYILDA KÜRESEL GÜVENLİK VE TERÖRİZM İKİLEMİNİ İNŞACI PERSPEKTİFTEN TARTIŞMAK

Öz

Küreselleşme sürecinin çok boyutlu olması ülkelerin yönetim ve güvenlik yaklaşımlarını derinden etkilemektedir. Küreselleşme ile birlikte sorunlar kadar çözümler de dünya ölçeğine taşınmış ve çıkarlar da küreselleşmiştir. Sorunların doğası, terörizm gibi unsurların politik ve sistemsel etkilerini de artırmaktadır. 21. yüzyıla 11 Eylül terörist saldırıları ile giren küresel dünya, güç mücadelesini farklı bir boyuta taşımıştır. Devletlerin güvenlik algısı toplumsal tepkiler ile ölçülmeye başlanmıştır. Uzak coğrafyalarda birbirini tanımayan toplumlar ve devletler benzer tehditlerle karşı karşıyadır. Bu sürecin değerlendirilmesinde, uluslararası ilişkilerin analiz seviyesi olan inşacılık ön plana çıkmaktadır. Küreselleşme ve terörizm gibi toplumsal gerçekliğin mimarisinde belirli süreçlerle ortaya çıkan devletler 21. yüzyılda ilginç bir dönüşüme tanıklık etmektedir. Bu bağlamda, devletin ve onu oluşturan tüm unsurların toplumsal inşa sürecine tabi olduğu temel argümanından hareket etmek gerekmektedir. Çalışmada küreselleşme ve terörizm ikilemi inşacılık perspektifinden tartışılmıştır. Küreselleşme ve terörizm kavramlarının merkezinde aktörlerin ve kimliklerin, normların ve kurumların uluslararası politika üzerindeki etkisi değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararası İlişkiler, İnşacılık, Küreselleşme, Terörizm, Güvenlik

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INTRODUCTION

After the Cold War, the loss of the traditional meaning of the borders worldwide and the restructuring of the states in terms of security strategies started a new period in which globalization was handled with the security and military aspects. With globalization, as an alternative to the traditional state-centred world system, a multi-centre world system has emerged with multiple actors and very different threat sources. Terrorist organizations have found the necessary environment to thrive in this multi-centre system and have become the most serious threat to states. However, while the emerging threat has an international characteristic, the reaction at this threat has also occurred on an international level.

When we consider the concepts of globalization and terrorism regarding the changes in communication technologies, we observe that terrorist organizations have transformed in this new period. Because of these changes, borders become transparent in the globalizing world, and the concept of state changes and identities change their shape. Rapid changes in international system and technology have caused new security dimensions at the perception of state.

With changing international dimension and aspect, security is focused on the state actor. This understanding is discussed on the question of how to ensure the safety of the state. According to the traditional understanding influenced by the realist theory, which argues that the structure of the international system is anarchic, other states are the main security threat. In this context, the primary concern of states is to survive. Issues directly related to these circumstances are related to globalization and expansion of terrorism. The concept of terrorism has expanded to include political, economic, environmental and social areas, and has also deepened in terms of the security of people and social groups. As a result of the contribution of globalization and the end of the Cold War, this situation led to the emergence of critical approaches towards traditional state security understanding.

Within the framework of traditional state-oriented security understanding, constructivist approach, which develops a sociological perspective while examining world politics, is not only an approach or theory specific to the discipline of international relations. It covers different methods and focuses more on the philosophy of social sciences. Constructivism offers a broad perspective on the globalization and terrorism dilemma. Globalization and terrorism dilemma as a

process had a transformative effect on state systems and international organizations. In the 21st century, terrorism has undergone a significant change by deepening their interests and behaviours. While this change is neglected among other approaches that ignore the identity creation process, it has begun to be discussed more in a constructive perspective. Thus, basic concepts such as change, ideas and identity were tried to be brought to the fore in explaining this process. In this context, the research questions of the study are set up as follows: Is it possible to interpret globalization and terrorism from a constructivist perspective? Is globalization and terrorism a dilemma from a constructivist perspective? While methodologically comparing globalization and terrorism is difficult in some respects, the constructivist perspective has theoretically been a bridge in this regard.

In this study, the fundamental approach will be discussed by considering what constructivism means in the context of globalization and terrorism and its development in the discipline of international relations. Then, the link between globalization and terrorism will be evaluated within the points of importance. Finally, it will be emphasized that in the relationship between globalization and terrorism, where different parameters are effective, norms and identity dimension should also be addressed. It will be examined how the constructivist approach contributed to the explanation of globalization and terrorism.

