



THE ATHENS INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Abstract Book

17th Annual International Conference on
Politics & International Studies
17-20 June 2019, Athens, Greece

Edited by
Gregory T. Papanikos

2019

Abstracts
17th Annual International
Conference on Politics &
International Studies
17-20 June 2019, Athens,
Greece

Edited by Gregory T. Papanikos

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

(In Alphabetical Order by Author's Family name)

Preface		7
Organizing Committee		8
Conference Program		9
1.	Decolonisation in Africa and United Nations Security Council Reform: From the Organization of African Unity to African Union <i>Abubakar Alkali</i>	12
2.	Appealing to Women?: European Union Promotional Materials and the EU's Failure to Gain Women's Support for Integration <i>Stephanie Anderson</i>	13
3.	An Alternative Party Analysis Method for Short-Lived Political Parties in Precarious Democracies <i>Halime Safiye Atalay</i>	14
4.	A Comparative Analysis of Donald Trump's Neo-populist Discourse with the Classical Populism of the People's Party in the United States <i>Seda Gizem Cevheri</i>	16
5.	Frauds in the European Emissions Trading System: A Structural Embeddedness in Implementing a Market-based Environmental Policy Instrument <i>Wei-Ting Chao</i>	17
6.	Internal Migration and Regional Differences of Population Aging: An Empirical Study of 287 Cities in China <i>Rong Chen</i>	18
7.	Deradicalization: Implications for Human Security <i>Kenneth Christie & Haval Ahmad</i>	19
8.	Tracing the Rise of Sectarianism in the Governorate of Deir Ezzor from the 1970s until the Current Civil War <i>Haian Dukhan</i>	20
9.	Othering Muslims?: A Content Analysis of the Spanish Press Coverage <i>Rafael Duran</i>	21
10.	How Does Foreign Policy Elite Justify Controversial Deals? Turkey-EU Deal on Refugees <i>Birsen Erdogan</i>	22
11.	Professional Diplomacy: A Call for Its Reinforcement <i>Costa Andre Georghiou</i>	23
12.	Active Geostrategic Faults of the World Effective on the Global Politics <i>Mohammadreza Hafeznia</i>	24
13.	The Power of Tradition - Confucius Institutes in the V4 Countries <i>Viktoria Laura Herczegh</i>	25
14.	Contribution of Forensic Science to Establishing the Truth in Criminal Proceedings	26

	<i>Elena-Ana Iancu</i>	
15.	Identifying the Chinese Dream - From a Historical Perspective <i>Lingmin Kong</i>	27
16.	Gendered Populist Mobilization <i>Nur Sinem Kourou</i>	28
17.	Polarization as a Threat for Democracy Analysis of the Media System of Georgia <i>Natia Kuprashvili</i>	29
18.	Artificial Intelligence in China: Newest Trends and Strategic Perspectives <i>Aifang Ma</i>	31
19.	The Effect of American and European Sanctions on Russia <i>L. Jan Reid</i>	32
20.	Do the Labour Unions Lead to a Failure of Mergers & Acquisitions (M&As)?: The Game Theory Analysis <i>Ziva Rozen-Bakher</i>	33
21.	About some Counterarguments against Myths of Labour Immigration to Russia <i>Sergey Ryazantsev</i>	34
22.	USA Violent Cause Mortality: Analysis of Trends and the Political Controversies of Prevention <i>Sonia Salari, Carrie Sillito & Terry Allen</i>	35
23.	The Significance of Kemalist Modernization for the Modernization Theory <i>Ibrahim Saylan & Ilkim Ozdikmenli Celikoglu</i>	37
24.	The Emergence of Social Enterprises in China: A Comparative Study <i>Congmei Shi & An Chen</i>	39
25.	Polish Populist Parties <i>Natalia Streck</i>	40
26.	Internal Migration in Mongolia: Drivers, Challenges and Policy Issues <i>Bolormaa Tsogtsaikhan</i>	41
27.	China and the Contemporary Globalization <i>Lubomir Zyblikiewicz</i>	43

Preface

This book includes the abstracts of all the papers presented at the 17th *Annual International Conference on Politics & International Studies (17-20 June 2019)*, organized by the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER).

In total 27 papers were submitted by 28 presenters, coming from 16 different countries (Canada, China, France, Georgia, Hungary, Iran, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Russia, South Africa, Spain, The Netherlands, Turkey, UK and USA). The conference was organized into 9 sessions that included a variety of topic areas such as European Affairs, Democracy, Democratization and Modernization, World Affairs: Violence, Human Security, Criminal Law and Sectarianism, Migration and Refugees, Populism, China, Diplomacy, Geopolitics and other. A full conference program can be found before the relevant abstracts. In accordance with ATINER's Publication Policy, the papers presented during this conference will be considered for inclusion in one of ATINER's many publications.

The purpose of this abstract book is to provide members of ATINER and other academics around the world with a resource through which to discover colleagues and additional research relevant to their own work. This purpose is in congruence with the overall mission of the association. ATINER was established in 1995 as an independent academic organization with the mission to become a forum where academics and researchers from all over the world could meet to exchange ideas on their research and consider the future developments of their fields of study.

It is our hope that through ATINER's conferences and publications, Athens will become a place where academics and researchers from all over the world regularly meet to discuss the developments of their discipline and present their work. Since 1995, ATINER has organized more than 400 international conferences and has published nearly 200 books. Academically, the institute is organized into 6 divisions and 37 units. Each unit organizes at least one annual conference and undertakes various small and large research projects.

For each of these events, the involvement of multiple parties is crucial. I would like to thank all the participants, the members of the organizing and academic committees, and most importantly the administration staff of ATINER for putting this conference and its subsequent publications together. Specific individuals are listed on the following page.

Gregory T. Papanikos
President

**17th Annual International Conference on Politics &
International Studies
17-20 June 2019, Athens, Greece**

Scientific Committee

All ATINER's conferences are organized by the [Academic Council](#). This conference has been organized with the assistance of the following academics, who contributed by a) setting up the program b) chairing the conference sessions, and/or c) reviewing the submitted abstracts and papers:

1. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER & Honorary Professor, University of Stirling, UK.
2. Yannis Stivachtis, Director, Center for European & Mediterranean Affairs and Director & Professor, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.
3. Bettina Koch, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor of Political Science, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, USA.
4. Kenneth Christie, Professor, Royal Roads University, Canada.
5. Lubomir Zyblikiewicz, Professor Emeritus, Jagiellonian University, Poland.
6. Nicole Farris, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, Texas A&M University-Commerce, USA.
7. Birsen Erdogan, Lecturer, Maastricht University, The Netherlands.
8. L. Jan Reid, Academic Member, ATINER & President, Coast Economic Consulting, USA.
9. Ziva Rozen-Bakher, Academic Member, ATINER & Researcher, UK.
10. Utku Özer, Research Fellow, ATINER.
11. Aifang Ma, PhD Student, Center for European Studies and Comparative Politics, France.
12. Wei-Ting Chao, PhD Candidate, Sciences Po Paris, France.

