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How Right-Wing Extremism Uses the COVID-19 Pandemic: Focusing on Anti-Asian Rhetoric

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ABSTRACT

The COVID-19 pandemic has provided an opportunity for right-wing extremism to legitimize its claims and promote anti-Asian rhetoric. This has led to an increase in hate crimes against Asian and Asian descendants in the US, UK, and Canada. Online platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, 4Chan, and Telegram have been used to spread disinformation and conspiracy theories and frame the crisis to promote the agenda of building a "white ethnostate." Civil society and experts have expressed concerns that this anti-Asian rhetoric will normalize right-wing extremist ideology and increase its social legitimacy. It is important to understand that this rhetoric is being used to promote extremist ideology and recruit more members and that further research is needed to prevent further tragedies. The COVID-19 pandemic has had a multidimensional impact on Asians, and it is crucial to not overlook the growing anti-Asian sentiments in both online and offline spaces and to research the connection between right-wing extremist groups and radicalized individuals in order to tackle their harmful activities.

Introduction

> On March 16, 2021, a card company released caricatures illustrating the seven members of BTS Korean singers as bloodied and bruised, with teeth missing, which was supposed to resemble a whack-a-mole game.[1]
>
> On March 16, 2021, a white man killed eight people, including six women of Asian descent, in Atlanta, United States. The tragedy stirred outrage and fear in Asian-American communities.

In one day, two incidents occurred that portrayed aggression towards the Asian community ranging from micro-aggression to hate crime. Although racist attacks and verbal insults towards Asian are not new, hostile attitudes, violence, and hate crimes against Chinese and Asian communities have significantly risen during the pandemic (Alba, 2021). The pandemic has been caused by Coronavirus Disease 2019 (hereafter COVID-19), which emerged in Wuhan, China, in late 2019 and spread around the globe. Due to its first detection in China, some extremist groups use this opportunity to blame Chinese and Asians as the cause of the problem and promote hate towards them. As one of them, right-wing extremists have exploited the pandemic as an opportunity to spread hatred towards Asians and promote white supremacy.

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[1] Later, fans and citizens demanded a sincere apology, but a company only withdrew the release, and announced that the company "understand consumers who are upset about the portrayal." To see whole story and the caricatures, *check* Ryu (2021).

This phenomenon was a concern for civil society and international organizations due to the harmful social impact of COVID-19. For instance, the UN Secretary-General announced[2] that white supremacy and neo-Nazi movements are becoming a transnational threat and have exploited the coronavirus pandemic to boost their support. In this context, analyzing how the COVID-19 pandemic was used in normalizing and promoting anti-Asian rhetoric by right-wing extremists can be essential to address the social impacts of COVID-19.

It is worth noticing that not only right-wing extremists have used the COVID-19 pandemic to reclaim their propaganda's legitimacy. Various extremist groups spread misinformation for their political or religious goals.[3] For instance, Jihadists have claimed the pandemic was God's punishment to the Chinese due to their oppression of Muslim Uighurs in Xinjiang. Nonetheless, the exploitation of Covid-19 by right-wing extremism deserves more attention due to its significance in stimulating transnational hate towards Asian descendants and immigrants.

Thus, the paper aims to analyze how right-wing extremism has exploited the COVID-19 pandemic for anti-Chinese and anti-Asian propaganda purposes. Focusing on anti-Asian sentiments of right-wing extremism propaganda during the pandemic would provide a more profound understanding of the impact of COVID-19. There are debates among scholars on how to define right-wing extremism due to its variance of the ideological spectrum from anti-globalism and anti-governmental to misogyny and xenophobia. Therefore, in this paper, right-wing extremism refers to far-right or racially and ethnically motivated groups and individuals who encourage extreme ideology and sometimes join violent acts, such as white supremacists, neo-Nazis, and neo-Fascists.

Asia covers a large geographic area, so the term anti-Asian can confuse. To avoid this confusion, the paper will use anti-Asian to refer anti-Chinese and anti-East Asians and their descendants, primarily referring to Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese. While verifying and limiting the scope of right-wing extremist activities is complex, the paper focuses only on three English-speaking multinational states. The United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada were selected because they have relatively well-researched right-wing extremist activities and their impacts on stimulating anti-Asian sentiments and violence during COVID-19.

This study can be significant in illustrating the current practice of right-wing extremism. By focusing on the impact of COVID-19, the research can provide a general picture of the increasing anti-Asian rhetoric during the pandemic, which led to more hate crimes towards Asian descendants and immigrants. Furthermore, the paper can be expanded in analyzing the relationship between COVID-19 and extremism. Moreover, the study deals with essential issues such as anti-Asian sentiments in the West. Even though there is a long history of anti-Asian sentiments like whitewashing[4] and the Yellow Peril[5] stereotype, hate towards Asians was relatively less researched. The pandemic was a wake-up call to the Asian community in the West that the "model minority" is a myth and that they can be exploited and attacked when the society is in chaos and danger.

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[2] On May 8, 2020, United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres said that "the pandemic continues to unleash a tsunami of hate and xenophobia, scapegoating and scare-mongering" and urged governments to "act now to strengthen the immunity of our societies against the virus of hate."

[3] To see Jihadist, left-wing and other extremist usage of the COVID-19 pandemic, *see* (Commission for Countering Extremism, 2020).

[4] Refers to a casting practice in the film industry in which white actors are cast in non-white roles. For instance, the role of Japanese cyborg Motoko Kusanagi in Ghost in the Shell, was acted by Scarlett Johansson.

[5] The Yellow Peril is an old, visual imaginary fears from a belief that East Asian would threat to white Western power. It was deliberately used to colonize Asian countries and oppress the immigrants.

Literature Review

Recent studies[6] have documented how right-wing extremists have used the COVID-19 pandemic to make their own narratives and agenda (Comerford & Davey, 2020; Marone, 2020, 2021; McNeil-Wilson, 2020; Meleagrou-Hitchens & Crawford, 2020; White, 2020). Right-wing extremists have spread conspiracies such as claiming that 5G telecommunication technology would be the actual cause of the Coronavirus disease to legitimize their stance as anti-authority and anti-liberal (Meleagrou-Hitchens & Crawford, 2020) and accused minority communities of being responsible for the infection; mainly people of Chinese or Asian origin, but also Jews, Muslims and other minority groups, and migrants (McNeil-Wilson, 2020). Especially blaming other groups reflects the historical practice of "othering" that has existed over time linking infectious diseases to xenophobic sentiments (White, 2020).

Comerford and Davey (2020) analyzed that extremist groups use the global crisis as an opportunity to legitimize their propaganda. It is because extremism arises from a perception of "us versus them" and is rooted in a crisis-solution construct (Berger, 2018). It can also be shown in far-right extremism, which exploits the current pandemic as an opportunity to promote their radical, supremacist, and often violent solution as a "simple" solution for the crisis (Marone, 2020).

However, the linkage between COVID-19 and violent extremism should be analyzed as a complicated process, often chaotic interaction between macro, meso, and micro-level (Marone, 2021). *Figure* 1 illustrates this complex interaction between the COVID-19 pandemic (macro-level), extremist organizations (meso-level), and individual experiences (micro-level). The diagram shows the non-linear, complex interactions that generally indicate the correlation between the pandemic crisis, individual radicalization, and rising violent extremism. It is vital to notice that the activities of extremist organizations provide ideological justification at an individual level. Then, ideological justification led to individual radicalization. Later, radicalized individuals and extremist activities can be linked in a way, such as via recruitment, support, and online mobilization.
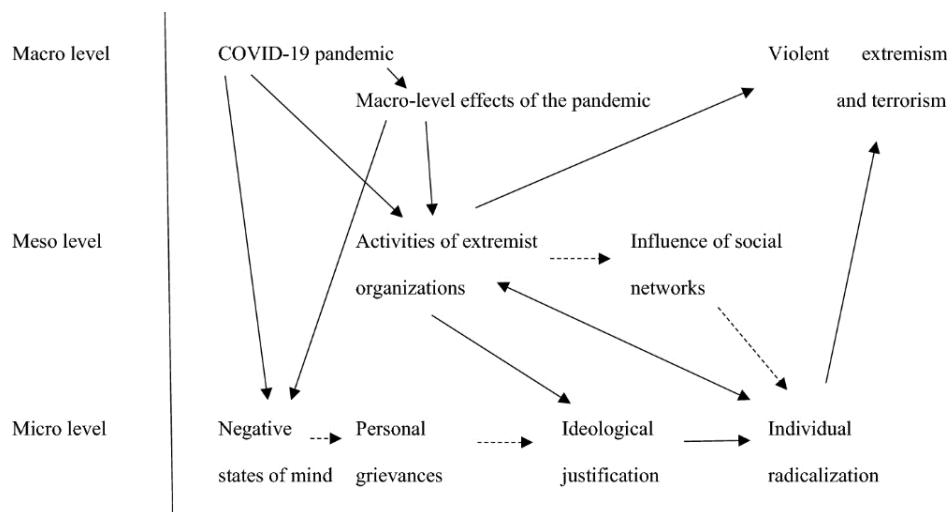
Figure 1. A stylized framework of the impact of COVID-19 on violent extremism and terrorism based on the interplay among the macro (societal), meso (group), and micro (individual) levels of analysis.
Note: From "Hate in the time of coronavirus: Exploring the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on violent extremism and terrorism in the West," by F. Marone, 2021.

Applying this part of the diagram to anti-Asian sentiments by right-wing extremism can be helpful. Anti-Asian sentiments of right-wing extremists have provided the "justification" of Asian hate to individuals that stimulate individual radicalizations and later increase right-wing extremist

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[6] To *see* more updated research, *check* International Network for Hate Studies (2022).

legitimacy and social support. Finally, joint violence and terrorism towards Asians appeared by both individuals and extremist organizations. The framework showing the vicious cycle explains why anti-Asian sentiments and violence are growing transnationally.

Methodology

The methodology used in this article is a hybrid of several techniques. First, articles from credible news sources were gathered and analyzed to understand better how right-wing extremists have used the COVID-19 pandemic to advance their agenda and spread anti-Asian rhetoric. At the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, and during the COVID-19 pandemic, people in the US, UK, and Canada, used hateful language on the social media platforms like Twitter. Therefore, the article also employed text mining techniques in order to find out how people used certain tactics and words in spreading Anti-Asian rhetoric in the COVID-19 context.

Text mining techniques were used to collect and analyze tweets about right-wing extremism and the COVID-19 pandemic, in addition to gathering articles from credible news sources. This was done to gain a more nuanced understanding of the language and messaging employed by right-wing extremists in relation to the pandemic, as well as how it affects Asian communities. The tweets were carefully chosen based on their topic and content relevance, ensuring that only tweets relevant to the research question were included in the analysis. Text mining tools were used to extract specific information from tweets, such as keywords, hashtags, and mentions of particular individuals or groups, and to gain insights into the data's underlying themes and patterns. The tweets were then thoroughly examined, with an emphasis on identifying key language patterns, common themes, and recurring ideas and messages. During the pandemic, this analysis helped to uncover the strategies and tactics used by right-wing extremists to spread anti-Asian rhetoric and advance their agenda.

Finally, the information and news gathered from the articles and tweets were analyzed and synthesized to form the foundation of the article. Identifying patterns, themes, and key points in the data, as well as fact-checking and verifying the accuracy of the information presented, were all part of this analysis. Since the characteristic of social media remains as anonymous, it was hard to realize the findings of Twitter text mining were only from certain members of extreme groups. In this sense, the paper relied on insights from articles and news in going beyond the tendency findings to discover patterns of right-wing extremist tactics in using the COVID-19

Overall, the methodology used in this article was a mixture of primary trend research via Twitter text minding with a qualitative study based on articles and news. It aimed to thoroughly understand how right-wing extremists have used the COVID-19 pandemic to advance their agenda and spread anti-Asian rhetoric.