1. CONSTRUCTIVISM AS A KEY APPROACH IN THE 21ST CENTURY

The foundation of constructivism is based on a methodology dating back to the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), who lived in the 18th century. According to Vico, the natural world was made by God, and people made the historical world. History is not a process that occurs outside of human relations. Men and women make their own dates. Also, people make states that are authentic products. Rules are artificial assets, and the system of states is also artificial (Lezaun, 2002: 230-232).¹

In the post-1980 period, there is a keen search for the discipline of international relations, especially as realism and constructivism. The constructivist approach has dealt with theoretical diversity within the discipline (Onuf, 1998: 58-61; Wiener,

¹ The socio-cultural environment heavily influences the process of understanding and explaining a particular situation or the process of theorization we are in, just like our socialization process. Therefore, it would not be correct to speak of *a priori superiority* of any theory over others.

2006). Since the 1980s, there has been a process questioning the validity of dominant international relations theories between positivists, post-positivists, and developing alternative perspectives. This controversy arose from the fact that some social scientists objected to the epistemological consensus that seemed to exist. In this context, this methodological pre-acceptance is rejected, and it is claimed that a post-positivist epistemology will be more valid than positivism in terms of explaining international relations (Neufeld, 1995; Waever, 1998: 701-78).

It should not be an exaggeration to say that the studies on the discipline of international relations in the world were under the hegemony of the realist movement until the last years. Within this current framework in international relations; states are considered as a whole of relationships based on the principle that are sovereign-equal rules, inter-state relations within this whole, foreign policy, war and peace, alliances, diplomacy and international organizations (Chernoff, 2009: 376-380; Neufeld, 1995). The main starting point of this approach in the discipline is that it accepts the sovereign nation-state or the global system of these nation-states as parts of a universally defined natural order. In other words, the sovereign and modern state system established with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 is presented and described as if it is not a phenomenon resulting from historically determined social relations. (Kirshner, 2014: 48).

Table 1 provides a framework for theoretical debates historically. Especially when considered in terms of paradigm change, the constructivist perspective after 1990 is striking with its different aspects. Constructivism is a complex theory with its approaches to social actors and knowledge. It deals with the social world in an intersubjective dimension. It emphasizes that the agent and structure are mutually forming each other, and that the interests and identities of the actor are also formed in this process. In constructivism, the social power of social structures is essential, and the aspect of common ideas is also essential (Fierke, 2007: 172; Das, 2009). Constructivist writers who developed a sociological perspective while examining world politics emphasized the importance of normative elements and structures as well as material elements. They emphasized identity in the formation of interests and claimed that agent and structure were formed mutually (Adler-Nissen, 2016: 29; Neufeld, 1995). Issues such as norms, institutions, identity and interest, which are the primary research concepts in constructivism, have enabled empirical studies to be conducted (Lezaun, 2002: 231).

Table-1. Framing Theoretical Debates (Wiener, 2006: 2)²

Time	1920s-1930s	1950s-1960s	1980s	1990s
Frames	First Debate	Second Debate	Third Debate	Fourth Debate
Paradigms	Idealism vs Realism	Scientific Behaviourism vs Traditionalism	Post-Positivists vs Positivists	Constructivists vs Rationalists vs Reflectivists
Communication	Unilateral	Bilateral	Bilateral	Multilateral
Focus	Institutions vs Interests	Science vs History	Epistemology: Positivism vs Post-positivism/ Critical Theory	Ontology: Social vs Material Capabilities
Innovation	State System vs Society of States	Behavioural Explanation	Explanations vs Understanding	Casual vs Constitutive Explanation

There is a positivist/rationalist line between theories in the empirical and epistemological plane. As it is known, this line constitutes the dominant position of international relations. It is envisaged that the methodology of natural sciences can be used to explain the social world for the past forty years in the discipline of international relations. In this sense, positivism with an integrated understanding of science is effective. The positivist research logic has some basic principles (Smith, 1996: 11). Accordingly, positive information is observable and empirical, so unlike metaphysical or theological information, it is reliable information. The research methodology developed to study the natural world is equally suitable for the social world. Scientific knowledge has a value-free nature. It is seen that these three principles are based on some underlying assumptions such as separability of subject and object, naturalism and separation of truth and values (Neufeld, 1995: 34).

Constructivism, on the one hand, accepts the unity of nature and society, as positivists do, on the other hand, argues that society has a unique ontological character. Constructivism, which sees the environment precisely as social, can also be considered as an alternative ontology (Das, 2009: 963-968; Thies, 2004). Constructivism is a systematic and robust way of thinking for social relations in general and international relations in particular. According to Onuf (1998: 58),

² It can be said that constructivism is a *third way* in the *third debate*. Due to the positivist epistemology, it has adopted, although it has different types, constructivism is like a third path between positivist theories and post-positivist theories.

constructivism provides a framework that makes it possible to theorize issues that appear to be disconnected. International relations is one of the areas where these concepts and propositions system was applied, although it faced various objections.

Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of constructivist approaches is in-depth and comprehensive ontology suggestions that make it possible to understand some facts better. In this way, constructivism allows shedding light on other dimensions of universal life (Das, 2009: 963). Thus, it is possible to include many factors such as identity, culture, discourse, which are very important in terms of the social nature of international relations, but which are largely ignored by the dominant theories of discipline in international relations analysis. Constructivism does not entirely exclude the emphasis on power and interest in classical international relations approaches. Constructivism focuses mainly on how ideas and identities are formed, how they evolved, and what effects they have on understanding state behaviour.

It is believed that the system of states includes both intellectual and material elements. However, it can be said that constructivists generally accepted the priority of cultural structures over material structures. It is important to emphasize that structures created by people are cultural rather than material (Wendt, 1996: 49). It is also assumed that, contrary to rationalism, these structures not only regulate behaviour but also form identities and interests. The meaning of identity and the scope of interest largely depend on the information shared among people. Here it is a probability condition for the concepts of culture, power and interest (Das, 2009: 965; Neufeld, 1995).

2. GLOBALIZATION AND TERRORISM DILEMMA

According to Giddens (2003), globalization consists of a series of complex processes resulting from the combination of political and economic influences. This situation produces new transnational system and powers. Globalization is more than the foundations of contemporary policies implemented. Taken as a whole, it transforms the institutions of the society we live in globalization.

After the Cold War, the loss of traditional meaning of borders on the world scale and restructuring of the states in terms of security strategies also started a new period in which globalization was handled with more security and military aspects (Badie, 2001; Fierke, 2007; Parida, 2007).³ Within the globalization process, as an

³ Efforts to achieve economic superiority can be considered as the most comprehensive result of the Cold War period. Financial adequacy and stability deserve this quality when viewed as *a sine qua non* for a state to survive.

alternative to the traditional state-centred world system, a multi-centred world system with multiple actors and very different threat sources have emerged (Elsenhans, 2017: 8). International terrorist organizations have found the necessary environment to become more effective within the multi-centred world system. They have become the ultimate threat to states and their citizens. However, while the emerging threat has an international character, the reaction to this threat has also occurred on an international scale (Ahmad and Majeed, 2016: 411).

Developing technology and interstate relations have changed the size of terrorism, and terrorism has gained an international identity by getting out of its local and regional identity. This process has created a problem called global terrorism (Parida, 2007: 124). Global terrorism differs from the perception of terrorism before and in the 20th century in the context of its purpose, methods and actors. In line with the developments in information technologies, it is rapidly in the interest of the whole world (Cronin, 2002: 35-39; Hülse and Alexander, 2008).⁴

As a new concept of global terrorism, the September 11 attacks introduced the world agenda a new threat. In the new terrorist process, nobody, state or international organization has any guarantee of being protected from terrorist attacks, and even the most powerful state in the world can remain confused and helpless in a few hours against these attacks (Dunn, 2005: 12; Krieger and Meierrieks, 2011). Terror is now threatening the whole world, and this threat is global (Taylor, 2009). It is also stated by the US, the victim of the attacks, that a worldwide style of struggle should be adopted against this threat. US President George W. Bush, in his speech after the September 11 attacks; declared those who were not on his side in the American fight against terrorism are on the other side (Brown, 2006: 24). In the US' fight against global terrorism, it has given clear messages to all the countries of the world to be with them. According to the new strategy determined, terrorism should now be captured and destroyed in any part of the world, and those who support it should share the same fate.⁵

⁴ Although the number of actions decreased with the globalization of terrorist organizations, the destructive power of the attacks increased. Terrorist organizations have benefited from the advantages of globalization and have been able to survive and achieve their goals more quickly (Parida, 2007).

⁵ The most important psychological impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks is not just fear. The fear and anxiety that emerged after the attacks also created a severe sense of nationalism and national solidarity in Americans who were mostly individualistic and not so much interested in the public interest (Hülse and Spencer, 2008; Dunn, 2005).

In the subsequent period, Afghanistan and Iraq were occupied by the US on charges of helping and abetting global terrorism. Terrorist acts have increased in response to these policies of the US in various countries of the world. The US strategy to fight global terrorism has increased global terrorism in a sense (Britton, 2006: 127). Figure 1 demonstrates the confidence in Afghanistan against foreign interventions, particularly the US and NATO. In this context, after similar interventions, global interventions have increased the concerns among local people. In the name of combating terrorism, human rights and freedoms have often been neglected, and the images of torture and ill-treatment against people alleged to be terrorists in Guantanamo and Abu Gurayb prisons have been reflected to the public (Brown, 2006; Parida, 2007). These images are undoubtedly written as negative points on the human rights scorecard of the US, which claims to fight terrorism.