FINAL CONFERENCE PROGRAM
**17th Annual International Conference on Politics & International
Studies, 17-20 June 2019, Athens, Greece**
**Conference Venue: Titania Hotel, 52 Panepistimiou Street, 10678 Athens,
Greece**

Monday 17 June 2019

07:50-08:40 Registration and Refreshments

08:50-09:20 (Room A - 10th Floor): Welcome and Opening Address by Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER.

09:30-11:00 Session I (Room A - 10th Floor): European Affairs

Chair: Kenneth Christie, Professor, Royal Roads University, Canada.

1. Stephanie Anderson, Professor and Head, School of Politics, Public Affairs and International Studies, University of Wyoming, USA. Appealing to Women?: European Union Promotional Materials and the EU's Failure to Gain Women's Support for Integration.
2. Wei-Ting Chao, PhD Candidate, Sciences Po Paris, France. Frauds in the European Emissions Trading System: A Structural Embeddedness in Implementing a Market-based Environmental Policy Instrument.
3. Viktoria Laura Herczegh, PhD Candidate, Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary. The Power of Tradition – Confucius Institutes in the V4 Countries.

11:00-12:30 Session II (Room A - 10th Floor): Democracy, Democratization and Modernization

Chair: Wei-Ting Chao, PhD Candidate, Sciences Po Paris, France.

1. Natia Kuprashvili, Associate Professor, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia. Polarization as a Threat for Democracy Analysis of the Media System of Georgia.
2. Ibrahim Saylan, Assistant Professor, Dokuz Eylül University, Turkey & Ilkim Ozdikmenli Celikoglu, Assistant Professor, Dokuz Eylül University, Turkey. The Significance of Kemalist Modernization for the Modernization Theory.
3. Ziva Rozen-Bakher, Researcher, UK. Do the Labour Unions Lead to a Failure of Mergers & Acquisitions (M&As)?: The Game Theory Analysis.
4. Halime Safiye Atalay, Research Assistant, Istanbul Medipol University, Turkey. An Alternative Party Analysis Method for Short-Lived Political Parties in Precarious Democracies.

12:30-14:00 Session III (Room A - 10th Floor): World Affairs: Violence, Human Security, Criminal Law and Sectarianism

Chair: Nicole Farris, Associate Professor, Texas A&M University-Commerce, USA.

1. Sonia Salari, Professor, University of Utah, USA, Carrie Sillito, Associate Instructor, University of Utah, USA & Terry Allen, Adjunct Professor, Weber State University, USA. USA Violent Cause Mortality: Analysis of Trends and the Political Controversies of Prevention.
2. Kenneth Christie, Professor, Royal Roads University, Canada & Haval

Ahmad, PhD Candidate, Aberystwyth University, UK. Deradicalization: Implications for Human Security.

3. Elena-Ana Iancu, Professor, Alexandru Ioan Cuza Police Academy & Agora University of Oradea, Romania. Contribution of Forensic Science to Establishing the Truth in Criminal Proceedings.
4. Haian Dukhan, Teaching Fellow in International Relations, University of Leicester, UK. Tracing the Rise of Sectarianism in the Governorate of Deir Ezzor from the 1970s until the Current Civil War.
5. Mohammadreza Hafeznia, Professor, Tarbiat Modares University (TMU), Iran. Active Geostrategic Faults of the World Effective on the Global Politics.

**This session is jointly offered with the Anthropology & Demography Unit.*

14:00-15:00 Lunch

15:00-16:30 Session IV (Room A - 10th Floor): Migration

Chair: Utku Özer, Research Fellow, ATINER.

1. Rafael Duran, Associate Professor, University of Málaga, Spain. Othering Muslims?: A Content Analysis of the Spanish Press Coverage.
2. Rong Chen, Associate Professor, Shanghai Health Development Research Center (SHDRC), China. Internal Migration and Regional Differences of Population Aging: An Empirical Study of 287 Cities in China.
3. Sergey Ryazantsev, Director of Institute Socio-Political Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Head of Department of Demographic and Migration Policy, MGIMO University, Russia. About some Counterarguments against Myths of Labour Immigration to Russia.

**This session is jointly offered with the Anthropology & Demography Unit.*

16:30-18:00 Session V (Room A - 10th Floor): Populism

Chair: L. Jan Reid, President, Coast Economic Consulting, USA.

1. Seda Gizem Cevheri, PhD Candidate, Istanbul University, Turkey. A Comparative Analysis of Donald Trump's Neo-populist Discourse with the Classical Populism of the People's Party in the United States.
2. Natalia Strek, PhD Candidate, Jagiellonian University, Poland. Polish Populist Parties.
3. Nur Sinem Kourou, Research Assistant, Istanbul Kültür University, Turkey. Gendered Populist Mobilization.

21:00-23:00 Greek Night and Dinner

Tuesday 18 June 2019

08:00-11:00 Session VI: An Educational Urban Walk in Modern and Ancient Athens

Group Discussion on Ancient and Modern Athens.
Visit to the Most Important Historical and Cultural Monuments of the City (be prepared to walk and talk as in the ancient peripatetic school of Aristotle)

11:30-13:00 Session VII (Room A - 10th Floor): China

Chair: Birsen Erdogan, Lecturer, Maastricht University, The Netherlands.

1. Lubomir Zyblikiewicz, Professor Emeritus, Jagiellonian University, Poland. China and the Contemporary Globalization.
2. Congmei Shi, Professor, Soochow University, China & An Chen, Associate Professor, National University of Singapore, Singapore. The Emergence of Social Enterprises in China: A Comparative Study.
3. Lingmin Kong, PhD Student, University of York, UK. Identifying the Chinese Dream - From a Historical Perspective.
4. Aifang Ma, PhD Student, Center for European Studies and Comparative Politics, France. Artificial Intelligence in China: Strategies, Dynamics and Perspectives.

13:00-14:30 Session VIII (Room A - 10th Floor): Global Affairs, Diplomacy & Geopolitics

Chair: Aifang Ma, PhD Student, Center for European Studies and Comparative Politics, France.