Framing the Pandemic to Promote Anti-Asian Hate

Right-wing extremism has exploited the COVID-19 pandemic since its initial stage. In this phase, framing was essential to divide who was the victim and who was responsible for the infection. As mentioned above, extremism is based on the strict division between "us and them." Therefore, in their rhetoric, the In-group was positioned as the "victims, while others were blamed for the crisis. In the case of right-wing extremism, this division was mainly by ethnicity as "white VS other."[7]

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[7] This division can be shown better in the *Boogaloo* movement, based on a belief that race war will emerge in a time of crisis. The belief emerged from *The Great Replacement* and *the white genocide,* two far-right conspiracy theories claiming that the white race is being directly and deliberately endangered, which are popular among right-wing extremists.

This separation and framing were widely spread, especially in the early pandemic. It is because there was a lack of firm knowledge, which makes the public vulnerable in dealing with misinformation and disinformation. Moreover, the pandemic has generated not only a health crisis but also social and economic grievances. So that the situation motivated individuals to seek "solutions" to overcome it; in this context, it can be concluded that the early pandemic was a fertile environment for the right-wing extremist narrative, which offers a vivid and straightforward "solution" as blaming Chinese and Asian. Therefore, right-wing extremists could use this opportunity to link COVID-19 to their political goals. In this part, the tactics of right-wing extremists will be analyzed into two categories: 1) labeling and 2) conspiracies.

Labeling

The labeling was about categorizing COVID-19 as Chinese-related. The COVID-19 virus was initially called the "Wuhan-virus" in the early pandemic, named after the first city where the virus was detected. World Health Organization (hereafter WHO) warned that the terminology could stigmatize certain regions or nations and set the official name for the virus as SARS-CoV-2 and the disease name as COVID-19 on February 11, 2020. However, despite the WHO announcement, several terminologies have been used in social media. Right-wing extremist groups used the term "Chinese Virus," "Kung-flu," "China virus," "Chinese plague," "Corona-chan," "the CCP (the Chinese Communist Party) virus," etc. The usage of these terminologies has generated a strong image association between China or Chinese and to COVID-19 virus.

For example, right-wing slogans and saying are also detected in Trump's administration. Trump himself and Trump's administration targeted many groups during his presidential period (Stevenson, 2019). Moreover, Trump publicly used "China Virus" and "Chinese Virus" in his tweets on March 16-18, 2020, and when he tweeted about COVID-19 along the line of words such as "China," "Chinese," "Chinas," as seen in *Figure* 2 of A.
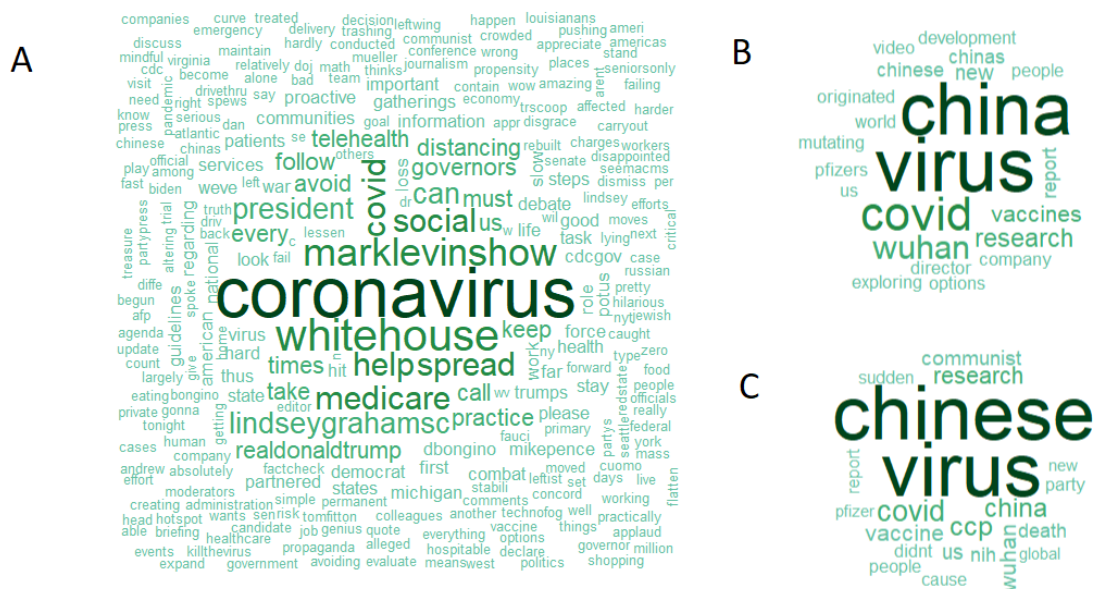
Figure 2. Word Clouds.
Source: Author's own calculation.
Note 1: **A**- Trump's Tweets between the 16th and 18th of March 2020. **B** and **C**- Tweets contain "China Virus" and "Chinese Virus" and other words that people use in the same tweets.
Note 2: The word cloud is created using Text Mining techniques in R studio.

Moreover, after Trump used "China Virus" and "Chinese Virus" in his tweets on Twitter, people, predominantly right-wing supporters, used "China Virus" and "Chinese Virus" to describe

COVID-19 and the situation related to COVID-19, as seen in *Figure* 2 of B and C. These findings prove that such terminology promoted anti-Asian bias and exclusion (Little, 2020).

Figure 3 shows the usage of hashtags in English tweets during the early time of the COVID-19 outbreak. Clearly, the hashtag "coronavirus" has been chiefly used while the "wuhan" hashtag was used second mainly until the moment that WTO declared COVID-19 as the official name of the disease. It is crucial to notice that although the usage of the tag "wuhan" did not disappear, instead, it has been steadily used to describe and frame the pandemic.
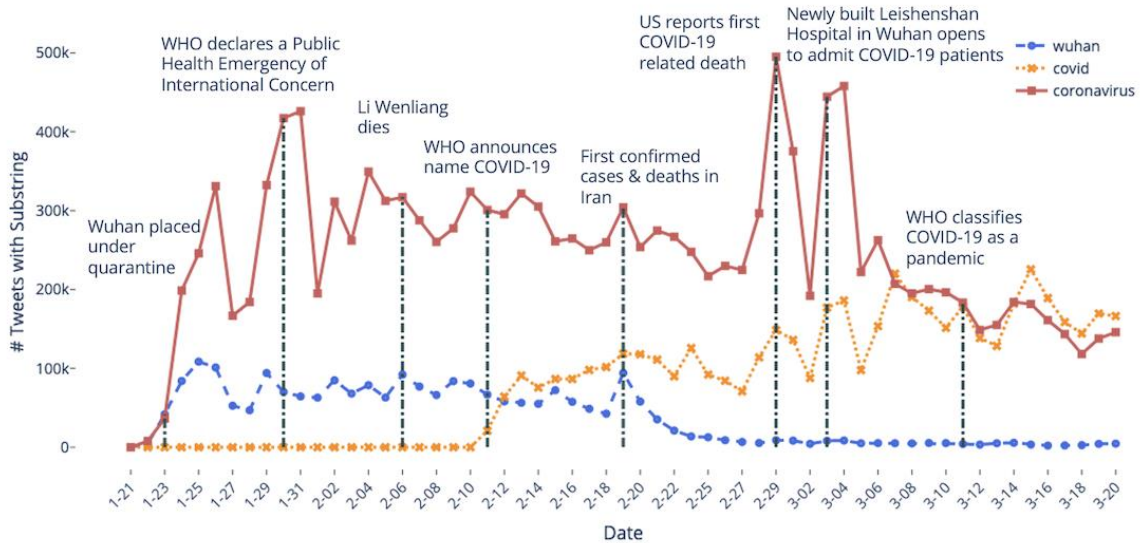
Figure 3. Usage of hashtags containing the substrings "Wuhan," "covid," and "coronavirus" over time.
Note: From "Tracking Social Media Discourse About the COVID-19 Pandemic: Development of a Public Coronavirus Twitter Data Set" by Chen et al., 2020

Increasing anti-Asian terminologies are clearly shown in *Figure* 4. Two graphs illustrate the numbers of posts in (a) 4Chan, which is named /pop/ and (b) Twitter have increased after the pandemic.

(a) /pol/   (b) Twitter
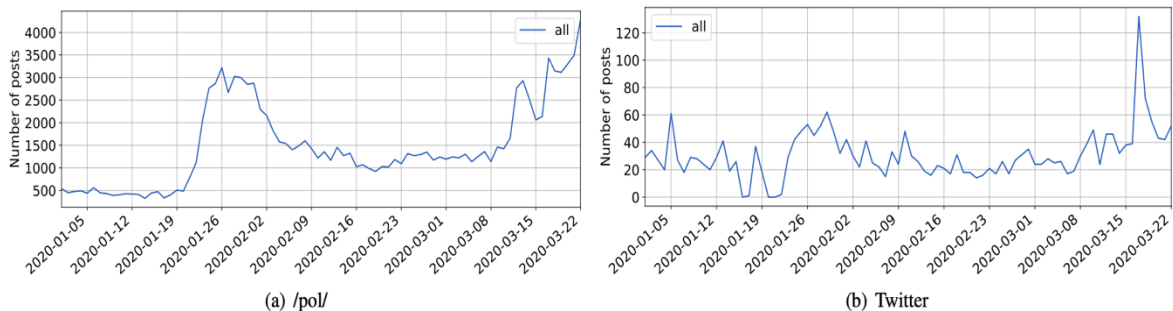
Figure 4. Mentions of Sinophobic racial slurs on 4chan (/pol/) and Twitter during the early pandemic (from January 1, 2020, to March 22, 2020).
Note: From "Go eat a bat, Chang!: An Early Look on the Emergence of Sinophobic Behavior on Web Communities in the Face of COVID-19" by Schild et al., 2020.

This trend shows that right-wing political leaders' usage of framing terms has significantly led to the growth of other anti-Asian terminologies among the public. In the case of the United States, President Donald Trump uses the word "Chinese virus," and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo uses the "Wuhan virus." As can be seen from *Figure* 4, the usage of Sinophobic terms increased after the usage of terms by Trump and Pompeo in mid-March. In this phase, it can be concluded that right-wing politicians and individuals deliberately used race-based terms to frame and emphasize that "the virus originated from China." The framing terminologies are firstly adopted by right-wing communities and create negative and hostile emotions towards 'the Other' group, and later it leads to the development of the manipulative rhetoric justifying the hate towards a certain minority.

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Conspiracy theories

While setting terms has an impact on subconsciously relating Chinese to the virus, the whole narrative based on speculations has been spread fast online. This spread of conspiracies was even more harmful, leading to public disinformation, stronger stigmatization, and mistrust towards the authorities. Experts have analyzed this situation "Infodemics" and considered it a severe threat to the pandemic (World Health Organization, 7-8 April 2020). However, some right-wing politicians and media may have encouraged those conspiracy theories to gain more legitimacy. For instance, US Republican senator Tom Cotton was famous for framing these speculations as legit hypotheses on Twitter (*Figure* 5).

Figure 5. United States Senator Tom Cotton's Tweets showing the list of speculations regarding the source of the COVID-19 virus (@SenTomCotton, 2020).

Among these, the three most popular conspiracy theories were selected for analysis; 1) The virus escaped from a lab, 2) the virus was a Chinese bioweapon, and 3) infected people were imported to threaten the white population. The main narratives of each conspiracy are briefly summarized (*C1 to C3*).

C1: The virus escaped from a Chinese lab

Wuhan has a virology institute where researchers have been studying bat coronaviruses. One of these researchers, Shi Zhengli, expressed a concern that COVID-19 can be escaped from a lab. However, it was found later that the COVID-19 virus did not match any of the virus samples from the lab. The conspiracy believers perceived this was an attempt by the Chinese government to hide their responsibility and believed the virus was leaked from the lab.

C2: The virus is a Chinese bioweapon

This theory even goes further and argues that the Chinese government made the COVID-19 virus. It claims that the virus was engineered in a nearby laboratory and then released, either deliberately or accidentally. The main evidence supporting this claim is that China's only maximum Biosafety lab is also located in Wuhan. Conservative media has repeatedly highlighted the connection, despite experts saying that there is absolutely no scientific evidence that the virus is artificial (The Washington Post, 2020).

C3: Infected immigrants using this opportunity to threaten white communities

The theory claims that minority groups are deliberately spreading the virus to attack white communities. It is a radical "us vs them" narrative. The theory implies that minority communities are taking advantage of the crisis to riot and commit crimes (Comerford & Davey, 2020). Different from the other two speculations, in a sense, the theory does not deal with the source of the virus but claims that immigrants are a direct threat to the white population.