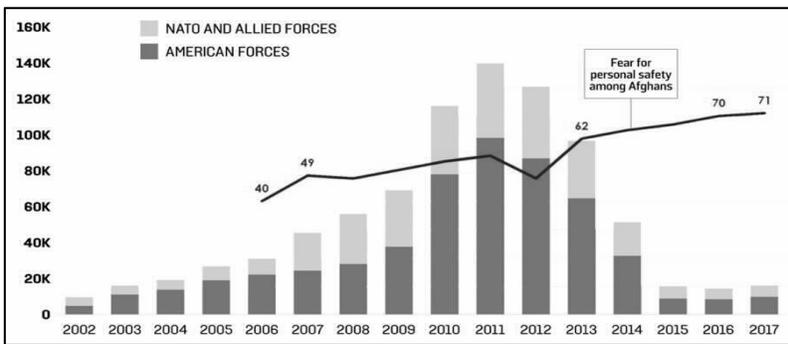


Figure-1. Coalition Forces and Afghan Public Opinion, 1k: 1000 people (Pape, 2019)

Moreover, these mistakes in the fight against terrorism constituted the propaganda material of the terrorist organizations operating globally and increased the number of militants.⁶ The reflection of torture and ill-treatment images taken during operations to combat terrorism has made people with negative thoughts shift to even more radical lines. Especially in the Middle East region, it has facilitated other global terrorist organizations, especially *Al Qaeda* and *DAESH*, to expand their influence (Hülse and Spencer, 2008: 573; Ahmad and Majeed, 2016).

The power of these global terrorist organizations comes from their potential to create global networks. It is difficult for states to struggle with this form of

⁶ The understanding, which has escalated into violence dimension with the September 11 attacks, has turned into the presentation of the same actions as the beginning of a *Muslim-Christian* conflict. The US' fight against terrorism in countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan have been interpreted as the Crusade (Hülse and Spencer, 2008; Dunn, 2005).

organizations based on networking. Some operational centres could be bombed, as the US did in Afghanistan, and some of the terrorists could be destroyed. Still, the same could not be done in the city of Hamburg, where the September 11 attacks were planned because it was not possible to bomb a network (Dunn, 2005: 14).

In this sense, the struggle of the states against the highly mobile global terrorist networks continues as an *asymmetric conflict* that is not managed from a single centre (Parida, 2007: 127). International terrorist organizations use this situation caused by globalization, and they are becoming globalized by adapting themselves to this global system. In the struggle of terrorist organizations against global actors, it mainly emphasizes the negativities brought about by the globalization process (Bakker, 2012: 72). These organizations are taking advantage of the opportunities of globalization. In other words, global terror hits the global order with its weapons.⁷

Another benefit of globalization to terrorism is the ease it provides in reaching the target. In today's global world, terrorists can achieve their goals more efficiently, and news and ideas that move people who apply to terrorism spread to a wider area than in the past (Parida, 2007: 128; Ahmad and Majeed, 2016). Consequently, traditional cultures were weakened by the dominant effect of globalization, but at the same time, with the impact of globalization, terrorists were able to organize globally and reach their desired goals worldwide.

The substantial disappearance of barriers to the free movement of goods, people and capital has enabled not only international trade to be carried out more comfortably, but also international criminal organizations to move freely. The September 11 attacks carried out by al-Qaeda members for more than two years have shown the world how global terrorism can be realized at a low cost. It can be said that the global terrorist methods applied by psychologically motivated terrorists will end the wars with smart missiles that have spent millions of dollars in financial terms (Hülsse and Spencer, 2008 577; Bakker, 2012).

There was a balance between world policies during the less globalized Cold War era. While security concerns shaped policies, the balance of deterrence and forces led to a vulnerable balance (Krieger and Meierrieks, 2011: 7). Since they had no more critical external problems, states could deal with their work and improve their internal well-being. Unlike conservative communist blocs, western

⁷ Terrorist organizations have been acting in a narrower and partially close place in the past; nowadays, it has become an internationally active, crossing borders, more complex and easily adapted to locations.

states focused on developments in democracy, humanity, prosperity, law and science (Elsenhans, 2017).⁸

In this process, significant social and political steps were taken by international and regional organizations, such as the establishment of free trade and transitions and the development of conditions for their communities (Pieterse, 2002: 77, Cronin, 2002). While these developments were supported by globalization, the events reversed after the September 11 attacks and globalization started to be an obstacle to these developments. The increase in terrorist organizations in the international or supranational context and the idea of politics in different ways have been placed on a broader framework and security has become a bigger problem (Bakker, 2012; Taylor, 2019).

Waltz (1993) states that a country with less than half of the primary manufacturer's economic capacity can easily compete with him militarily if he adopts the military status quo policy and deterrence strategy. The September 11 attacks evidenced this. Although the rival party was not a country, the economic competence of the terrorist organization was much less than that of the US. While al-Qaeda attacked superpower, it used inexpensive methods in a clever and organized way (Dunn, 2005; Hülsse and Alexander, 2008). The main issue is that although *Taliban* or *al-Qaeda* is not a country, it can compete with the states in terms of resources and opportunities. The leader country cannot use its economic superiority to establish military domination over its strong rivals or gain a strategic advantage over them (Pape, 2019).