1. Costa Andre Georghiou, Senior Lecturer, University of Johannesburg, South Africa. Professional Diplomacy: A Call for its Reinforcement.
2. L. Jan Reid, President, Coast Economic Consulting, USA. The Effect of American and European Sanctions on Russia.
3. Abubakar Alkali, PhD Candidate, Cardiff University, UK. Decolonisation in Africa and United Nations Security Council Reform: From the Organization of African Unity to African Union.

14:30-15:30 Lunch

15:30-17:00 Session IX (Room A - 10th Floor): Migration & Refugees

Chair: Lubomir Zyblikiewicz, Professor Emeritus, Jagiellonian University, Poland.

1. Bolormaa Tsogtsaikhan, Professor, National University of Mongolia, Mongolia. Internal Migration in Mongolia: Drivers, Challenges and Policy Issues.
2. Birsen Erdogan, Lecturer, Maastricht University, The Netherlands. How Does Foreign Policy Elite Justify Controversial Deals? Turkey-EU Deal on Refugees.

**This session is jointly offered with the Anthropology & Demography Unit.*

20:00- 21:30 Dinner

**Wednesday 19 June 2019
Mycenae and Island of Poros Visit
Educational Island Tour**

**Thursday 20 June 2019
Delphi Visit**

**Friday 21 June 2019
Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion**

Abubakar Alkali

PhD Candidate, Cardiff University, UK

Decolonisation in Africa and United Nations Security Council Reform: From the Organization of African Unity to African Union

The Berlin Conference of 1884 - 1885 heralded the beginning of annexation of territories in Africa and other part of the globe by European powers. Consequently, African territories with the exception of Liberia and Ethiopia came under the political administration of colonial rule. The formation of the UN after the Second World War in 1945 was a watershed in the history of nationalism in Africa. Many African countries began to agitate for political emancipation with Ghana as the forerunner attaining independence in 1957 and Nigeria in 1960. Subsequently, the erstwhile Organization of African Unity (OAU) now the African Union (AU), Nigeria and prominent nationalists from Ghana, Kenya and Tanzania amongst others became major players in the struggle for independence of African countries under colonial rule particularly the front line states in the southern African sub region.

Decolonization of Africa is generally explained by many literatures from the perspective of international antagonism of colonialism espoused in the Atlantic Charter and other instrument of self-emancipation, dwindling power of European powers after the world wars and awakening of Africans towards freedom from colonial domination (Austen, 1982; Ajayi, 1988; Sklar, 2004). This study will however focus on decolonization from the standpoint of the struggles by nationalist movement and OAU/AU to attain independence in the continent. Historical analysis of major events in the decolonization struggle would be used in the presentation of argument. I will attempt to establish the linkage between decolonization and the UNSC reform. The roles of Nigeria, OAU and other principal actors in African decolonization politics in the UN will also be examined.

Stephanie Anderson

Professor and Head, School of Politics, Public Affairs and International
Studies, University of Wyoming, USA

**Appealing to Women?:
European Union Promotional Materials and the EU's Failure
to Gain Women's Support for Integration**

For decades, women have been more skeptical of the European Union than men and have tended to oppose its treaties in referenda. Although the EU considers its policies and its conception of citizenship gender-neutral – or even pro-woman – its neo-liberal values view women as workers. As a result, and unintentionally, the EU alienates women. Using a qualitative and content analysis of EU promotional information aimed at women over the past thirty years, the authors demonstrate that the EU views women almost exclusively as unused labor. The author advocates for changing the EU's message from an exhortation to work to a policy to encourage women to participate in politics – a primary concern among women according to Eurobarometer. Otherwise, a significant proportion of women will remain 'invisible' to the EU – until the next referendum when they vote "no".

Halime Safiye Atalay

Research Assistant, Istanbul Medipol University, Turkey

An Alternative Party Analysis Method for Short-Lived Political Parties in Precarious Democracies

In this study, I offer a method for a political party's analysis by focusing the process-analysis in the context of optimality of the democratization in a country. In the precedents of settled democracies, political party analysis can function and might be explanatory by the party-analysis methods of Duverger, Sartori and their predecessors, so to say, which subject longevous political parties. These methods are extremely useful as investigating the transformations of that party in terms of its values, ideology, organizational structure and the attitudes (results) of it about the issues, the results it experienced. And, these methods of those prestigious scientists were especially hypothesized and tested on the political parties in countries which have recognizable and strong democratic values within their political systems.

However, while working with the precarious democracies and weak democratic values, if we have short-lived precedents in our hands, a result-based analysis system for a longevous party (Duverger and the other systems) may not operate. A short-lived political party surely could not have numerous and/or cumulated actions (results) for being investigated. In this case, I offer to take a law-based academic's, Hauriou's party-analysis method. In the case of Turkey, there also appears an adaptation of Hauriou by Tunaya, the Tunaya method of party-analysis. This kind of investigation on short-lived political parties in the precarious democracies -within a limited period-will give us a view of (short-term) process-analysis. Appraising a short-lived political party not by the results it had but by the short-term it evolved and experienced might give to any researcher more meaningful assessments within and for the fixed period. I test this by the example of New Democracy Movement (NDM), a short-lived political party of 1990's Turkey. The results I attained give pretty fertile ground for the mentioned case.

In this context, the problematic of this study is how to analyze the short-lived political parties with a wider perspective by not heightening your starting point from your case. While investigating continuous cases, checking the outputs in a political party's own life with changes is applicable. But if we aren't able to view a party's long-term transformation by its results, so to say, if we have less data to forge on, we need to view that party not by changes within the years it has lived but by the wider details of that party. That gives more meaningful results.

As the example, the NDM provides the researcher a significant and wide platform to study on. While having less parliamentary activity than

its presence on media, the NDM produces significant contributions in the area of its principals and its way of functioning by those principals. The results the NDM loaded to Turkish political history are not numerous. But the fruits the NDM incorporated into and noted onto Turkish political culture are more significant. For photographing those details and having an integrated view on 1990's Turkey, Hauriou/Tunaya method seems to fit conveniently.

Seda Gizem Cevheri
PhD Candidate, Istanbul University, Turkey

A Comparative Analysis of Donald Trump's Neo-populist Discourse with the Classical Populism of the People's Party in the United States

Donald Trump's political promises during his presidential campaign such as building a wall across the USA- Mexico border and deporting irregular immigrants from the USA, has increased the debate on populism in American politics and were called Trump populist. However, he is not the only populist political actor in political history of the USA. The People's Party of the USA is one of the oldest populist political actors in the history, also known as the Populists Party. The Party's motives, political actions and consequences of its actions are different from current populist actors. Main purpose of this article is to analyze the political promises and decisions of Donald Trump through the concept of neo-populism and to compare it with one of the oldest versions of the classical populism, the People's Party. Thus, the similarities and differences of classical populism and neo-populism in the politics of the US will be presented.