These three conspiracy theories do not have any scientific evidence and can be easily debunked. Experts try to combat the spread of conspiracies to prevent harmful consequences. However, it is difficult since conspiracy theories move from one platform to another, such as from 4Chan[8] to Twitter. The seeding conspiracy theory was organized by online communities and carried by individuals. Due to this decentralized characteristic, finding the initial source and actors is hard. Despite its weak evidence and unknown authorship, the conspiracies effectively spread among people via social media.

According to a survey among US citizens (Pew Research Center, 2020a), nearly three-in-10 Americans believe that COVID-19 was made in a lab. It is phenomenal that 23 percent of Americans think the virus was made and intentionally released by the Chinese government (*C2*). This theory gained mainstream coverage after Tom Cotton amplified theories about the Wuhan Institute of Virology "is linked to Beijing's covert bio-weapons program." Unverified social media accounts carried these speculations to government officials and other known figures, which led to so-called "Infodemics," which disturbed the entire information ecosystem (Bandeira et al., 2021).

Both labeling and conspiracy strategies significantly show the image of Asians or Chinese by right-wing extremists as the "others" who are mainly responsible for the whole pandemic crisis. Labeling terminologies and conspiracies linking the COVID-19 virus to Asians were effective in making Asians who "deserve" blame for the pandemic situation. Thus, two tactics have a function of framing COVID-19 as "made by" or "fault by" Chinese and Asian. This narrative of right-wing extremism has strengthened their "legitimacy" to hate "others."

Characteristics and Impacts of Activities

It is significant to notice that both tactics were online-based. Since the COVID-19 pandemic made outdoor gatherings difficult, propaganda and conspiracy spreading have mainly happened in social media. Websites and social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and others were used to spread memes and conspiracy theories, while Telegram, an encrypted messaging app, is primarily used by right-wing extremists in communication among them. Members of white supremacists discuss the tactics and strategies via Telegram while publicly using anti-China sentiment to promote their cause. However, the usage of Telegram cannot be considered as the impact of COVID-19. Anti-government activists and terrorists have preferred Telegram because the platform is hard to be censored by authorities.

The correlation between social isolation and individual radicalization led to the right-wing extremist online tactic being successful. As people are mostly at home, they spend much more time online than usual. It increased the potential impact of disinformation and extremist propaganda. There was a modest positive correlation between change in white supremacist search volume and time spent under "stay at home" in the United States (Moonshot, 2020a) and searches for violent far-right extremist content and time spent under lockdown in Canada (Moonshot, 2020b). Moreover, people during the pandemic have nerve and feelings of uncertainty, especially regarding the future, which could make violent extremist narratives more appealing.

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[8] 4chan is an image board that allows the anonymous posting of information. one of the sub-communities as the Politically Incorrect board (/pol/) is known, simply because it is for the discussion of world events.

The online narrative led to an actual increase of offline harm and violence towards Asians in all three countries; the US (Pew Research Center, 2020b; Zhou, 2020), the UK (Grierson, 2020; Schumann, 2021), and Canada (Kong et al., 2021). In particular, Anti-Asian hate crimes increased by 146 percent in the US (Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism, 2021).

According to the Stop AAPI Hate Reporting Center, Asians have experienced Verbal harassment, deliberate avoidance, physical harm, civil rights violations, and online harassment from the workplace, public, and school. The report shows that rhetoric is not harmless; instead, it brings actual harm to people. Two reported incidents were retrieved to show how anti-Asian hate impact individuals from the Stop APPI Hate report (Jeung et al., 2021):

> There was graffiti in front of a supermarket that said, "CHINA OFF MY FACE." It was written quite large for pedestrians to read as they walked by. (Astoria, NY)

> Two white, middle-aged men, who have been my neighbors for over fifteen years, approached me threateningly on the street, pulled down the corners of their eyes and said, "Go back to Wuhan, b*tch and take the virus with you!" When I called them vile, they then called me a "Thai wh*re" and threatened to beat up my husband. (West Vancouver, Canada)

Both cases show that Asians have experienced hostile attitudes from society due to increased anti-Asian sentiments during the pandemic. Thus, it is clear that this anti-Asian rhetoric spread by right-wing extremists has already impacted radicalized individuals and mobilized them to cause actual harm in the real world.

Conclusion

Right-wing extremism has used the COVID-19 crisis as an opportunity to legitimize its claims using uncertainty and fear among people. Anti-Asian rhetoric by right-wing extremism has impacted risen hate crimes towards Asian and Asian descendants in all three countries: the US, the UK, and Canada. It was shown that online social media, web communities, and the encrypted messaging app were essential in framing the crisis and spreading their conspiracies and communication.

Due to COVID-19, the anti-Chinese and anti-Asian discourses was framed and distributed via an online platform such as Twitter, Facebook, 4Chan, and Telegram. The purpose of stimulating Asian hate by right-wing extremists is linked to their optimal goal of destroying society and building the "white ethnostate."

Civil society and experts have already expressed concerns that this anti-Asian rhetoric could normalize the right-wing extremist ideology and increase their social legitimacy. Right-wing extremist groups and individuals have perceived the COVID-19 crisis to dismantle multicultural and liberal society by promoting disinformation and conspiracy theories to enhance their anti-immigrant or anti-government agendas. Thus, Anti-Asian rhetoric by right-wing extremists during the pandemic should be understood as an attempt to promote extremist ideology and recruit more members. Anti-Asian rhetoric for promoting right-wing extremist ideology should be researched more to prevent further tragedies.

Indeed, the COVID-19 pandemic has not only impacted Chinese and Asians, and the findings should not be exaggerated as making Chinese and Asians "the victim." However, it is worth noticing that for Asians, the pandemic brought multidimensional burdens.

It is clear that the global society should not overlook the growing anti-Asian sentiments online and offline, and further research about the connection between right-wing extremist groups and radicalized individuals is crucial to tackling their propaganda and harmful activities.

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The legal Confrontation of Domestic Violence:
A Comparative Study Between Iraq and Italy

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ABSTRACT

Domestic violence is an offence and is one of the significant causes of the increase in the crime index of a state. It is a social phenomenon that has recently caught the attention of all and sundry. This concept generally refers to the mistreatment of a person with whom they have a close relationship, such as the relationship between husband and wife, parents and children, and siblings. Violence within the family also occurs against older grandparents, and finally, children may direct violence to their families in the form of reprisals aimed at vandalism and victimisation. This article sought to evaluate and examine the problem of domestic violence in general. The study was divided into three main sections: The first part was devoted to clarifying the concept of domestic violence. This section dealt with the nature of domestic violence. In the second section, the size of domestic violence in some Western and Arab countries was provided. The third and final section of the study examined the response to domestic violence in Iraqi national law, comparing the Italian law system.

Introduction

According to monotheistic religions, the first case of human violence recorded by history dates to the beginnings of human existence on earth when Qabil killed his brother Habil. If violence is the expression of a situation or the means by which people can control and harness other people to obey and fulfil their interests, women, children, seniors, and the disabled remain the most vulnerable to domestic violence within the family.

On the one hand, the family is considered the first brick in the building of society. It is a group of individuals living under one roof with which they have kinship and affinity (Al-Rumaihi, 2012, p.17). As Zaki Badawi defines it, it is the first social unity to preserve humankind and is based on the requirements of the collective mind and the different rules and societies (Ghaith, 1967, p.6). It also plays a fundamental role in shaping humans' character and behaviour in various stages of their lives. It is a social institution that also performs educational and psychological functions. Through it, children gain the general societal standards and prevailing cultural patterns. Hence the importance of parents' role in forming children's personalities because they play the first and foremost role in the early socialisation process and leave unmistakable fingerprints on the children's personalities (Al-Rumaihi, 2012, p. 69). The family is more than just a means of birth control and the raising of children and their numbers to play their role in social life as a functional group that provides its members with

many of the basic expectations and is of great importance to the emotional growth of the individual and provide him with a sense of economic security. These qualities that the family enjoys help them play their roles in the way society has set. Therefore, the family as a functional group needs factors and conditions to enable it to carry out its responsibilities without any disorder or disturbance (Halio, 2013, p. 2).

On the other hand, domestic violence is a negative phenomenon contrary to the principles of divine laws and human rights since the family is the basis of society to be protected from disintegration by taking legal measures and preventive means. This study will examine the issue of domestic violence in three sections: Firstly, the concept of domestic violence will be clarified. Secondly, the size of domestic violence in some Western and Arab countries will be evaluated. Finally, the response to domestic violence in Iraqi national law will be compared with the Italian law system.

The Conceptualisation of Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is one of the most widespread forms of violence. This kind of violence has been given attention because the family is the cornerstone of society and its fundamental structure. Domestic violence is a pattern of aggressive behaviour in which the strongest show their authority and power over the weak through all means, whether physical, verbal or emotional.

To begin with, we will address the definition of violence in terms of language and terminology and the attitude of Iraqi legislation on violence. Linguistically violence is against compassion, and it is the breach and the lack of companionship (Ibn al-Mundawar, 2008, p. 257). Violence comes from the act of violence; therefore, the cruel one is blamed for being violent (Tahani & Azza, 2007, p. 17). Hence, the literal meaning of violence is excessive intensity, which is against compassion and softness (Antoine, 1979, p. 777). It is a term that defines the illegal use of force or the threat of inflicting harm or damage on others (Al-Rumaihi, 2012, p. 16).

There is also confusion between "legitimate" violence (violence exercised by the state is assumed to be legitimate) and "unlawful" violence, where the former is not considered "violent" in the legal and political sense, at least from the point of view of some. In contrast, the latter is violence punishable by law. In addition, violence has many degrees, which begin with the pressures of using physical force to the maximum extent and end with psychological pressure (Abdullah, 2004, p. 10).

In *Lisan al-Arab* dictionary, "violence means blame and intimidation." In social sciences, "violence means harming others and seeking to break up social relations among family members," including violence against wife, husband, seniors, and family members as a whole, in ways of neglect and physical and moral abuse (Rumaihi, 2012, p. 16).

The attitude of Iraqi legislation on violence is clarified in the 2005 Constitution. Article 29 (IV) prohibits all forms of violence and abuse in the family, school and society. The Iraqi legislation used the term violence more broadly, whether as the essence of the criminalisation itself or as an aggravating circumstance of punishment. The word "violence" is also mentioned in some legislations issued in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. Although the word "violence" was the most crucial term in the law against domestic violence in the Kurdistan region in 2011, it came without definition. It seems that the legislature wanted to eliminate the hardship of self-imposed with complicated order, which is difficult to define and determine. It can be said that violence is one of the concepts that have been taken in different interpretive directions, which makes it difficult to establish a specific definition. However, violence is a mistake in saying or acting that often leads to emotional or physical abuse of the self or others.

Violence is one of the harmful acts that cannot produce a positive impact. Hence, we find the error in the argument that rights are restored only by violence since violence leads only to violence. Moreover, there is no need to delve into the legitimacy of violence from its illegitimacy after its morals have been proven by the various systems, heavenly or earthly, especially after proving its negativity and inability to produce positive effects.

Not surprisingly, domestic violence is one of the concepts that are not agreed on theoretically and procedurally. It is difficult to define it in theory because it is related to the social, cultural and temporal context of the behaviour of violence. Domestic violence behaviours are related to the custom, consensus and social acceptance of a group within a social context and specific spatial and temporal boundaries. Thus, the frame of reference for judging these behaviours is variable and culturally governed, making it socially different. The concept itself has multiple meanings and is governed by the observer's awareness, the structure of the actor and the reference frame of the actor and observer. What parents commit to education differs from what is achieved by parents for satisfactory purposes or to satisfy sexual deviations and what is engaged in a culture which is not necessarily in another culture or another society or even within the same community between the subculture and the mother culture (Al-Rumaihi, 2012, p. 75).

It was also defined as taking aggressive patterns of behaviour resulting from the existence of solid and unequal relations within the framework of the division of labour between men and women within the family and the consequent definition of the roles and status of each member of the family as dictated by the prevailing economic and social order in society (Wahab, 2000, p. 17).