3. CONSTRUCTIVIST PERSPECTIVE BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND TERRORISM

According to Cronin (2002), evaluating the essential reflections of globalization on terrorism, globalization is a comprehensive international system that shapes the internal politics and foreign relations, and it can be said that globalization is based on three interconnected balances. The first is the traditional balance between states. In other words, it is the US, which is in the position of superpower, forming the system between different states. This situation has emerged prominently in the US' relations with other states in the fight against global terrorism. The second is the balance between nation-states and global markets. Figure 2 shows the cost of

⁸ It has been suggested that at the end of the Cold War, besides ensuring security, freedoms must be maintained while carrying out them. The end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union caused a power vacuum. As a result of the ideological polarization that has been evident for many years, the parties created their own others.

terrorism to the global economy. From this point of view, development and change have created an increase in the costs of factors such as terrorism. It is not easy to interpret any developments in the world without knowing the actors of the global economy, which has the effect of causing governments to fall. Third, it is the balance between the individual and the nation-states. These individuals who get stronger thanks to the liberal economy can put their weight on the world stage.⁹

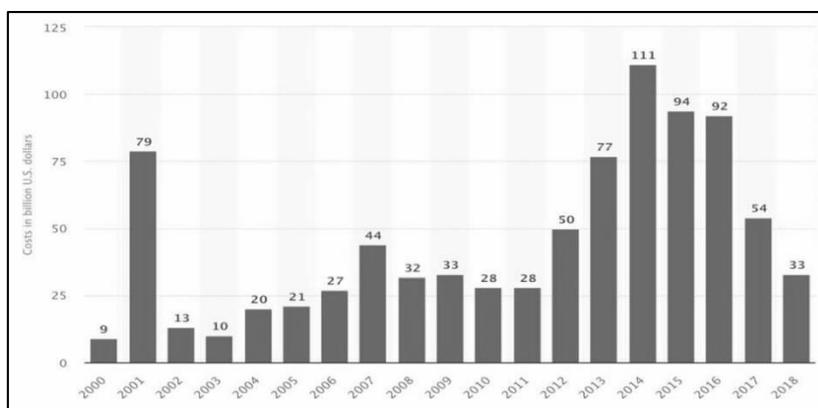


Figure-2. Global Economic Costs of Terrorism from 2000 to 2018 (Global Terrorism Index, 2019: 29)

Within the frame of individuals and nation-states, constructivist approaches on concepts such as international structure and anarchy are different from classical theories. For example, it is claimed that the global structure consists of social relations, not physical competence (Das, 2009: 972-981; Adler-Nissen, 2016). On the other hand, contrary to the classical approaches predicted, the structure is not seen as an external, independent power to the units that operate in itself. In this context, the international system should not be considered as a *sui generis* thing with its logic, separate from the local community and social order in general (Wendt, 1995: 73).¹⁰

⁹ In line with the restructuring policies, international policies have been developed for the nation-state, which has been an active power in the domestic and foreign markets for a long time, following the economic crisis in the 1970s. These policies have started to put pressure on nation-states within the scope of restructuring, with issues such as reducing the weight of the state in the economy, privatization, liberalization and deregulation (Cronin, 2002; Parida, 2007).

¹⁰ According to Wendt (1995, p.74), structures can form the nature of actors and their relationships with each other in a collaborative or confrontational manner. For example, *the security dilemma* is a social structure. It arises in an environment of insecurity, where states have negative assumptions about each other's intentions, and with an inter-subject interpretation. In this case, states define their security in line with the principle of self-help. On the contrary, the security society is another type of

This different understanding of the international structure shows itself in terms of the meaning attributed to the concept of anarchy. As it is known, classical theories characterize the global structure as anarchic. It should be noted, however, that neorealist and neoliberals have different perspectives on the concepts of anarchy (Wendt, 1992). First of all, neorealist people see anarchy as a system based on the principle of self-help. Neoliberals see the system as anarchic. Neorealists also think that there is no central authority and security in this anarchic system (Thies, 2004: 161).