In the first part of the article the concept of populism and neo-populism will be introduced. Then, the differences between these two concepts will be explained. In the second part of this article, the main political features of the People's Party as a prominent example of classical populism will be given, based on leading works of this subject. In the third part, the political discourse and political promises of Donald Trump will be analyzed by two main components of neo-populism: economic liberalism and political populism. In the end, Donald Trump's neo-populist political rhetoric will be compared to the main features of classical populism of the People's Party.

Wei-Ting Chao

Researcher, Sciences Po Paris, France

Frauds in the European Emissions Trading System: A Structural Embeddedness in Implementing a Market-based Environmental Policy Instrument

Since 1997, as a consequence of the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol, many countries were taking consideration to establish quantitative restrictions and emission trading systems (so-called cap-and-trade system) as mitigation tools. The European Union Emissions Trading System (EU ETS) was launched in 2005 and is now the cornerstone of the EU's climate policy. The volume of carbon trade has increased rapidly, and carbon trading is the fastest-growing commodities market in financial services since then. However, carbon markets are subject to risks of manipulation due to criminal activities such as tax avoidance, insider trading, money laundering, embezzlement, etc. For instance, in the second phases of the EU ETS (2008-2012), the sudden increase in the volume of transactions was mainly carried out by highly organized criminals.

Based on Durkheim's idea that crime serves a necessary social function, the identification of the sources of carbon fraud provides a useful means to test the adequacy of the regulatory regime and to identify the vulnerabilities of this market. This research analyses VAT fraud in the EU ETS from 2008 to 2010 as well as its impact on the subsequent regulation and reform of the market's governance. The aim is to analyze the difficulties and challenges in implementing Free Market Environmentalism (FME) policies.

Specifically, we consider these deviant activities in the market as rational economic behaviors who seek to maximize their profits in an opportunistic context. We, therefore, put the focus on the market governance to see what social background and political decisions have produced the opportunities for these actors and how actors' behavior and market institutions are affected by social relations. Regarding this, the term "embeddedness," introduced by Karl Polanyi, provides a variety of explanations of economic activities and of their relationships to ineffective regulations and social context. In addition, we consider markets as social institutions, which share rules based on collective understandings and agreements. From a political-cultural approach, these market institutions include fundamentally: i) property rights, ii) governance structures, iii) conceptions of control, and finally iv) rules of exchange. We also analysis three inevitable coordination problems exist in markets: the value problem, the problem of competition and the cooperation problem.

Rong Chen

Associate Professor, Shanghai Health Development Research Center
(SHDRC), China

Internal Migration and Regional Differences of Population Aging: An Empirical Study of 287 Cities in China

In addition to birth and death, migration is also an important factor that determines the level of population aging in different regions, especially under the current context of low fertility and low mortality in China. Drawing upon data from the fifth and sixth national population census of 287 prefecture-level cities in China, this study explored the spatial patterns of population aging and its trends from 2000 to 2010 in China. We further examined how the large-scale internal migration was related to the spatial differences and the changes of aging by using multivariate quantitative models. Findings showed that the percentage of elder cities (i.e. proportion of individuals aged 65 and above to total population is higher than 7%) increased from 50% to 90% in the total 287 cities within the decade. We also found that regional imbalances of population aging have changed since 2000 in China. The gap of aging level between East zone and the other three zones (i.e. West, Central, and North-east) has considerably narrowed down. In 2000, Eastern region had the greatest number (65) of and the largest proportion (74.7%) of elder cities among all four regions. By 2010, the proportion (87.4%) of elder cities in the eastern region was slightly lower than Central (91.4%), Western (88.2%) and North-east sectors (91.2%). Results from multivariate quantitative models showed that the regional differences of population aging appear to be affected much more by the large-scale internal migration with clear age selectivity and orientation preference than by the impact of fertility and mortality. Population aging is expected to continue in China, which will in turn exacerbate regional imbalances. Policies and implications are discussed to face the challenges that the divergent aging population may present in China.

Kenneth Christie

Professor, Royal Roads University, Canada

&

Haval Ahmad

PhD Candidate, Aberystwyth University, UK

Deradicalization: Implications for Human Security

Since 2010, there has been a 58% increase in the number of extremist jihadi groups globally, with states rushing to develop deradicalization approaches. Global counter-radicalization practices were created to mitigate the spread of radicalization, but these vary from extreme state-sponsored programs to community-based approaches. While countries like Denmark appear to be relatively successful in countering radicalization, the United Kingdom and France continue to suffer from limited success in their implemented policies, with radicalization and attacks increasing in frequency. This paper discusses the difference in deradicalization approaches between Denmark, the United Kingdom, and France, and how integration practices can challenge human rights or contribute to counter-radicalization initiatives. Using comparative analysis, the paper will assess these comparisons within a context of human security, globalization, and social isolation.

Haian Dukhan

Teaching Fellow in International Relations, University of Leicester, UK

Tracing the Rise of Sectarianism in the Governorate of Deir Ezzor from the 1970s until the Current Civil War

This paper intends to trace the rise of sectarianism in the governorate of Deir Ezzor from the 1970s until the current civil war. In order to achieve this, this research will focus on answering two main questions: 'what factors made sectarianism so prevalent in Deir Ezzor since 2003?' and 'how did the Syrian regime, Iran and Jihadists' attempts to use the sectarian card to mobilise people lead to the catastrophe that Deir Ezzor is witnessing at the moment?' The primordial framework that considers sectarianism to be a consequence of age-old religious differences between Sunni and Shiite Muslims is firmly rejected in this paper. In fact, as stated above, the majority of Deir Ezzor inhabitants were Sunni Muslims for a long period of time. This paper shows that a better understanding of sectarianism can be found through a synthesis of instrumentalism and historical sociology. Instrumentalism explains how sectarianism enables the regime, Iran and the Jihadist groups to retain control over the population of Deir Ezzor, whilst the historical sociological framework provides an understanding of how adverse socioeconomic and security environments lead to the rise of sectarianism.