World Health Organization (WHO) also defined domestic violence in 2002 as "any behaviour that occurs in an intimate relationship and causes physical, psychological or sexual harm and pain to the parties to that relationship (WHO, 2002, p. 5). It is noted in previous definitions that it emphasises the prevalence of violence within the context of family relations to exclude the possibility that this type of violence will overlap with other types, such as violence against women, children or the elderly, which are outside the family. It can be said that domestic violence is the violent behaviour of a family member that would cause physical or moral harm or both to the other person of the same family.

Domestic violence is an act of violence perpetrated by a member of the family against another member. These acts take many forms and vary in severity, stability and the quantity and quality of the damage caused. Domestic violence occurs as a result of a situation or frustration that indicates a high degree of tension and develops into aggression that crosses many contemporary and diverse societies (Al-Tair, 1997, p. 40).

Prevalence of Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is a widespread global problem in all societies. On the one hand, however, for example, the concept of honour, the symbolic dimension of violence against women, and honour killings, which are its direct form, tend to be identified with Eastern societies. Although the concept of honour includes broader meanings, it represents the set of values formed as male-oriented, which the man uses to control the woman, especially the sexuality of the woman. When the word honour is spoken, the first thing it evokes is the sexual purity of women. If a woman acts contrary to the rules of sexual abstinence determined by custom, her honour is deemed tarnished. In ultra-traditional segments of society, the penalty for this is death as a matter of tradition, which is how honour killings occur. In other words, honour killing is the murder of a woman on suspicion of deviating from the sexual norms imposed by society. Due to their visibility, honour killings are a boundary-marking

area between different segments of society in modern societies with ethnic and cultural diversity. Honour killings are seen as a direct form of violence against women specific to traditional social segments and are also seen in Western societies. However, in modern Western societies, honour killings have been "ethnicised" through minority communities with different cultural repertoires, and the "multiculturalism" paradigm based on respect for diversity and valuing cultural differences has led to non-intervention in the home, which is seen as a "private space" in cases of violence against women based on cultural and religious origins. Their overemphasis has led to women being invisible, ignored and not heard (Hamzaoğlu & Konuralp, 2019a, p.52; 2018; 2019b; Özdil, 2021; 2022).

On the other hand, no accurate statistics show the actual size of domestic violence in all countries of the world, despite its prevalence. This is due to the propensity to cover up family problems and not reveal them. In this respect, the current statistics do not represent the actual size of domestic violence in society. Therefore, this section tries to show the extent of the prevalence of domestic violence in the contemporary world. Then it presents the most critical efforts to cope with it at the international and local levels, i.e., Western and Arab worlds, as well as the Kurdistan region in Iraq.

To begin with the United States of America, in 1994, national statistics indicated that about 429 children out of every 1000 were referred to competent authorities for alleged abuse and neglect. The Gallup survey in 1995 indicated that three million children out of 67 million were victims of physical abuse by their parents, accounting for 44 out of every 1000 children (Mohammad, 2006, p.22).

In terms of domestic violence against women, according to the United States Department of Justice statistics, one in four women is a victim of domestic violence at least once in their lives, and every day three women and one man are killed by their partner. About 85% of victims of domestic violence are women. Between 2000 and 2006, domestic violence caused 10600 deaths (Tjaden &Thoennes, 2000).

All national observatories, international bodies and prevention centres agree that the number of domestic violence in the world is underestimated because it is usually derived from spontaneous declarations or complaints, while victims' difficulty in recognising and reporting abuse is one of the most complex and problematic aspects of the problem (Russo, 2013).

In France, about 2 million women are being beaten in this phenomenon, which police say includes about 10% of French families (El-Erian, 2002). According to the French national study, 164,000 women were subjected to physical violence, 33,000 to sexual violence, and 26,000 to types of abuse. 7 out of 10 women were repeatedly assaulted, while one out of four abused women filed a complaint with the police. One hundred forty-three thousand children are born in a home where their mothers were exposed to violence of various kinds. In 2014, 25 children were at home during the killing of a parent (El-Erian, 2002). Sixty-three thousand cases of rape occurred in 2014, and 10% of them went for psychological counselling (Abu Chakra, 2015).

In Britain, more than 50% of the victims are victims of the husband or partner. Domestic violence rose by 46% in one year to the end of March 1992, and their husbands or partners beat 25% of women. The British police receive 100,000 calls a year to complain of assault, and they do not notify the police until they are repeatedly attacked dozens of times (Abu Chakra, 2015).

A survey published in Britain showed increased violence against women. According to this survey involving 7000 women, 28% said their husbands attacked them. According to another British report, the husband hits his wife without a reason to justify beatings, which constitutes 77% of the beatings (El-Erian, 2002).

We find that violence against women exists in European countries as well as throughout the world. However, the development of laws and penal mechanisms reduces its rates compared to other countries still seeking to amend their laws to control violence against women.

Domestic violence against women in the Arab world has varied statistics that emphasise the existence and growth of this problem in Arab society. In contrast, some Arab countries have taken advanced steps to reduce this problem by issuing special laws to prevent domestic violence. Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Bahrain stand as examples. At the same time, the rest of the other Arab countries have set out specific provisions of the penal code.

The Kingdom of Bahrain has taken a positive step forward in the issue of combating domestic violence by issuing law No. (17) on "Protection from Domestic Violence" in 2015, which serves all members of the family, especially women. The law covered physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence within the family and addressed protection measures when family members were subjected to violence. It also includes sections relating to prevention, protection and confidentiality in dealing with related issues and mechanisms to trigger advocacy and reporting and raise complaints to the competent authorities. Today, the Kingdom of Bahrain has eight official and non-governmental bodies providing services to victims of domestic violence, especially women. The official bodies include the social services offices in the health centres, which are affiliated with the Ministry of Health, Dar Al Aman shelter and Batelco Centre for Family Violence cases which are affiliated with the Ministry of Labour and Social Development and the Women's Support Centre which is affiliated with the Supreme Council for Women. At the same time, non-governmental organisations include Aisha Yatim Centre for Family Guidance, affiliated with the Bahrain Women Union. According to the Legal Advisory and Research Department of the Legislative and Legal Advisory Council in the Kingdom of Bahrain, the official statistics recorded for cases of domestic violence to government institutions and centres of the ministries of the state in 2015 amounted to 1655 cases, 75% of which was against women. Cases are increasing as the number of cases recorded in the first half of 2016 amounted to 859, more than half of the cases that occurred last year, including 73% against women. The details of these statistics show that more than half of domestic violence cases fall on the wife by her husband (Al-Fardan, 2016, p. 22).

The family in today's Saudi society has become different from the family that prevailed in the past. Many households in Saudi Arabia have become economically and socially independent, dealing with the problems they face in modern ways. Their members resort to individual methods of solving them. They also use official institutions more than the family members or the tribe, as was previously in extended families.

Social change has also brought with it many new values, standards and goals, such as confirmation of material success, high aspirations, and expansion of the means that lead to goals. These factors raise the level of nervous tension in the individual, which is the source of many social problems. Therefore, in modern societies, the rates of some organic, psychological and social diseases have been raised, and tensions have also led to the emergence of crime, which has increased in number and diversity. Violent crimes may be one of the most important patterns that are growing in every direction, where domestic violence is a branch of violent crime that has been discussed in the past three decades.

Official statistics have shown that the rate of violence in Saudi Society has increased, as it ranks third in the list of registered crimes according to the Central Statistics of the Ministry of Interior, which represents 16% of the recorded crimes in 2003. The statistics of the Riyadh Region Police show us the steady increase in the phenomenon of violence and aggression in Saudi Society, where the number of violent and assault crimes registered in the police departments in 1997 amounted to 1005 incidents

of assault. In 1999, the number of cases of violence and abuse reached 1406 incidents, an increase of 40%. The number of incidents of self-abuse, including murder, death threats, shooting, assaults and speculation, according to the Statistical Yearbook of the Ministry of the Interior in 2003, amounted to 13838 incidents, representing 16% of the total reported criminal incidents in 2003. In the case of domestic violence against children in 2013, 112 out of 360 cases of domestic violence were violence against children were reported (Al-Saghir, 2012, p. 8-13). These statistics confirm the increase in violence in Saudi society in recent years until this phenomenon became one of the most critical issues that the institutions of society give their interest in the presentation and discussion through the media, in seminars and conferences.

For domestic violence in Jordanian society, statistics show that 47% of women are beaten permanently. Violence against women occurs more in poor areas and among uneducated groups. Although violence occurs in all regions and groups, the methods of violence among these groups may differ. While everyone in the family can know about beatings and watch them without moving a finger, violence in the most densely populated areas is hidden and difficult to know as a result of the housing spacing, and the shape of the relationship is also different so that it is calculated rather than automatically (Ali, 2014, pp. 3-4).

As for children, they are exposed in their homes to one or more forms of violence, such as punishment and emotional, physical and sexual abuse. Because the abuse suffered by the child is not all at one level of severity, he has classified each form of abuse into levels. Child abuse providers have identified the same housing as parents, family elders other than parents, siblings and/or relatives and/or other children. The results indicated that parents and guardians are a small and medium source, followed by siblings, relatives, and other children who share the same house with the child. More than half (52%) were subjected to minor punishment, and more than a third (34%) of the average punishment of parents and guardians. The male share of punishment was slightly higher than that of females (59% and 46%). The female share of the average punishment was higher than that of males (36% and 31%) (Elian, 2007). These statistics also show that violence of various kinds does not depend on a particular group but on various groups. Thus, this indicates the seriousness of this phenomenon and the severity of suffering because of its negative effects on the future of individuals and the development of societies.

Due to the widespread manifestations of violence against women and the family and the negative impact on society, family and public order and on the development of society, in order to reduce these manifestations and the search for remedial solutions, the states issue laws to protect individuals from domestic violence and on this approach, the Kurdistan legislature enacted a law against domestic violence in Iraq.

Statistics indicate the registration of seven thousand and 445 cases of violence against women during the nine months of 2017 in the Kurdistan region. In this period, there were 38 cases of killing, 166 burning, and 6987 cases of torture and complaint. As a result of the outbreak of violence, in 2017, the government took a step in this direction when a new Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior was established in the name of the Directorate for Monitoring Violence Against Women. Subsequently, efforts by the government, the parliament and women's rights organisations resulted in the enactment of a law in parliament in the name of the Domestic Violence Act. Despite attempts by the government and women's rights organisations, the Directorate's figures continue to indicate violence against women. Violence against women in all its forms rose by 28.9% in 9 months in 2017 compared to the same rate of violence in 2016, according to the General Directorate of Violence Against Women. The numbers of violence against women during the nine months of 2016 were as

follows: Killing 30, suicide 60 cases, burning 169, burning herself 72, torture and complaints 4814, and sexual harassment 77 cases. The numbers for violence against women during the nine months of 2017 were as follows: Killing 38, suicide 58 cases, burning 166, burning herself 95, torture and complaints 6987, and sexual harassment 101 cases (Jamkari, 2017).

From these examples, it is possible to say that through these studies and statistics, we have shown the extent of domestic violence against women and the spread of violence has become a global problem.

Confrontation of Domestic Violence in Italian and Iraqi National Laws

Domestic violence is a global and internal problem that transcends local boundaries and has become a global problem that international organisations struggle to combat. Although no international instrument against domestic violence is directly and explicitly protected from violence by all individuals, violence prevention requires addressing the leading factors of violence and their scientific treatment. Preventive efforts must focus on the stages of childhood and adolescence because the behaviour of violence consists mainly of early childhood. A set of measures should be taken to eradicate evil from the human psyche, which leads to the awakening of moral feeling, which is the internal control of each individual to control his behaviour following established regulations and prevents aggression and violence, which is based on an attack on the rights of others. In this part, we will search for the means of combating domestic violence in the two countries, Italy and the Iraqi Kurdistan Region.

The Italian legal system does not provide specific measures to address domestic violence exclusively, but it provides strict details when women are victims of certain crimes. There are no official and complete statistics on the number of crimes committed against women (Senato Della Repubblica, Camera dei deputati, 2014, p. 8).

Although Italian law gives women their rights when a person, such as a husband, father, brother or any other person, physically assaults her with rape, theft, mutilation or harassment, the incidents of violence between the spouses have increased and multiplied, making it a severe phenomenon that threatens the entire Italian family which is somewhat consistent. The Italian National Statistical Center has revealed that at least 250,000 married and unmarried women are subjected to rape or sexual assault every year.