States are highly institutionalized structures and operate through their agents in the world, which has an anarchic appearance. According to constructivist logic, the concept of anarchy points to another situation where no state dominates over others. In other words, anarchy means that there are no institutions above the states to dominate them. In this respect, anarchy is a state of rule, where the agents are not directly responsible for the way they conduct their relationship. Otherwise, there are rules in the background (McSweeney, 1999; Neufeld, 1995). Therefore, anarchy is a state of a rule that is not unique to anyone, and everyone is involved in together. Anarchy is also a rule case; the absence of any regulations is chaos, not anarchy.¹¹

The anarchy of allies is different from anarchy caused by enemies. States treat their partners differently from the enemies that threaten them. The frequent use of anarchy is insufficient to understand who is an ally or enemy (Bakker, 2012: 69-78). For example, the military capacity of the US has different meanings for Cuba and Canada. However, in terms of classical theories, their structural function is the same. In short, power distribution can always affect state behaviour; but this is based on inter-subject insights and expectations. According to the constructivist view, collective ideas and inter-subject meanings give actors some signs of how to use their physical competence and strength (Adler, 1997: 323-341; Fierke, 2007).

These differences can sometimes be seen in the way the people from different nations coexist, as in the collapsing Soviet Union, or the US today. The experiences in these two countries were very instructive in terms of the political consequences of the concept of multiculturalism (Thies, 2004: 164-180).

social structure where states trust each other and believe that they can solve their problems without resorting to war. In short, what states do to each other affects the social structure.

¹¹ The understanding of *anarchy* has been subjected to many criticisms in recent years and has been criticized in different ways by critical theory, postmodernism, postcolonial discourse and feminist approaches. The regulatory and dominant place of the concept of anarchy in the philosophy of international relations has been shaken (McSweeney, 1999; Neufeld, 1995).

Perceiving the multiculturalism in society as part of the general social and political structure based on individual freedoms, the US followed a line that protected both its political identity and independence with a very successful practice (Neufeld, 1995).¹²

Experience of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia has shown that in systems where individual freedoms are not safeguarded, it is not possible to protect and develop different cultural identities, whether within the framework of unitary or federal state structures. Political assets, which cannot be developed within the context of a constitutional citizenship bond by guaranteeing individual freedoms, cannot protect their integrity (Kramer, 2012: 7).

3.1. The Complexity of Globalization and Constructivism

One of the paradigm debates on the political and economic efficiency of the state in the international system takes root in an ancient tradition that confronted Grotius with Hobbes in the 17th century. Grotius, a Dutch lawyer, emphasized the roles of individuals and international organizations in the international arena. He put forward ideas for the development of inter-state relations. These views of Grotius were criticized by Hobbes, who regarded interstate relations as power and conflict oriented. According to Hobbes, national interests were inevitably related to the concept of national security (Badie, 2001: 253-258).

According to *realism*, the state is the unique and most basic actor of the international system. National security is the primary goal, as states are rational actors. In the phenomenon of international relations, which is analysed as international order and state-centred, the concept of the individual is far behind the priority issues of realism (Chernoff, 2009: 373-377). The relationship of realism with society and the individual is shaped by a pessimistic view of the human nature that it examines while defining the characteristics of the state-centred system (Badie, 2001: 253-258). Similar to the behaviour of individuals who are innate, pursuing their interests, and who are ambitious in their daily lives, the roles of states in international system also appear in their interests.¹³

¹² According to Zbigniew Brzezinski (1993), unlike its peers in history, the effectiveness and spread of US' global superiority is unprecedented. The US has not only dominated the seas and oceans but has also developed an ambitious military capability, which allows it to show its power on land politically at great distances.

¹³ In international relations, the realist approach emerged in response to the failure of the liberal approach that prevailed between the two world wars. In this period, there was a return from liberalism to realism.

Besides state interests and globalization, we do not define a process directed only by international actors pushing the role of national states into the background. At the same time, we emphasize a political-ideological tendency and sociological formation, such as the world society, in which the mutual ties of communities emerge. In this direction, the path to the constructivist perspective is opened by changing the realist debates (Barkin, 2009: 236; Onuf, 1998).

In Table 2, a material-rational and ideational-ideological distinction is grouped over conflict and cooperation. In this respect, constructivism does not differ in the ideational-ideological framework in both conflict and cooperation dimensions. According to the *constructivist perspective*, contrary to *realism*, the fact that war in anarchy is possible does not mean that war can happen at any time. Factors such as self-help and power policy are not logically and causally caused by anarchy (Das, 2009: 961-974). If this were so, today we would find ourselves in a world completely shaped by the principle of self-help. But that would also depend on the process, not the structure. According to Wendt (1992: 395-402), self-help and power politics are both international institutions; not the main features of anarchy. In this state, anarchy is actually what states do. From this point of view, the structural limitations of anarchy do not have to be the same everywhere. A collaborative formation can also be developed instead of self-help (McSweeney, 1999: 122). As said, anarchy is perhaps a self-help system; but there may also be a common security system.