Rafael Duran

Associate Professor, University of Málaga, Spain

Othering Muslims?: A Content Analysis of the Spanish Press Coverage

Spain ranks low among European democracies regarding negative attitudes toward Muslims and Islam. Islamophobia does not appear to be a contentious issue in the Spanish political arena as to the definition of 'us,' the people, even though Moroccans have become the largest migrant community, and even though Spain is currently one of the three major Member States of first entry into the Union from Middle East and North Africa. By conducting a media frame analysis, the aim of this paper is to know whether and to what extent the Spanish large-circulation quality newspapers 'Abc,' 'El País' and 'La Vanguardia' portray Muslims and Islam as a strange, monolithic and problematic 'other.' Variations according to ideology and the nature of the events reported will also be taken into account. This is an empirical and longitudinal study covering the entire year 2017. Insofar as the media shape public opinion, to analyse media symbolic construction of Muslims and Islam as included/excluded, diverse/monolithic, and friendly/threatening may be helpful in trying to explain Spaniards perceptions and attitudes toward them. Conclusions are expected to further contribute to comparative investigations.

Birsen Erdogan

Lecturer, Maastricht University, The Netherlands

How Does Foreign Policy Elite Justify Controversial Deals? Turkey-EU Deal on Refugees

This research analyses discourses of foreignpolicy elite in mainly Germany and Turkey regarding the so-called 'Refugee Deal', signed between Turkey and the EU in March 2016. This highly controversial deal aimed at controlling the flow of refugees going from Turkey to the EU territories such as Greece. The legality, success and the implementation of the deal have been widely discussed and scrutinised by the academic and human rights circles. This research takes an alternative route to analyse the deal; by looking into the discourses of deal-makers.

The main objective is to understand what kind of discourses the German and Turkish foreign policy elite used in order to 'explain', 'justify', 'implement', 'support' or 'contest/challenge' the deal. The author is interested in the ways how policy makers incorporate 'humanitarian', 'emotional' and 'moral' grounds in negotiating and making such controversial agreements and how the allegations regarding violations of legal principles and commitments are justified (to the Refugee Convention of 1951 for instance).

The author is also interested in finding the discourses of contestation and opposition to this deal in order to show how (un)easily a policy is made possible, in spite of the tensions and (international and domestic) challenges to it. Taking all these interesting questions into account, the author will at the end compare the discourses within Turkey and Germany to see if there are major differences between two states.

The analyses will be based on the data collected from Parliamentary debates and primary data in two states (official statements, speeches, releases, interviews by the foreign policy elite and decision makers). In some parts of the research, a discourse analysis software will be used to have a better view of the discourses. The main method and theory inspiring this research is Discourse Theory which is developed by Essex School and Laclau and Mouffe. This research has started in January 2018 and most of data collection has been completed last summer and the remaining part will be completed in the winter of 2018-2019.

Costa Andre Georghiou

Senior Lecturer, University of Johannesburg, South Africa

Professional Diplomacy: A Call for its Reinforcement

This paper appeals for the return and reinforcement of professional diplomacy in both South Africa and Africa. The practice of diplomacy has become somewhat anachronistic, confirming the low regard governments currently have for the profession. An analysis of contemporary international diplomacy shows that many of the earlier problems diplomacy faced can also be traced to the African, and specifically the South African diplomatic service. The purpose of this article is not to address all these problems, but to highlight a few of the more serious ones. In most cases embassies today function essentially as elaborate and expensive facilitators, in charge of the execution of a hotchpotch of supportive political, protocol and administrative functions, which have little to do with the essential meaning and objectives of diplomacy. Also, professional diplomats are no longer the only or principal advisers and movers in the foreign policy arena. Foreign policy formulation and execution these days are a collective effort -- the foreign ministry acts in concert with a host of other government departments that engage in external relations related to their respective portfolios. Also, digital technology is changing diplomacy and power at a faster rate than any time in history. Four models are presented with suggestions as to how (South) Africa could adapt its diplomatic practices to greater effect. In conclusion the paper will ask whether the present 'post-modern' challenges to diplomatic practice will succeed in making it redundant. In order to promote more inclusive growth throughout Africa, dialogue should be instituted to re-think and reinforce new types of diplomacy. While inclusive growth can contribute to broader economic, social, and political transformation in Africa, a new form of professional diplomacy should be included as an essential tool in the continent's development process.

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Active Geostrategic Faults of the World Effective on the Global Politics

In the frame of the paradigm of competition between maritime and land strategies, there are two grate geostrategic faults in global scale, located at the West and East of the Eurasia that seems to be the origin and basis of current world politics and international relations. In fact, the global geostrategic confrontations are located around the Eurasia. Namely, the East front located around the line between land of Eurasia and Pacific Ocean, and the West front located around the line between Eurasia and west of Europe to the east of Africa. It seems that, some European States and the USA as the member of maritime strategy and NATO, have surrounded the land of Eurasia, and challenge the land strategy and its allies such as Russia and China. Maritime strategy forces the land strategy to take spatial contraction. But, Russia and China as the main actors of the land strategy try to campaign against this challenge, and protect their spatial expansion and penetration.

The global powers are located in the two sides of these faults. It means that in the East front of Eurasia, the USA is in contrast with Russia and China, and in the West front of Eurasia, the USA and NATO are in contrast with Russia. These faults have geopolitical nature and philosophy. Due to the main actors of the both sides, try to control and penetrate over the more geographical spaces. Also they try to do not allow the rivals to entrance and penetrate to their geographical spaces.

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The Power of Tradition – Confucius Institutes in the V4 Countries

In the past few decades, educational and cultural institutions have become increasingly widespread and popular all over the world. The aim of non-profit public organizations such as Britain's British Council, Germany's Goethe-Institut, France's Alliance Française or Spain's Instituto Cervantes is promoting language and culture as well as facilitating teaching and cultural exchanges.

Confucius Institute (孔子学院) of the People's Republic of China, founded in 2004, is a remarkably fast-growing example for such institutions. As of now, there are more than 700 Confucius Institutes all over six continents. The institutions named after the probably best-known Chinese philosopher co-operate with local universities, sharing finances, promoting language courses, training teachers, organizing language exams and contests and hosting cultural and artistic events.

The "trademark name" is, unsurprisingly, often associated with China's projection of "soft power" in order to improve the country's international image, and, possibly, using diplomatic manipulation. Scrutinized or not, Chinese public diplomacy through Confucius Institutes has been a phenomenal success story so far.

China's relations with the Visegrad Group countries have lately seen a significant growth within the ties of the so-called 16+1 platform and the One Belt, One Road Initiative, both established in 2013. As Chinese investment approach usually walks hand in hand with soft power projection, it is no different in case of the V4 countries. In this paper I intend to give a comparative overview of Confucius Institutes in the four Visegrad countries including statistical data, the institutions' fields and ways of operation and co-operation as well as the impact of this significant "soft power" push on the present and future of V4-China relations.