Many associations emphasise that the state is currently encouraging many sectors and social segments to find other transformations that undermine many of the gains achieved by Italian women and that through the media discourse, which has begun to focus on it recently in order to protect the family and maintenance of it and as well as returning to its origins (Al-Khnein, 2003).

Among the most relevant documents adopted by European Union institutions approved by the Council of the European Union on 6 December 2012 on combating violence and providing support services for victims of domestic violence, the document is required to improve, collect and disseminate administrative data and records and address complaints at the level of member states, judicial authorities, health and social authorities, and provide adequate training for workers who are concerned with victims of violence with strengthening national health services and social infrastructure against women. It should also be noted that the resolution "Combating violence against women" adopted by the European Parliament on 25 February 2014 and recommendations addressed to other European institutions and member states (Senato Della Repubblica, Camera dei deputati, 2014, p. 33).

In the Kurdistan region, a special law was issued to combat domestic violence and protect the family from it. This is the law against domestic violence No. (8) of 2011. The first paragraph of Article 2 defined a set of acts, for example, and considered it as family violence and that some of these acts were not constituted a crime under the Iraqi Penal Code No. (111) of 1969, the same law in force in the Kurdistan Region.

The law provided for the formation of a court competent in cases of domestic violence and the obligation of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in the Kurdistan Region to provide shelters for victims of domestic violence and to obligate it to coordinate with the Ministry of Health to secure health care and rehabilitation of those affected by domestic violence.

The law also provides for many criminal proceedings that apply to crimes (Mahwash, 2006, p. 34). In order to solve and reduce the problem of domestic violence, the Directorate of Combating Violence against Women, in cooperation with the concerned authorities, has taken a general step and a new way through the Center of Family Counsel. The method of resolving disputes in the Family Counsel Center is as follows: Legal advisor: This advisor has been appointed by the Directorate and works on personal problems such as marriage, divorce, and all kinds of domestic violence. Appointment of a psychiatrist and a social researcher: They are appointed by a psychiatric centre, and a psychiatrist treats every person who needs a doctor. Providing legal counsel: Anyone who needs legal advice gets all the advice she/he needs—providing accommodation for children separated from their parents and people with no place or behaviour to violence (Sharmin, 2015).

Conclusion

The study found that there is a high level of domestic violence against children and women in Iraq and Italy. Both Governments have made efforts to address the issue of violence against women, including through the adoption of laws and policies and the establishment and integration of government bodies responsible for promoting and strengthening women's rights. However, these achievements have not reduced the female murder rate or translated into tangible improvements in the lives of many women and girls.

Violence against women is punishable or criminalised by Italy and Iraq. Despite this, it changes according to the cases. For example, forcing an adult or child to enter a marriage is a criminal offence in Iraq, and also in Italy, the situation is the same. Also, in Italy, there are no dedicated statistical surveys capable of providing information on forced marriage; however, even if there is a phenomenon that is difficult to detect because of its complex characteristics.

Despite the current political and economic challenges, concerted and coordinated efforts to address violence against women through the practical and innovative use of limited resources must remain a priority. High levels of domestic violence, which contribute to high levels of female murder, require serious attention.

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A Perspective on Critical Security Concept and International Migration Nexus through Copenhagen School: The Quest for Societal Security

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the relationship between critical security concept and international migration. The main research question of the study is how international migration could be comprehended through Critical Security Studies (CSS) and Copenhagen School. CSS is believed to emerged subsequent to Robert Cox's renowned argument as problem-solving and critical theories after the 1990s. Thus, CSS questions the mainstream theories and their assumptions about the concept of security to deepen it. Traditional Security Studies (TSS) mainly consider state as the referent object, yet CSS promotes the idea that there might be other issues to be threatened such as society. Therefore, societal security is one of the areas of CSS' understanding of security. Additionally, Copenhagen School provided the idea that an issue might be put in the field of security through a speech act, that is, securitization, and international migration is one of the common focus areas of securitisation theory. This study, therefore, utilised CSS and securitisation frameworks to comprehend a critical view on international migration, focusing on societal security. This paper suggests that international migration should be considered as an opportunity for diversity rather than an existential threat, and a new political agenda for countries being compelled with xenophobia and societal security issues is needed.

Introduction

How could we perceive international migration from the lens of societal security? To answer this question, we have to look up the discussion between critical and traditional security perspectives. Critical and traditional approaches have been competing in all science fields for decades. However, the critical vs traditional debate has been a significant progress in theoretical debates in International Relations (IR) field. Robert Cox's article triggered the debate regarding critical and problem-solving theories (Cox, 1981). The classification he provided argues problem-solving theories as they take the world into consideration as it is, whereas the critical theories approach is sceptical about world order and power relations (Browning & McDonald, 2013, p. 238).

As it is true that Cox's article and interpretation sparked a debate among IR scholars, Critical Security Studies (CSS) came to the agenda of scholars only in the 1990s (Booth, 2007, p. 29; Browning & McDonald, 2013, p. 236). Originally, CSS had its roots in peace studies (Peoples & Vaughan-

Williams, 2021, p. 32). The critical theory and security studies nexus has been explained by Browning & McDonald (2013, p. 238) as follows:

> Applied to the study of security, such an understanding of a 'critical' approach encourages a focus on the socially constructed nature of security and a series of fundamental questions such as: 'Whose security is (or should be) prioritised?', 'What are the key threats to security and how are they identified?', 'Where do security discourses come from?' and 'Whose interests do they serve?'

International migration, a worldwide phenomenon, has been paid attention to by various disciplines. Security studies are one of the vigorous fields to argue international migration from the perspective of different ways of security. The traditional perception of security mostly emphasises the state's security and military means of protection. Nonetheless, the critical vs traditional debate initiated the attempts to broaden the meaning and scope of security studies. As a part of this intention to deepen the understanding of security concept, CSS has been a hot topic since the 1990s among IR scholars.

The developments in CSS and security studies have also sparked discussions in the field of international migration. Increasing numbers of immigrants in certain countries, shrinking economies, terrorism debates, and cultural insecurities have been linked to each other. The increasing irregular migration has upraised concerns regarding border security, migration control, and securitisation (Kaynar & Ak, 2016, p. 244). Especially in Europe, international migration has been a hot topic for societal and economic security dimensions (Keser & Ak, 2016, p. 10). Therefore, international migration has started to be securitised in the context of Copenhagen School's (CS) securitisation. The perception of locals to the immigrants and immigrants' reactions to the incumbent culture and society emerge the tension between locals and immigrants; thus, international migration started to be evaluated through the lens of national security (Akarçay & Ak, 2018, p. 198). The speech act of securitisation as labelling an issue to be an existential threat to the referent object has been studied by various scholars over the years. Although it is commonly believed that there are three main areas related to immigration and security nexus, namely national, economic, and societal, the latter is the vital point of this study's scope. The existing literature provides insights into security and international migration. Yet, this paper is intended to provide brief information about CSS, CS, and the international migration relationship. This study will, therefore, briefly outline the CSS and immigration nexus and provide views on the societal security of immigration. To do so, in this research, we organised the paper as a theoretical discussion. After the theoretical frameworks of CSS and CS, we have clustered our ideas about societal security and international migration nexus regarding CSS and the securitisation of CS. In conclusion, this paper suggests that societal security and international migration nexus should be analysed thoroughly by States to prepare their political agendas for future migration waves. The governments should first address xenophobia, far-right populism, and societal security concerns.

Methodology and Literature

This paper methodologically follows a qualitative format through a literature review and a theoretical discussion. We have utilised secondary sources such as publications to comprehend the CSS approach and CS to achieve this end. The first part of the paper has been devoted to understanding what CSS is and how it applies to international migration. After providing the information regarding CSS and international migration nexus, we then look upon CS, securitisation, and societal security relationship. Although several research studies have studied the CSS and CS, this paper particularly seeks the answer to the quest for societal security and international migration. The unique value of this study comes from this approach to the international migration and security concerns nexus.

The CSS concept has diverged from TSS in the existing literature regarding emancipation, societal security, and ethics (Aradau et al., 2014; Nunes, 2012; Bourne & Bulley, 2011; Harrington & Lecavalier, 2014; Wæver, 2012; Booth, 2005). Furthermore, fear, risk, and violence have been integrated into security studies through the CSS approach (Bìrdìşlì, 2014; Stamnes, 2004) while criticising realism's foundations regarding security (Newman, 2010). On the other hand, CS is formulated through securitisation and sectoral understanding in security studies according to the related literature, and it is labelled as a speech act (Wæver, 2012; Taureck, 2006). New sectors such as politics, the military, the environment, and society have been added to security by the CS approach (Buzan et al., 1998). Since this paper looks at the perspective through a societal security lens, immigration, incumbent culture, and identity relationship have been theoretically argued using the existing literature (Karyotis, 2007).

Therefore, this paper is formatted as follows: The discussion about CSS, brief information about CS and international migration, and then the criticism of security studies through CSS and CS primarily focusing on societal security concept. Besides the existing literature, the unique value and authenticity of this paper have been produced with the discussion part.

Critical Security Studies (CSS)

One could easily understand traditional security studies and their supporting points. World War II (WWII) and Cold War marked the traditional security perspective as military security due to the war-prone nature of IR. Security is, thus, "concerned with the preservation of the state from external threats by military means," according to the traditional approach (Mutimer, 2009, p. 10). Yet, the post-Cold War era triggered a new debate about security by asking these famous questions: What is security? Whose security? Therefore, one can easily distinguish the security perceptions of the Cold War era and the post-Cold War era (McCormack, 2010, p. 28). Obviously, the state-centred security understanding that the conflict between states was not applicable anymore after the Cold War (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, p. 34). Accordingly, the optimistic and pessimistic views have competed during the post-Cold War era. Optimists presented their beliefs that a new era of peace was started (Krause & Williams, 2002, p. 33). As Fukuyama (1992) declared, the end of the Cold War was perceived as a military-oriented and state-centred security approach. On the other hand, the pessimistic view advocated that a clash of civilisations will occur as a result of weapons proliferation (Huntington, 1997; Krause & Williams, 2002, p. 33).

In this regard, CSS is believed to emerge after the Cold War, and the main point of CSS is to extend the security concept. Violence, fear, and risk have been added to the concept of security, and the reasons have been questioned for the security issues after the Cold War (Bìrdìşlì, 2014; Stamnes, 2004, p. 162). CSS mainly aims to criticise traditional schools of security, which put the state at the epicentre of security issues. Another assumption of CSS is that security threats are socially and politically produced (Aradau et al., 2014). The politicisation of security challenges realism, the dominant theory of security during the Cold War posed by CSS; CSS scholars tended to approach security as a political process (Nunes, 2012, pp. 346–347). CSS also brought ethics to the security agenda (Bourne & Bulley, 2011; Harrington & Lecavalier, 2014). Although there are various schools in CSS, according to Wæver, Aberystwyth School should be taken into consideration as representing CSS due to the emancipatory concept (Wæver, 2012, p. 52). Emancipation is a vital concept of ethics. Booth (2005, p. 181) stated that it is the heart of CSS, and the connection between security and emancipation has been highlighted by CSS (Aradau, 2004, pp. 390, 397; Nunes, 2012, p. 350). As a security component, emancipation is explained by Booth (1997, 2007). Basically, according to Booth (1997, p. 110):

> [e]mancipation means freeing people, as individuals and groups, from the social, physical, economic, political, and other constraints that stop them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do, of

which war, poverty, oppression, and poor education are a few. Security and emancipation are, in fact, two sides of the same coin.