Table-2. Comparison of Conflict and Cooperation (Mackay and Levin, 2010: 18)

	Conflict	Cooperation
Material-rational	<i>Political Theorists:</i> *Hobbes *Thucydides <i>Contemporary IR:</i> *Neorealism	<i>Political Theorists:</i> *Locke *Grotius <i>Contemporary IR:</i> *Neoliberalism
Ideational-ideological	<i>Political Theorists:</i> *None <i>Contemporary IR:</i> *Some constructivism *Some critical theory	<i>Political Theorists:</i> *Kant <i>Contemporary IR:</i> *Some constructivism *Some critical theory

Today, the security system is defined not only by the military but also from a perspective where political, legal, economic, sociological and psychological factors are together. Also, it is impossible to know the source, time and form of possible risks and threats, in contrast to the Cold War period. It is seen that the field of struggle in the security environment of the 21st century has become the whole world (Das, 2009: 967-979; Fierke, 2007). It is not clear when, where, and how we will encounter the threat. Although it seems weak against the power and capabilities of the countries, it has become a reality where it has an asymmetrical power that can create the desired effect whenever it wants with its possibilities (Elsenhans, 2017: 9).

Conventional security system is affected by globalization, but constructive approach has a more systematic challenge in this issue. This interaction has increased so much that the redefinition of the concept of security is industrialized. (Baldwin, 1997: 5) In the post-Cold War period, the concept of security has changed, differentiated in threatening elements, and their number has also increased (Hülse and Alexander, 2008: 573-586). This change has also changed the perceptions of states' security in the 21st century. As a result, national security had to be redefined, and national security policies had to be reproduced.¹⁴

With the change in the individual-state relationship, the fact that the state is the sole authority where the security of the individual and various social groups can be defined has started to change. It has emerged that states that intend to be accepted as a part of the global economy and the international community, thus developing by attracting foreign investment, can no longer threaten the security of their citizens (Waltz, 1993: 47-58). It is a period in which the boundaries of the private or civil domain are widened, the edges of the public space are getting narrower, and individual or social rights and freedoms take precedence over national interests. Instead of the individual's existence for the state, the fact that the state exists for the individual has begun to settle (Chernoff, 2009: 373-378).

Another conclusion that has emerged with the same change in terms of individuals and various social groups is the opportunity to redefine identity on a broader area and in different dimensions. This opportunity first emerged with the principles of liberalization, democracy, restriction of former oppressive state

¹⁴ The traditional theory of sovereignty is based on an idea that implies the nation-state has superior authority over what is happening within its borders and that they control everything that passes through its borders. However, developments such as the increase in international migration and the spread of cultural globalization have made the state borders more porous.

sovereignty or authority in the face of the individual (Wendt, 1995: 75-78). With the revolutionary developments in the fields of communication, informatics, media and telecommunications, a global area where new social connections can be established has emerged. Thus, it is possible for an individual to define his/her own identity freely and to be accepted by the society or the state, including this definition.

3.2. Infinity of Terrorism through Identities

The motivations behind terrorism depend on various factors, such as the socialization of terrorist identities, the nature of terrorism as a compatible and accepted form of behaviour, and the availability of opportunities. The development of terrorism depends on the circumstances and the environment because it has a systematic, deliberate and time-accepted structure (Bakker, 2012: 73-79; Cronin, 2002). Although it can be in other types of civil violence, there is no spontaneous and total significance in terrorism. Those who use terrorism may think that they will create a better society, so they act with the gain of common goods (Hülse and Spencer, 2008: 577-579).

As a result of the September 11 terrorist attacks, the change in the perceptions of the states has reached a turning point and the scope of the security concept has significantly expanded (Dunn, 2005: 18-22). The emergence of threats such as global terrorism, organized crime networks, drugs, weapons and human trafficking, illegal immigration and the increase in weapons of mass destruction have made it necessary to redefine the concept of security on an international scale (Krieger and Meierriecks, 2011: 9-14; Parida, 2007). With the end of the Cold War, the US' claim to be the dominant power did not eliminate the turbidity experienced in the international environment. The negative consequences in the economic and social fields brought by the globalization process have been the most crucial factor fuelling the US and anti-Western terrorism.¹⁵

Figure 3 shows the number of transnational and domestic terrorist incidents. Traditional terrorist organizations are changing with globalization and gaining new meanings as a cross-border organization. Information and communication technologies, which have developed in line with globalization and technological developments, have become an essential tool in the context of globalization of terrorism (Brown, 2006: 22-26). Globalizing terrorist organizations now carry out

¹⁵ Some terrorist experts, such as Paul Wilkinson, argue that terrorist acts are against the West and target western democracies. Experts like famous American opposition Noam Chomsky emphasize that states implement terrorism and that state-sponsored terrorism is at stake.

more harmful and dangerous global actions rather than regional activities (Britton, 2006: 126-132). These types of terrorist organizations are moving away from the need for classical communication tools with the platforms and various opportunities provided by the internet, which is regarded as the leading actor of the global terror concept.¹⁶ Terrorist organizations can carry out many activities ranging from bringing members and sympathizers to financing through their propaganda activities thanks to their communication technologies (Cronin, 2002: 37-48).