Elena-Ana Iancu

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Contribution of Forensic Science to Establishing the Truth in Criminal Proceedings

The author aims, in this article, to highlight, on the one hand, the place of forensic science among criminal sciences in Romania and, on the other hand, to present the specifics of forensic science, in order to delineate it from other related sciences. At the same time, the topic will be approached in an interdisciplinary manner, taking into account the fact that forensic technique, forensic tactics and, last but not least, forensic methodology serve both to find the truth in a criminal case and to prevent and/or combat the acts provided for by the criminal law, goals which other sciences pursue, as well. The delimitation of forensic activities from the specific activities of other disciplines is essential for substantiating criminal policies, changes to criminal legislation, proposals for good interinstitutional/intrainstitutional practices, especially when investigations are carried out in joint teams.

Lingmin Kong
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Identifying the Chinese Dream - From a Historical Perspective

The concept of the Chinese Dream has become a central principle around which China's foreign policy in general and cultural diplomacy specifically is oriented. Drawing upon historical analysis and discourse analysis, this article aims to explore the key ideology guidance the Chinese Dream, particularly within Xi's presidency.

It argues that by using the word of the 'rejuvenation', the Chinese Dream demonstrates that there is a process of self-acknowledgement and self-awakening based on the understanding of Chinese history and Chinese culture in Xi's Chinese Dream: it aims to not only continually build on this cultural legacy, but to remind the rest of the world of China's prosperity in ancient time and its ambition in achieving the great rejuvenation nowadays. Furthermore, it argues that abundant of Chinese traditional cultural resources conveying the Chinese values, norms and beliefs have been implemented into Xi's cultural diplomacy as a tool of enhancing China's soft power.

Nur Sinem Kourou

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Gendered Populist Mobilization

*NOT
AVAILABLE*

Natia Kuprashvili

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Polarization as a Threat for Democracy Analysis of the Media System of Georgia

Georgia represents one of the most polarized democracies throughout the world. This is how the evaluation made by German organization Democracy Reporting International and Young Lawyers Association of Georgia looks like according to the research they conducted in 2017.

According to the reports of international observation organizations, polarization is one of the obstacles for the development of democracy in Georgia.

Though polarization does not bear an ideological character in Georgia but it is revealed in two political opponents that turns into the so-called antagonist symbiosis in the pre- election periods.

For the latest 7 years, the two politically polarized forces have been observed in Georgia – Georgian Dream – currently in power and National Movement that represented the Georgian government earlier and its groups. The similar ideological platforms are beyond the antagonistic symbiosis, both forces support market economic reforms and name Euro-Atlantic integration as the priority of the country's external policy.

The pre-election and general media monitoring, conducted by influential international and local organizations show that media outlets are also sharply polarized. It applies mostly to the TV area. Television still remains one of the sources for information spreading (more than 70%). Two national broadcasters – „Rustavi 2“ and „Imedi “ share the largest part of the audience. Besides, according to different reports, „Rustavi 2“ owners are affiliated with the former government – National Movement while „Imedi “ is distinguished by its loyalty to the Georgian Dream government as well as biased coverage.

The distinctive form of political polarization and the fact that parallel media polarization remain unexamined and unstudied, represent the motivator encouraging us. The polarized pluralism media model is applied as a theoretical basis by us, Daniel C Hallin and Paolo Mancini provide (Comparing media systems – 2004).

The research hypothesis says that independent media outlets are the primary victims of the political and parallel media polarization. The latter creates new instruments/factors to oppress and clean them or strengthen the existing ones. This tendency comes back as a boomerang to democracy – and represents a threat.

The research conducted under the qualitative methodology is based on the Case Study methodology as well as the content, observation and quantitative analysis method. Besides, it depends on the deep interviews

conducted by small number of independent media outlets, polls conducted via questionnaires by journalists working in regions as well as focus- groups. The research includes four factors of parallel media system of political polarization: financial, technical, legislative, human.

Aifang Ma

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Artificial Intelligence in China: Newest Trends and Strategic Perspectives

Between spectacular innovation and media controversy (especially social credit system), artificial intelligence (AI) is strongly pushed by Chinese government. In the article that I published in the *Fondation pour l'innovation politique* (Foundation for Political Innovation) in November 2018 – a leading French and European think tank -- , I reviewed the Chinese policies that have allowed this new technology to flourish in China. I also analyzed the geopolitical considerations which account for the enthusiasm of China towards AI. From the elaboration of strategies, via the formation of Chinese E-commerce giants, to the tremendous investments in this policy field, Chinese government under the leadership of XI Jinping has also created a social environment which is favorable for the development of artificial intelligence.

The objectives are unambiguous: on the one hand, Chinese Communist party wishes to make full use of AI, so as to reply to economic, security, social and environmental risks. On the other hand, China deems it essential to replace the United States and to become world leader of AI. In the *Development Plan of a New Generation of Artificial Intelligence for the Period of 2016-2030* issued by the State Council in July 2017, it is said that China plan to catch up with the United States in 2020, to surpass it in 2025, and to take up the global AI leadership in 2030. In order to achieve this objective, Chinese government has fixed long term national strategies, prioritized the partnership between the public and the private sectors, and increased public investments into AI.

L. Jan Reid

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The Effect of American and European Sanctions on Russia

The paper defines “international sanctions” as politically and economically coercive decisions imposed by two or more countries upon another country to further their own perceived strategic interests. International sanctions can include economic manipulation, coercive diplomatic efforts, or as a prelude to war.

Sanctions are controversial. Scholars question sanctions’ effects on innocent citizens; the level of ethnocentrism involved in designing and implementing sanctions; and the possibility that sanctions may be ineffective. (Ang and Peksen 2007 found that sanctions achieve their goals only 33% of the time.)

Supporters of sanctions argue that regardless of sanctions’ negative effects on innocent people, those citizens were already being oppressed by their government. Supporters also argue that sanctions are the best international alternative to inaction; and that in the absence of sanctions, oppressive regimes have no incentive to reform.

Opponents of sanctions argue that sanctions promote western values while diminishing the culture of the targeted state. Conversely, supporters argue that something must be done, and cite democratic peace theory as a justification for cultural insensitivity.

There have been several international sanctions against Russia by the U.S. and its allies, beginning in 1979 when the U.S. stopped wheat exports to the Soviet Union. The most recent major sanction was imposed in 2014 on the Russian Federation following its annexation of Crimea.