CSS, according to Wyn Jones, "is for 'the voiceless, the unrepresented, the powerless,' and its purpose is their emancipation" (Wyn Jones, 1999, p. 123). Therefore, it is significant to understand that CSS is sceptical about the nature of security studies and the general concept of security. CSS challenges realism's foundations by undermining its ontology, epistemology, and key features (Newman, 2010, pp. 83–84). The traditional approaches to security take the state as the one which should be secured, that is, the referent object. The referent object is, therefore, "[a]n entity that is taken as the focus for analysis in security studies" (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, p. 4). Nevertheless, from an explicit position of view, CSS broadened the application of referent object terms. CSS warns scholars to approach security from the lens of the state, namely, national security (Wæver, 2012, p. 52). Instead of the military security approach in traditional security studies, CSS deepened the understanding and expanded the referent object, including environmental security, economic security, and human security (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2021, p. 33). The breaking point was, generally, the human security approach of the 1994 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report. According to the UNDP Report, human security is described as it "means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life - whether in homes, in jobs or in communities" (UNDP, 1994, p. 3).[1] Therefore, the scope of security and its meaning have been broadened.

The state-based view of security is mostly concerned with the security of the state in means of securing the state from threats. This is mainly the realistic American strategic culture and foreign policy concerning state security and power relations (Demirkol, 2021). Yet, CSS broadens and deepens the understanding of security and its extent to various sectors. These sectors might be the environment, society, economy, health, or human beings as social groups (Bilgin, 2014). According to CSS, "[s]ecurity is about what is a threat, and the analyst can tell whether something really is a security problem and for whom" (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 204).[2] Thus, security has no objective definition as it is a subjectively invented concept (Booth & Vale, 1997, p. 332). Being said, a theory -or a security theory- cannot be detached from society so that it is interpretative (Stamnes, 2004, p. 162). A CSS scholar would explicitly say that threats are constructed through subjective manners (Krause, 1998, p. 306).

The relationship between CSS and CS comes from their constructivist approach (Karyotis, 2007, p. 2), although they are considered different schools by Wæver (2012, p. 52). Hynek & Chandler (2013, p. 52) refer to CS as a second-generation CSS. Indeed, CSS is not a uniform approach and consists of different points of view on security (Stamnes, 2004, p. 162). According to Buzan et al. (1998, p. 205), they both are constructivists while noting that CS is more constructivist. The following section will therefore analyse the CS, societal security, and international migration nexus.

Copenhagen School (CS) and International Migration

After providing brief information about CSS, we smoothly pass to the CS and international migration. The societal security threat approach to international migration has been a trending issue in international migration studies (Kaygusuz, 2021, p. 65), as the far-right populist parties have gained more support in recent years, especially in Europe. CS, in this respect, focuses on the securitisation of migration through the societal security concept (Küçük, 2021, p. 7).

Deepening and broadening the meaning and extent of security crystallised with CS studies. CS refers to the studies of a research group at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute since 1985

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[1] For a more detailed information about human security *see* Newman (2010).

[2] Emphasis in original.

(Wæver, 2012, p. 66). CS, mainly forms around three principles: i) securitisation, ii) sectors, iii) regional security complexes (Wæver, 2012, pp. 52–53). CS, as its main argument, conceptualises securitisation by advocating that it is a speech act (Taureck, 2006, p. 54). The speech act is done by a political actor or media, which are the two powerful actors, for instance. To securitise an issue, powerful actors come to the front and use their voices to impress the audience. The claim that the powerful actors make is that the issue is related to an existential threat to the referent object –generally the state. Yet, CS deepened the understanding of referent objects from a state-based perspective in political, economic, societal, and environmental sectors (Wilkinson, 2007, p. 9). Therefore, securitisation occurs if a powerful actor convinces the audience that something is a real danger against some existential thing so that it can take extraordinary measures against the threat. To put it briefly, a securitisation is a speech act, mainly done by powerful actors such as politicians or media, to put an issue into the core of security. To do so, there should be an existential threat against the referent object, or it should be perceived as an existential threat, and a powerful actor should utter the existential threat to the audience. After that stage, if the audience agrees or is convinced by the discourses of the powerful actor, then the issue becomes securitised and extraordinary measures could become available against this threat (Buzan et al., 1998). These are the basic assumptions and stages of the CS securitisation process.

The result of contrasting security perspective between traditional and critical security perceptions (Theiler, 2003, p. 250), societal security has been embedded in the security studies by CS by claiming that it did not have a place in traditional security studies (Buzan & Wæver, 1997, p. 242; Hama, 2017, p. 5; Høyland, 2018). To put it clearly, Buzan & Wæver (1997, p. 242) indicate that they "tried to show how 'societies' defined in terms of identity could be seen as the referent object for some cases". Therefore, CS has basically taken identities into consideration in security studies. Indeed, this approach is related to international migration and its securitisation of it. Societal security is an attempt to keep the identity of the state in the same form (Wæver et al., 1993, p. 67). However, there should be a distinction between the state's security and society's security. The referent object is perceived as different in societal security than the state's security or military security (Hama, 2017, p. 4). Accordingly, Wæver (2008, p. 581) defines societal security as the "defence of an identity against a perceived threat, or more precisely, the defence of a community against a perceived threat to its identity."[3] Therefore, societal security is a component of national security and a significant concept for it (Gierszewski & Piwowarski, 2016, p. 33). From the perspective of societal security, especially identities have been added to the national security agenda (Butler, 2007).

As being said, international migration is a core example of the securitisation process, and CSS, in this respect, attempts to analyse how the policy shift occurred regarding international migration from a positive perspective to security so that threat perception (Rumelili & Karadağ, 2017, p. 86). In terms of deepening the meaning of security, CS suggests new sectors related to security, namely, military security, political security, economic security, societal security, and environmental security (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 8). To the extent of this study, the most important sector is societal security, which refers to language, culture, religion, traditions, and related components of society (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 8). Societal security emerges when there is a threat perception against the societal identity (Küçük, 2021, p. 7), which is mainly believed that immigrants in a country pose it. Ilgit & Klotz (2014) argued that immigration's impact on collective identity had been a debate on societal security, and migration is a significant component of societal security (Beňuška & Nečas, 2021, p. 476).

Generally, when the immigration and security nexus is examined, the military security view, which usually links immigrants with terrorism, is on the table. However, societal security is the second significant area of securitisation of immigration in the field of CSS. Societal security basically

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[3] Emphasis in original.

occurs when there is a distinction between locals and immigrants as self (good) and others (deviants). Immigrants, from this perspective, are labelled as dangerous to the incumbent culture and identity (Karyotis, 2007). Therefore, it becomes a security issue and poses a threat to the referent object, namely, culture. Although the economic security affected by immigrants is also questioned, while there are various answers to this question (Csanyi, 2020, p. 7), national security and societal security are the vitals for immigration policies in recent decades.

CS argues that migration is securitised; however, it should be de-securitised. The securitisation of immigration starts with uttering that immigrants are threats to the economy, culture, and national security. Accordingly, international migration has been perceived as a threat to national security, welfare, and identity in most countries, even though there is no solid empirical base to prove that immigrants cause terrorism (Demirkol, 2022). However, the easiest way to label immigrants as a threat is by calling them deviants to the incumbent culture. As security is defined to be free from threat, according to CS, societal security is keeping the identity and culture fixed during the flows of diversification of them (Wæver et al., 1993, p. 23). The relationship between societal security and international migration is crystal clear. Alexseev (2011) notes that, in 2005, almost half of the adult population in Russia supported the exclusionist approach to immigrants. This issue, generally, is as same in other countries as in Russia. Most of the increasing support for far-right parties in Europe, which has been a significant part of elections in the EU countries in recent years, focused on the societal security regarding immigrants. Štefančík et al. (2021) argued that the far-right populist political parties articulated a dichotomy of we/us and they/them to undermine a positive view on international migration. They clearly stated that far-right populist politicians focused on the so-called negative dimensions of international migration.

The belief that immigrants will destabilise the identity and culture of the locals is a form of securitisation of immigration from CS' perspective. By doing so, immigrants are posed as a threat against the referent object, identity. However, the idea that immigration poses a threat to society or diversity in society because immigrants create insecurity of identity is ambiguous (King, 2004, p. 200). The creation of otherness towards immigrants is quite a typical case in far-right populist politics. Yet, it generally does not have an empirical or scientific background for threat perception. Immigrants generally try to integrate into the local communities or avoid the local culture not being assimilated. The threat or risk perceived by immigrants to incumbent culture is a result of the securitisation process of international migration. Therefore, international migration should be considered and evaluated through the lens of securitisation and CSS. This evaluation will provide insight into societal security perspectives and populist rejection of immigrants in countries.

Conclusion

CSS has a point to criticise traditional security studies regarding their state-oriented view of security. Security should include other sectors and aspects such as the environment, humans, the economy, and society. According to CSS, security is a constructive process as it is constructed through one's perspective regarding threats to the referent object. At this stage, CS comes to the field as another constructive theory within the framework of CSS. CS mainly argues about securitisation migration and supports the de-securitisation of migration.

However, the securitisation of migration has been occurring worldwide during the last decades, especially after 9/11. The securitisation of migration has been accelerated after the terrorist attacks on the United States of America (USA) and the attacks in European countries. The common action of the target countries was blaming immigration for such terrorist attacks, and they have become paranoid about immigration regarding security concerns. Besides perceiving immigrants as a source of terrorism, they are also regarded deviants to the incumbent local culture. This perspective leads us to

the societal security concept of CS. Societal security refers to the securitisation of the identity of the dominant culture in a country. From this side, international migration poses an existential threat to the referent object, that is, identity.

The international migration-societal security nexus should be a topic to focus on nowadays. The increasing power of far-right populist parties all around the world endangers the perception of international migration and immigrants' rights regarding societal security. Xenophobic ideas are not rare issues today, including closing millions of refugees to the camps, pushing them out of their countries, or even attacking them on the borders. General European politics have seen this agenda in recent years during the elections. Most right-wing parties supported anti-immigrant discourse concerning the Syrian refugee protection crisis.[4]

On the one hand, rather than being anxious about societal security, many examples of successful integration processes should be considered. One great example is the case of Canada for refugee or immigrant integration into the local culture. On the other hand, it is also a shame for EU countries to exhibit exclusionary practices against immigration as the EU promotes the idea of unity in diversity. Diversity ought to be applied to immigrants as well.

From the perspectives of CSS and CS, international migration should not be considered an existential threat to the referent object –identity– but regarded as an opportunity for diversity. Populism against immigrants should be the first problem to be addressed in national politics before international policies, as it should be a bottom-up process. Therefore, a new political agenda for countries being compelled by xenophobia and societal security issues is needed.

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[4] Using "Syrian refugee protection crisis" is a conscious attempt to highlight that it was not a "refugee crisis" but a "refugee protection crisis." *See*, (Kale, 2017).

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Disclosure Statement

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Understanding International Economic Institutions and China through Uneven and Combined Development

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ABSTRACT

For many decades, we are witnessing the economic rise of China and the increasing integration of China into existing international economic institutions. However, this paper argues that prevalent international relations theories are insufficient to explain this conjuncture of international political economy. Instead, this paper proposes the theory of uneven and combined development (UCD) to further integrate the international dimension of historical unevenness that is resulting from the historical conditions of global capitalism. The argument of this paper proceeds in two steps: First, the liberal, realist and orthodox Marxist theories' analytical assumptions are discussed to understand the rise of China and its integration into international economic institutions, mainly the World Trade Organization. Second, the UCD theory is applied to reveal historical unevenness and intersocietal interactions through global capitalism. It is argued that the historical unevenness both determined the integration of China into international economic institutions and has caused instability within global capitalism through the trade war between US and China.

Introduction

The international economy constitutes one of the pillars of contemporary international relations and one of the most discussed subjects regarding world society. The norms of international trade, exchange of capital, services, and goods between countries, in the contemporary world are formulated alongside five main characteristics: non-discrimination, reciprocity, transparency, fairness, and liberalization (Holsti, 2004, pp. 228-230). These norms are assumed as regulatory rules for trade agreements and tariffs between countries. They include the neo-classical economics hypothesis that free trade between independent actors could favour both sides by improving economic conditions and, followingly, social and political conditions of societies (Holsti, 2004, p. 230). Many theoreticians in the literature of international relations, especially the branches of liberalism and neoliberalism, claimed that rather than "high politics" (the nexus of politics and security), "low politics" (the nexus of economy and culture) constitutes "complex interdependence" between countries (Jackson & Sørensen, 2013, p. 107), peace is more likely when interdependence through international trade achieved, and democracy constitutes the precise example of the regime with checks and balances, reciprocal economic, political and social interests through international institutions, and liberal values can outweigh Hobbesian anarchy in international relations (Oneal et al., 1996, p. 24).