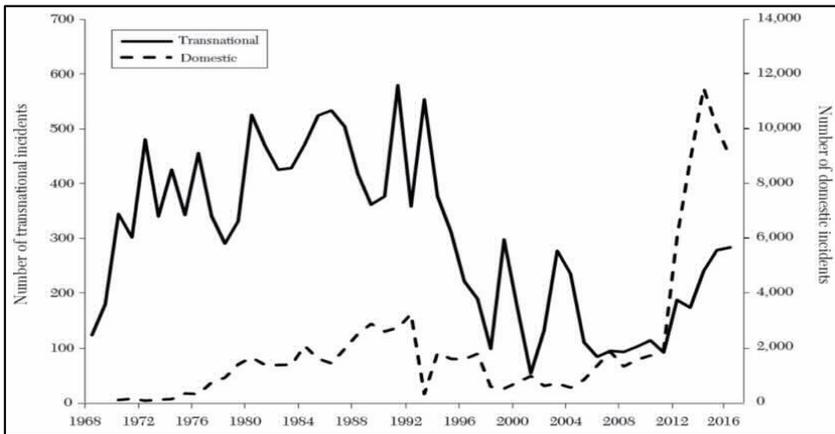


Figure-3. Number of Transnational and Domestic Terrorist Incidents (Taylor, 2019)

Terrorism is a direct consequence of the special activities of small groups, but each terrorist activity has a wide range of conditions.¹⁷ They are rarely carried out for justifiable reasons, and the first problem is the way these activities are carried out (Bakker, 2012: 77-81). Groups or nations may have opposing perspectives with others and may resort to terrorist actions to solve such problems. In the modern world, there are practical and peaceful methods to solve such problems, but some groups use violent ways and practices, even if their underlying causes are justified.

¹⁶ Terrorist organizations had a chance to convey their demands, express themselves and raise awareness through the media. On the other hand, it also has the opportunity to get news with the media. Terrorist organizations, which cannot express themselves on the podium as they are a terrorist organization and do not have the right to advertise, manage to seize these opportunities through the media.

¹⁷ The concepts of terrorism and terrorist are entirely different. Terrorism is an attack that a group or organization intentionally and intentionally plans together. The terrorist, on the other hand, is a person who has become a member of a terrorist organization and deliberately and deliberately executes orders.

Terrorist groups differ from states. Terrorists do not have an agreement, imperative, citizenship and lands to consider. Although it is not possible to make a comparison between the two because terrorists do not have voters like governments; they have common aspects with states in terms of power, physical strength and supporters. Terrorism often occurs in democratic countries, as terrorists have the freedom to carry out their activities. The problem with terrorism is that there is no international institution fighting against terrorism as a union of forces; even a consensus that should be at the forefront in this regard cannot be achieved (Cronin, 2002: 38-44).

The phenomenon of modern terrorism has become legitimate because it fulfils its task of the war of movement, which was once the exchange body in the international community. Today, non-traditional methods involving terrorism are being used more instead of traditional forms of war, and participation of all non-government entities is also observed. The economic solidarity of industrial states makes wars both more expensive and destructive (Dunn, 2005: 24-28; Krieger and Meierrieks, 2011).

CONCLUSION

Globalization has many positive or negative effects on state structures. In addition to those who think that these effects will bring the end of the state, there are some who argue that the structure of the state further strengthened. On the other hand, the idea that the state did not disappear as a result of these effects, but rather transformed into its existence, was also defended.

Globalization is generally summarized in three main categories with economic, social-cultural and political areas. The impact of globalization has evolved by leaving traces in every nation-state, based on worldwide development, geopolitical location and features of social structures. The level of development of states is useful in determining the level of management of global power.

Analytical validity is questioned in examining many current issues and problems of globalization. It has been a starting point in terms of research and the relationship between terrorism and globalization has been tried to be determined. Although a standard definition of globalization and terrorism has not been made yet, a link to globalization and terrorism has been tried to be established based on common points. The change in the nature of globalization and terrorism from the approach of construction reveals the differentiation in the methods of struggle. In a

sense, it is aimed at determining what kind of problems we are facing in the period we live and in the coming period.

In the fight against global terrorism, the West's approach to problems with a historical bias has deepened the problem. To strengthen the hegemony of the US, which is the product of this approach and currently represents the West, its policies towards the Middle East region have made global terrorism even more chronic.

It is frequently expressed in every platform that global cooperation should be ensured to carry out an effective fight against global terrorism. States have not yet been able to achieve global harmony in international relations; which terrorists can effectively establish among themselves. Moreover, states choose to use terrorism against each other when they need it as a powerful instrument in international relations. Therefore, an effective fighting strategy cannot be determined and implemented to combat global terrorism.

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