The paper examines economic and political sanctions against Russia, and attempts to determine their effect on political and macroeconomic variables such as election results, exchange rates, trade, unemployment rates, and economic growth; and whether sanctions have been effective in meeting their goals.

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Do the Labour Unions Lead to a Failure of Mergers & Acquisitions (M&As)?: The Game Theory Analysis

This study raises the question if the labour unions lead to a failure of Mergers & Acquisitions (M&As) due to the political-infighting during the integration stage between the players, namely: the management, the acquirer's union and the target's union. The study used the Game Theory aims at explaining the non-cooperative games that arise between the players during the integration stage. The study presents a novel set of labour unions variables: the acquirer's union, the target's union, M&As with one union (acquirer or target), M&As with two unions (acquirer and target) and M&As without labour unions. The results show that an M&A with two labour union leads to a 'lose-lose scenario' that reflect in a negative influence on both the revenue and the profitability. The study suggests that an M&A with two labour union leads to conflicts during the integration stage due to the ability of forming a coalition between two players against a third player, which negatively influence the M&A performance. On the contrary, the study reveals that an M&A with a one labour union, especially the target's union, leads to a 'win-win scenario' that reflect in a positive influence on both the revenue and the profitability. The study concludes that an M&A with two labour unions (acquirer and target) has a high risk for a failure, while an M&A with one labour union (acquirer or target) creates opportunities for success. The study highlights the importance of using the Game theory to explain the political-infighting between the labour unions.

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**About some Counterarguments against Myths of Labour
Immigration to Russia**

The presentation analyzes the role of immigration and labor immigration in the demographic and socio-economic development of Russia in the post-Soviet period. Two main migration flows (immigration for permanent residence and labor immigration) to the country are analyzed on the basis of both absolute numbers and socio-demographic structure. The four most common myths regarding the negative impact of labor migration on the socio-economic situation in Russia are considered in detail: immigration hampers technological re-equipment and the renewal of the Russian economy; immigrants squeeze national labor from the Russian labor market; immigrants contribute to the dumping of wages on the Russian labor market; immigrants are to blame for raising the retirement age in Russia.

The author's counterarguments on each of these myths are cited. A distinctive feature of labor migration to Russia is the clearly expressed labor motivation of migrants. For the most part, migrant workers are people from the countries of the former USSR (primarily citizens of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan) who are willing to work actively, many speak Russian, are oriented towards Russia, want and are ready to register honestly, get permits documents and pay taxes. Many migrants have quite successfully adapted to the Russian labor market, some receive a temporary residence permit and a permanent residence permit, and many become citizens of Russia. This is partly evidence of their successful integration into Russian society. Given the demographic situation in which modern Russia is located, labor migration could not only replenish the cohort of labor resources on a temporary basis, but also increase the population of the country on a permanent basis. At the same time, the sociocultural consequences of labor migration for local societies and Russian society as a whole require additional study. In this regard, Russia needs to develop the infrastructure for the adaptation and integration of migrants into Russian society – to ensure access to learning Russian, medical services, education of children and migrants.

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USA Violent Cause Mortality: Analysis of Trends and the Political Controversies of Prevention

The United States has a violent death rate which is much higher than other developed countries. Our research questions utilize national level data sets to improve our understanding of homicide and suicide mortality by sex and age, along with cultural and political explanations of these trends. Self-harm in the form of suicide has grown in recent years. Mid and later life is a time for the highest suicide rate among men. Women are less likely to kill themselves, and if they do, their methods differ from male counterparts. Using U.S. FBI Supplemental Homicide Reports (SHR) data over 34 years, we found men are more likely to die from violent cause mortality. In these cases, homicide offenders tend to be other males, mostly acquaintances. It is very rare for murdered men to die at the hands of an intimate partner. Women are usually assaulted by males, but their killer has a closer relationship—typically a husband, boyfriend, ex-partner and or other family member. Compared to their female counterparts, older women 50 and over have proportionally the highest rates of femicide (female homicide). Using a sample of 728 intimate partner homicide suicides (IPHS), age and sex patterns were a factor in the 1600 deaths studied. Linked homicide-suicide events are almost exclusively male perpetrated, and sometimes multiple victims are harmed or killed. There is evidence suicidal husbands in later life may decide to kill their wives as well. Unlike younger domestic homicide victims, these women may not realize they are endangered. The post-war baby boom cohort has been particularly suicidal, which is of concern as they move into these stages of vulnerability. Women whose husbands own guns are particularly vulnerable to their husband's suicidal ideation and behavior. This paper is based on research from a compilation of sources to examine US homicide and suicide mortality, along with data on state firearms laws. Access to lethal means is a major factor in the mortality described, particularly firearms. Firearm saturation has risen in recent years, as has the population adjusted firearm mortality from homicide and suicide. The Small Arms Survey (2018) reported private gun possession was highest in the US, with an estimated 120 guns per 100 persons (some families none,

others have multiple firearms). US gun laws protect private ownership, and regulations are controversial. A powerful and well-funded gun lobby has influenced political election campaigns. Results include a ban on firearm injury research funding, lax enforcement of firearm laws and few restrictions for purchase. The U.S. Supreme Court has supported 'reasonable' firearm restrictions, but state control predominates. Evidence suggests US states with greater gun restrictions had fewer related fatalities. Recent massacres using military style weapons, with little government response, have frustrated many Americans. The most recent elections suggest the political atmosphere has begun to change. The United States has many challenges related to the prevention of violent cause mortality, and research plays an important role to inform the public and change preventable behaviors.

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The Significance of Kemalist Modernization for the Modernization Theory

Although it has been over time challenged by its new and alternative versions as well as the dependency theory, the classical form of Modernization Theory developed a particular and highly influential understanding of modernity that dominated academic studies on modernization from the early 1950s until the late 1970s. Combining a strong belief in the idea of an evolutionary and progressive social change inherited from the Enlightenment tradition and 19th century sociology, with Talcott Parsons' structural functionalism, Modernization Theory envisaged the processes that created modern society as universal, inevitable and irreversible. Referring to the Western experience of modernity that is characterized by industrialization, democratization and secularization as the model for non-Western countries, especially within a context in which many ex-colonial countries now became independent amidst a growing Cold-War rivalry for hegemony between the two superpowers, Modernization Theory asserted that the West, particularly the USA as the representative of modernity would guide non-Western societies on their journey to modernization. Having a strong ideological background in this sense, this theory not only foresaw gradual erosion of tradition in these societies in favor of the modern but it also made room for external intervention.