However, approaches of liberalism and neoliberalism are heavily criticized by different scholars within the international relations literature. One of the most important scholars of neorealism, Kenneth Waltz, argued that the assumption of liberalism and neoliberalism, which claims that greater interdependency could bring peace and stability is illusionary because more interdependence can only bring more ground to fight (Waltz, 1998, p. 374). Also, Waltz claimed that theories in the international relations literature up to now simply omitted many important aspects of phenomena for the sake of simplification and called for a broader theory that could bring "both international and domestic, both political and economic matters… to understand or explain anything" (Waltz, 1998, pp. 379-380). Moreover, Neo-Marxists in dependency theory and world-system analysis (WSA) makes another intellectual critique group in the literature. Even though the dependency school and WSA brought irrefutable aspects to the literature, this paper argues that these two schools of thought cannot also escape being unilinear by incorporating "modernization theory," reproduces the innate "methodological nationalism" of social sciences and cannot constitute an example for Kenneth Waltz's calls to a broader, international theory. Apart from the claimed theoretical shortcomings of these theories, this paper argues that Leon Trotsky's uneven and combined development (UCD) theory and the following formulation of the theory by several international relations scholars can give an increased analytical capacity to understand the framework of international institutions in the contemporary world. These arguments will be discussed in the framework of the People's Republic of China's (China) accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001, and the ongoing trade war between the United States of America (US) and China will be discussed in the framework of UCD to employ a broader international theory that combines both domestic and international in the analysis. Therefore, the paper will follow the line of this research question: Could uneven and combined development theory explain the position of international economic institutions in the case of "the rise of China"' and the US-China trade war?

Theoretical Underpinnings

In this section, the theoretical perspective of this paper will be discussed. First, the concept of methodological nationalism will be explained and situated as the central problematic feature of prevalent social theories. Second, the theory of uneven and combined development will be examined as an alternative theoretical perspective to overcome the theoretical impasse.

Methodological Nationalism

Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller (2002, p. 302) claimed that the social sciences, from its foundation, were innately shaped by the emergence of nation-states and perceived the nation-state as the natural form of social and political organization and unit of analysis in the contemporary world. As Theda Skocpol (1994, pp. 44-45) puts it in her seminal work's *Wanted: An intersocietal perspective* section, every society is susceptible to "foreign influences," and these influences are far from being "fortuitous;" hence, what is needed is a theoretical switch from modernization-based theories that treat social change as a unilinear, necessary, directional phenomenon to a theory that analyses social change through social, political and economic interactions between societies. Methodological nationalism of social sciences conceptualizes societies as self-contained, isolated units of analysis, and social change should be mainly analyzed by the lines of domestic developments; in that analysis, external factors or intersocietal influences and relations, to put it right, can be "secondary value" analytical tools. However, building theories around innate methodological nationalism limits the theoretical capacity of analyses and creates epistemological boundaries to reach broader theories. It is possible to argue that Kenneth Waltz's (1998, p. 374) call for a broader theory overlaps with the critique of methodological nationalism in social sciences.

As Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002, p. 3003) put it, the Marxist traditions in social sciences, especially world-system analysis gave some analytical, methodological tools that can go beyond methodological nationalism by focusing on capitalism as a global system that can work on an upper level of national domestic politics by constantly reshaping it and influenced by it; however, the analysis of core, semi-periphery and periphery nations still includes the analytical lines of modernization thesis that endorses a unilinear development line. International relations theories took the nation-state as the main unit of analysis and assumed that focusing on the nation-state would be adequate to understand the international phenomena; likewise, post-World War II theories, world-system analysis in that case, also emphasized the centrality of the nation-state and process of nation-building by incorporating colonial and decolonial processes to their analysis (Wimmer & Schiller, 2003, p. 580).

It is argued that the uneven and combined development theory holds an overarching theoretical capacity to explain many issues that do not seem logical at first glance and have the capacity to go beyond methodological nationalism by incorporating a new social theory not only in international relations but to various fields of social sciences.

Uneven and Combined Development

The Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky (2017, p. 13). first mentioned the uneven and combined development to explain the peculiarity of the Russian Revolution, which happened in a mostly feudal society with capitalist characteristics. The Russian Revolution was particularly peculiar because, in the classical Marxist analysis, the socialist revolution would follow a road map: the revolution would occur in places where capitalism is in its most advanced form with a larger proletariat, and England was the precise example of this most advanced capitalist nation in the time of Karl Marx; hence, Marx developed his analysis by observing class relations in the most "locus classicus" (Marx, 1982, p. 90) example of the capitalist mode of production: England. Therefore, Marxist revolutionaries and theoreticians were expecting socialist revolutions in western Europe, particularly in England and Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where capitalism was the most advanced and the class struggle was visible. However, in 1917, the first-ever socialist revolution happened in semi-feudal czarist Russia.

Marxism portrays a unilinear historical path when analyzing societies and conceptualizes development through history as "historical materialism." According to that, material conditions are direct determinants of the history and societies' mode of production; humans first organized in tribal forms with primitive accumulation that requires greater cooperation between members, then through the accumulation of capital, the elites or aristocrats emerged, and slave societies are formed, then aristocrats became the ruling class in the feudal societies with smaller bourgeoise, and followingly, through a bourgeois revolution the capitalist class takes over the control of the state, and as the final step, capitalism will be replaced by a socialist revolution that brings proletariat as the ruling class to abolish the class struggle and exploitation in favour of the proletariat (Marx, 1982, pp. 873-876). Marxism sees this road map as a universal law that applies to all societies since material conditions determine historical conditions. It is possible to say that Marxism shares the notions of progressive transition and unilinear progress of modernization theory, and the Eurocentric approach that generalizes European experiences of development and capitalism is innately embedded in the theory. Therefore, Marx "assumed that cultural differences and political boundaries between societies would ultimately become obsolete in the face of the self-universalizing force of capital" (Matin, 2013, p. 12).

However, Trotsky sees the historical development not as a unilinear line but as a phenomenon that includes unevenness and combined development together. According to Trotsky (2017, p. 14), *unevenness* is the most general law of history; there are several societies in the world, and stages of

development are different in every one of them due to the geographical distribution, availability of resources, and their historical background, however, the emergence of industrial capitalism in Western Europe at the eighteenth century radically changed the unevenness between nations and Western Europe became much more powerful when compared with the rest; also, these societies are not in isolation from each other, they interact with each other, influence others and obtain some features; *combine* already existed features with new features, create "an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms".

Even though Trotsky develops his theory from within the Marxist analysis and historiography, his understanding of "historical development" differs from orthodox Marxism. Trotsky (2017, p. 15) challenges the idea of stagism that is embedded in all classical social theories, Marxism included and claimed that there can be intermediate steps in historical development and that any society can skip some steps according to its economic, cultural, and social capacity rather than the absolute necessity of following the historical pathway of development. According to Trotsky (2017, p. 16), the unevenness between countries produces the "whip of external necessity" for backward nations to catch up with more advanced industrial countries; however, imitation of external conditions, the gap, and the difference between domestic and foreign features both gives the possibility of skipping hundreds of years of research and innovation without having to go all the historical development to reinvent these, which Trotsky (2017, p. 15) named that as the "privilege of historic backwardness", but at the same time it leads to different amalgams of backward and advanced features in a combined way in society. Through the uneven and combined development, czarist Russia by implementing capitalist development, was not becoming a replica of England, but the co-existence of multiple societies brought a different kind of society with semi-feudal characteristics that were combined with the modern industrial economy. However, as Justin Rosenberg (2016, p. 24) puts it, the elites of czarist Russia was not planning to become a Western liberal society like England, but they built a modern industrial economy in a feudal society to ensure their own survival against the intense competition by more advanced societies; therefore, a mode of production imported from a Western liberal society to be combined in an anti-liberal, feudal state, and a new type of society was the result of this combined development. Moreover, uneven and combined development in Russia shows more than a simple process of exchange between societies; capitalism merged with already existing social, political, and economic structures in societies and these imports led to the increasing integration of Russia into "a wider interconnected structure of capitalist world development," and this interaction is reciprocal because the integration of Russia also reshaped capitalist world structure (Rosenberg, 2016, pp. 24-25).

According to Trotsky (2017, pp. 872-876), capitalism spread to other societies from its original place, and while it is becoming a global structure, capitalism combines with already existing structures in other countries and embeds unsteady amalgams such as Russia; hence, rather than, as orthodox Marxism claims, the whole world is not following the same path of same historical development, but by the new inclusions capitalism itself transforming to an interconnected, global amalgam. However, as an active participant and personage of a revolution, Trotsky had the goal of theoretical justification of the Russian Revolution and the possibility of further socialist revolutions in the world in his mind while formulating the UCD. He claims that uneven and combined development would lead to further interconnected, but unstable global capitalism and further revolutions in advanced societies would be inevitable. Nonetheless, as Rosenberg explicates, uneven and combined development can expand our analytical capacity to understand domestic and international phenomena and reciprocal relationships and interactions between societies through intersocietal relations. Therefore, the political anticipation of Trotsky will not be included in the paper, but UCD as the overarching theory of international relations and social change will be theoretically adopted.

The World Trade Organization, China, and Uneven and Combined Development

When the analytical line of Marxist analysis of international relations followed, it is possible to say that the international institutions, especially the economic ones, mainly reflect the hegemonic standpoint of the most powerful actors in the power relations in international relations. This line of arguments also overlaps with the analysis of uneven and combined developments since the world powers and early industrializing countries hold the most capacity to influence others and to project their power to international relations.

The People's Republic of China became a member of the World Trade Organization in 2001. The timing of China's accession to the WTO can be explained by the UCD. As Trotsky underlined while situating UCD to explain the timing of the Russian Revolution, a conjunction point of the historical unevenness plays a crucial role. In the case of the Russian Revolution, it was the conjunction of the most advanced, early industrialized countries in western Europe and a semi-feudal, absolutist state in Russia in the context of an ongoing global conflict, World War I. However, the accession of China to the WTO overlapped with the apogee of the rise of neoliberal economics, the massive economic deregulations tide of international trade and finance in the Global North, and the rise of the huge potential of available workforce and markets in the Global South, namely in China. This conjunction is highlighted by the ongoing digital revolution that mostly started in the Global North in the 1980s. This digital revolution is highly important for global unevenness because, as David Harvey (1990, p. 147) puts it, "time-space compression" brought the shrink of the decision-making process due to the enhanced capacity to communicate through satellites and internet connections and a global decline of transportation costs; these developments in the digital revolution gave global capitalism unprecedented flexibility and mobility to tear down organized labour force in the Global North by offshoring its production capacity to exploit the available massive workforce in the Global South.

The existence of international economic institutions at that conjuncture accelerated the pace of global interaction between different types of societies and economic systems. At that point, it is crucial to escape from seeing international economic institutions as economic tools of hegemonic powers of capitalism. As formulated, these institutions are clearly dominated by the most advanced capitalist countries since they have the most bargaining and decision power in the boards of management, but the integration of a new country into international economic institutions would produce reciprocal effects that would have a transformative capacity for all societies of the international economy. China's accession to the WTO is interpreted as the anticipation of the US, as the hegemon of the current system, to construct mutual interests between China and the US. Also, the integration of China, as a country that has a communist party as the ruling party, would lead to a further decrease in the authority of the absolute power of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the transformative effect of the WTO and international trade with liberal markets would eventually trigger social and political movements that are willingly supporting openness, liberalism, and internationalization to change governance in China (Fewsmith, 2001, pp. 590-591). This line of argument clearly supports assumptions of liberal and neoliberal approaches by expecting a structural transformation in China since greater economic dependency would also integrate liberal norms and values that innately shaped the structural conditions of international economic institutions, namely the WTO. However, as argued above, this conjunction of unevenness led to further combinations in China, the Global North, and the WTO.

The accession of China to the WTO has transformative effects on its economy. From 2000 to 2007, China experienced a dramatic increase in its global exports, and China started to dominate some significant parts of the tech industry by becoming the largest producer and exporter of computers and microchips (Berger & Martin, 2011, p. 10). Before the 2000s, China was mostly an agrarian society

with some industrialization leaps; however, as Trotsky formulated in the "privilege of historic backwardness" and the "whip of external necessity", China has a significant driving force catch and survived in the competition in global capitalism by importing elements of the current mode of production from advanced capitalist countries. Through the WTO membership, foreign direct investments to and exports from the Chinese markets to the global market became much easier due to the common trade and tariff rules. This also led to the further flow of financial, economic expertise, and technological transfers to the Chinese market combined with the huge available workforce of China due to its geographical, social, and political conditions.

Table 1. Exports of goods and services (US$ billion) (World Bank, 2021)

	1990	**1995**	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**	**2021**
China	45	132	253	773	1650	2360	3550
US	552	813	1100	1300	1860	2270	2540

In 1990, China's exports were considerably lower than US exports, and China constituted 4% of global GDP, while the US constituted 22% (International Monetary Fund, 2023). However, as seen in Table 1, the increase rate of China's exports dramatically changed in the 2000s with the accession to the WTO. China's exports increased by more than three times in the 2000-2005 period. Chinese exports maintained their increase and surpassed the US to become the biggest exporter of the global economy. Moreover, China's share of global GDP increased from 7% in 2000 to 19% in 2021, while the US constitutes 15% currently (International Monetary Fund, 2023). Due to the "privilege of historic backwardness" and its capacity to mobilize a huge pool of available workforce, China quickly took advantage of being an integral part of the global capitalist economy and became the leading exporter with accelerated industrialization. However, this economic transformation did not come with the same consequences as European experiences of industrialization and modernity. China did not experience any significant political liberalization while "authoritarian practices have grown intimately related to the development and success of capitalist social relations in the PRC (People's Republic of China), and to the country's global centrality as a production hub in the era of neoliberal globalization" (Gonzalez-Vicente, 2022, p. 3). But China's accession to the WTO has also created effects for the other members.

Geographical offshoring of the production lines in the Global North led to the replacement of industrial sectors, a tide of de-industrialization, and a subsequent decline of manufacturing blue-collar jobs in the Global North. The WTO integrated China into global capitalism and accelerated the rise of China with its historically accumulated potential to industrialize, but also led to further intersocietal relations between societies and social changes for both sides. Rather than being about the domestic political, economic, and social developments within the Global North, de-industrialization and increasing uneasiness of blue-collar workers in the Global North can be explained by intersocietal relations. The WTO membership and integration of China into global capitalism both transformed China by skyrocketing its production and export capacity and transformed the framework of international economic institutions and the Global North. If we accepted the analytical line of the dependency school and world-system analysis, the WTO would further integrate China into the hegemonic power relationship of core, semi-periphery, and periphery countries, and China would simply be an addition to that scheme since it is not creating an alternative scheme to the hegemon. If we accepted the analytical line of liberal and neoliberal analyses, we would simply see a closer economic interdependence between the US and China by sharing the same principles and norms of the international economic institutions. However, what we see is a much more complex and multifaceted phenomenon that shows the membership of China in the WTO led to transformation and instability in the Global North and a trade war between the US and China to diminish its transformative effect on international economic institutions. Rosenberg and Boyle (2019, p. 49) argue

that the conditions of historical unevenness and further increased inequality due to the way of economic crisis exacerbated political and social polarization in the Global North. Increased inequality due to the combined effect of China's accession to the WTO led to a populist upsurge in the Global North and the election of Donald Trump in 2017. As a consequence of offshoring of the production lines and de-industrialization, the "bulk of US employment growth during the recovery came in low-wage, non-routine occupations like hospitality and healthcare" (Rosenberg & Boyle, 2019, p. 50).

During the Trump administration, the US frequently tried to reduce the frequency of multilateral trade agreements by favouring bilateral trade agreements with its economic and political allies. After the Trump administration, the US declared it would focus its historical alliances by favouring multilateral agreements again. However, the implication of UCD shows that the uneven and combined conditions of the instability within the Global North and the trade war are still there. A simple change in the administration would not change these conditions since China's accession and rise are, in fact, part of a much wider transformation of the global capitalist system and global balance of power in the world economy that is constantly changing through the uneven and combined development of countries and subsequent intersocietal effects of the combination of national and international politics.

Conclusion

This paper argues that the theory of uneven and combined development has an overarching theoretical capacity to explain the position of the international economic institutions in the case of the rise of China and the subsequent trade war between the US and China. This approach is based on the argument that the UCD can give a broader intersocietal explanation of the international by examining historical conditions through global capitalist relations. Due to China's peculiar historical conditions, the international economic institutions played a much different role in the rise of China than the assumptions of mainstream international relations theories.

International economic institutions that are formed along liberal norms and values had an effect as further polarization of domestic politics and increasing inequality in the west. So, the premises of liberal and neoliberal international relations theories about international economic institutions can be heavily challenged by the UCD. However, the international institutions are far from the absolute hegemonic tools of core countries. The relationship between states and international politics is far from being a simple directional relationship. The historical unevenness and reciprocal effects of multifaceted events have combined consequences for societies of the international economy. This analysis also can lead readers to think again about the position and nature of the states as actors of international relations: The realist approach sees the states as the main actors of international relations, and domestic politics can only play little or no role in the analysis.

On the other hand, the liberal approach sees that the nature of modern liberal societies and their values have the transformative capacity to change international politics through cooperation. However, liberal and orthodox Marxist approaches are, in a way, limited by mostly focusing on the transformative capacity of norms and values on international politics and capitalism through a unilinear development path. But UCD shows that international and intersocietal interactions can also have a strong effect on societies; there is a reciprocal relationship between them, and the combination both happens inside the societies and happens on the global level of capitalist world development.

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Söyler

Inhuman Power: Artificial Intelligence and the Future of Capitalism

by Nick Dyer-Witheford, Atle Mikkola Kjosen and James Steinhoff, London, Pluto Press, 2019, 210 pp., £16.99, ISBN: 9780745338606

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Inhuman Power: Artificial Intelligence and the Future of Capitalism, written by Nick Dyer-Witheford, Atle Mikkola Kjosen, and James Steinhoff, offers a salient probe to re-examine the complex development of artificial intelligence. Contrary to the naive approach, which treats AI as a neutral and independent technological/scientific development, the study considers it a phenomenon penetrating various economic, social, and cultural structures and potentially transforming them radically. It cultivates a comprehensive and profound approach to grasping the overlooked aspects of the knotty and vibrant relationship between AI and social processes by drawing and reinterpreting critical concepts of Marxist theory, such as surplus value, labour power, relations of production and surplus-population. Furthermore, as its title underscores, aside from the implications of the current and limited AIs, the book also makes room for the authors' staid and rigorous assumptions about what shape it will take in the future and how it will relate to the metabolism of capitalism.

The work encloses the introduction, conclusion, and three substantive chapters. The introduction covers a detailed overview of the main arguments of the study and a scattering of some other key leftist theories and stances on AI that the authors engage in polemic and dialogue throughout the book. The chapter mentions two prominent positions on AI, one of them is "minimalist," believing that the transformative power and social effects of AI are overstated; the other is "maximalist," the approach that attaches great importance to the impact of AI and asserts that it will be considered as a transitional tool from capitalism to socialism (pp. 4-8). However, instead of seeking an intermediate course to reconcile these two threads, the authors have sought to ameliorate a perspective that undermines their conventional and reductionist premises that there is a direct relationship between technological development and social change. They accentuate the significance of designing a more dynamic analysis that spotlights AI as a reflection of class struggle, commodification, and inter-capitalist competition, by referencing the pieces of Marx, who underlined that mechanization and automation could create a range of historical contingents that are both repressive and emancipatory (pp. 15-21).

The first chapter sheds light on the complex interactions between hegemonic actors who want to manipulate and control the blossoming of AI and their near-future ambitions. It fundamentally argues that the expansion of the AI sector in the 2010s, which emerged in the 1980s but catered to a minimal scope, is related to the drive of machine intelligence monopoly and oligopoly companies to acquire "a whole new level of automation that gives capital unprecedented independence from labour" (p. 32). Moreover, state actors seeking to attain an edge over rival nations in terms of national security (pp. 39-42) and other small entrepreneurs and firms are also among the active agencies of such development. In addition, the study summons the neglected category of *the general means of production* that Marx operates to portray the technologies, institutions, and practices that carve out the

framework/infrastructure within which capitalist production occurs in a particular time and place (pp. 46-52). According to the authors, it is possible to encounter indicators that AI will articulate the general production conditions as a result of the actions of these actors and will replace the production infrastructure of the post-Fordist era.

The second chapter is devoted to revealing the manifold relationship between AI and employment issues by challenging the stereotypical view that market mechanisms can solve the unemployment problem independently. In contrast to the optimistic ideas of autonomist Marxist theorists who proclaim that capital is always doomed to human labour, the book puts forward the detrimental facets of the ever-expanding current AI industry for the proletariat. Except for a few AI experts and qualified technical workers with relatively high wages and comfortable workspaces, big tech's considerable investments have begun to lead to more fluctuating employment patterns in favour of labour-repressed capital (pp. 75-79). By the same token, the programmers paradoxically produce AIs algorithms that can replace them after a particular time. What is more, the authors touch upon not only the quantitative consequences of AI on employment but also its overshadowed qualitative dimensions. For instance, on the one hand, following the basic requirements of the spatial organization of capital (pp. 80-81), the expansion of AI can have different supportive functions such as financial circulation, panoptic surveillance, and job training; on the other hand, it can reproduce gendered and racialized structural inequalities (pp. 93-97).

The third chapter drags us into a fictional future scenario dominated by artificial general intelligence (AGI), which has the ability to perform various tasks with its flexible reasoning skills in unfamiliar domains. Even though Marx's anthropocentric assumptions, which hold that only human labour is the creator of value, are no longer valid due to the shreds of evidence of contemporary ethology, the way in which he forms his argument has some vital points to examine the ontological status of AGI labour (pp. 115-118). What Marx evaluates as the hallmarks of human practices, such as creativity, ability to learn, adaptability, and imagination, may become characteristics of AGI in the long run. Thus, AGI could undermine the undisputed and omnipotent position of homo sapiens by becoming the subject of capitalist proletarianization from the form of fixed capital (pp. 135-138). In the conclusion part, the authors speculatively discuss the possibilities of communist AIs technology as an alternative to its capitalist counterpart. Contrary to the theses of the left-wing accelerationists and post-capitalists, they suggest that current/future AI's capability to dope out complex economic planning problems can be misleading to consider as a contributory tool for a direct transition to socialism. Namely, they believe that communist AI could be materialized by assembling new collective property regulations and radical political agendas that facilitate the incorporation of the proletariat and subordinated groups into AI production and regulation processes rather than liberal prescriptions that combine universal basic income and AI or other human essentialist reforms.

Given the book's crucial contributions, one of the robust points is its masterful blending of explanatory concepts and approaches from Marxist critique with AI studies. Although there are diversified studies on cybernetic capitalism and digital labour in the literature, the aforementioned soundness side acquires even more value because there are few critical research centres around AI. Another key contribution is that it can offer more prudential speculative assumptions, in contrast to some of the relatively reductionist and generalizing theories and understandings with which it polemicizes. Even though the authors acknowledge that pessimistic outcomes may be more conceivable, they figure out that various actors' practices of resistance and domination will shape the future relationship between AI and capitalism. Therefore, the study demystifies that the possible outcomes cannot be divided into emancipatory and oppressive for the people.

Moreover, the book's strengths are not limited only to the content. The fact that science-fiction books are considered fruitful sources for the future imaginations of people in a specific historical period, rather than just as vulgar examples of popular culture, has made the book more potent in

terms of method and source usage. However, it is also feasible to plead that it has some minor limitations. For example, it could have delivered more profound and detailed arguments for the impact of AI on climate issues, which it noted in the last chapter. Nevertheless, I believe this does not harm the weight of its insightful arguments.

Consequently, *Inhuman Power: Artificial Intelligence and the Future of Capitalism* is an intellectual project that expands our understanding of artificial intelligence's current and possible future economic and social impacts coalesced into capitalist logic through a critical lens. Thus, it can be regarded as a guidebook not only for the relevant academic circle but also for laypeople who want to glance at this widespread issue in light of more resounding and nuanced perspectives.

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