Among many other non-Western countries, Turkey has been often attributed a 'special place' by Modernization Theory. Modernization experience of Turkey, with a special emphasis on Kemalist modernization of the early republican period, and the relatively smooth transition to democracy has attracted attention of scholars and policy makers from other countries. Scholars of classical Modernization Theory often featured Turkey as a model for Muslim Middle East and North African countries. The impact of the Modernization paradigm on the development of social sciences in Turkey is a much discussed topic. Theoretical flaws of the theory have also been discussed, with references to its universalist, essentialist and deterministic implications. However, the significance of the Turkish case for Modernization Theory for the verification of its main hypotheses is a neglected issue, which also undermines a more empirically grounded critique of the theory from Turkey. This paper explores the significance of Kemalist modernization for Modernization

Theory. In other words, it seeks to clarify the reasons for Turkey's special place and the ways Kemalist modernization is positioned vis-a-vis other non-western countries, by tracking the scholarly works by Walt Rostow, Dankwart Rustow, Daniel Lerner, Bernard Lewis and Shmuel Eisenstadt. Thus, it is also hoped to shed light on the historical origins of the so-called 'Turkish model'. It could only then be possible to detect false causalities, anachronisms, and neglect of backtracks, disruptions and 'roads not taken', in the references of the pioneers of the Modernization Theory to the Turkish case.

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&

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The Emergence of Social Enterprises in China: A Comparative Study

China's public welfare institutions as referred to here are a legacy of the planned economy. They used to be non-profit organizations funded by the state to provide public goods (such as medication and education). These institutions indeed made important contributions to the supply of public goods over the past four decades. However, their lack of efficiency, poor management, and heavy financial burdens on government made them hardly sustainable, thus generating an urgent need to transform them into "social enterprises." The social enterprises are defined as those which follow the business model to serve the general public by profit-making means. The profits thereby obtained are devoted to the public welfare programs rather than end up in private pockets. This article is attempted to examine how the state-funded non-profit organizations in China have been transformed – or have failed to be -- into social enterprises, and analyze the problems and challenges arising from this process. Based on our questionnaire-based surveys as well as relevant scholarly research, we have made a comparative study of successful and failed transformations in Shenzhen (Guangzhou) and Suzhou (Jiangsu), respectively. We argue that for the transformation to succeed, some preconditions are required, including the attitude and finance of local governments, changed mindset of the people involved, the availability of "social entrepreneurs," and a willingness to thoroughly reform the personnel management system of the old institutions.

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Polish Populist Parties

The aim of this paper is to critically analyse the difference between the political parties that are of populist nature and those only using populist strategies in their activities.

The concept of populism and the very idea of *new* populism have been developing in recent years. The already existing literature on populist parties and populist leaders who defeated their political opponents in the last elections is already abundant. However, an impasse regarding the concept of *new* populism is yet to be analysed. There have been different approaches to the topic. On one side of political spectrum there are populist leaders such as Jaroslaw Kaczynski in Poland and Victor Orban in Hungary and their political parties fall within the definition of populist parties proposed by Jan Warner Muller. On the other side, grassroots movements such as the Spanish *Indignados Movement*, from which the Podemos Party originates from, have been gaining gravitas in the recent elections.

This study will facilitate a better understanding of the concept of *new* populism within the current political climate and the issue of emerging illiberal democracies in Europe. The presentation will focus on the three aspects of populism: antiestablishment sentiments, artificial social divisions between “us and the other”, and appeal to the will of the people.

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Internal Migration in Mongolia: Drivers, Challenges and Policy Issues

Internal migration in Mongolia did not lose its momentum and has continued in the past period. More recent trends, however, are exceptional in that the share of households moving from rural to urban areas including the capital city of Ulaanbaatar is relatively high resulting in urbanization and the depopulation of certain areas of rural. Given the challenges in both urban and rural areas because of internal migration, it is no surprise that the issue has become a main policy concern for the country. Therefore, the current study is carried out to investigate the key drivers and challenges of internal migration in Mongolia and to provide a series of policy recommendations. This study details what drives migrants to leave their origin communities, what attracts them to certain destination areas, and the challenges and opinions they have of their situation. The analysis relies on data from a recently (2018) conducted household questionnaire survey across areas of both origin and destination, covering 3,715 individuals within 1,001 households. In addition, qualitative methods including focus group discussions and in-depth stakeholder interviews were employed to support interpretation and add nuance to the statistical findings. Using this complementary mixed-methods approach, the findings should be of great value to policymakers working on this topic. In sum, internal migration in Mongolia is largely driven by unequal economic and social development in the places of origin and destination areas, and causes and challenges of economic character are prevailing. Moreover, since current migration trends highlighted in this study are comparable to those of the past 15-20 years, it can be expected that they will continue into the near future. Economic reasons primarily drive migrants to leave their places of origin. The majority of migrants are young working-aged adults between 25-39, deciding to leave their places of origin in order to find improved working conditions. However, jobs are relatively scarce in the formal sector of urban labor markets, resulting in many to be engaged in informal activities in uncertain conditions. Difficulties faced by migrant households in their areas of origin before moving were predominately economic in nature, whereas issues at destination are related to living conditions. The findings illustrate that internal migration is an important factor in the social and economic development of Mongolia. Given the implications for both areas of origin as well as destination, it would be sensible for policymakers to take into consideration the overall and more specific trends in order to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs of such movement. The most viable

solution to effectively tackle the issues related to Mongolia internal migration is to integrate internal migration into various policy sectors and national development planning. The development of job places, health and educational institutions outside of the capital is highly recommended. These measures must be taken in conjunction with broader industrial development plans, and with the creation of employment opportunities in the countryside. In this sense, making agriculture and livestock more profitable through subsidies is also an option to consider.

Lubomir Zybliekiewicz

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China and the Contemporary Globalization

It is necessary to begin with the critical reassessment of the debate on the contemporary globalization. There are many very different approaches and positions on its origins, feedbacks and results. The ongoing debate involves practical consequences; many false statements have been contributing to the strong backlash against it.

The period of the contemporary globalization, since the early nineties, is simultaneous with the period of the imposing growth and development of the world economy. Even the crisis of 2008, taking place in principle within the traditional West, did not interrupt these beneficial processes. At the same time more and more acute were becoming issues of increasing inequality as well as other negative side-effects. Without doubt, there have been, beside a lot of winners, many losers.

For the IR analysis particularly important are heavy shifts between few great powers in the world economy and politics.

China is definitely the winner, probably main one. If still around 2000 it was possible to equate the globalization with the Americanization, it took no more than dozen or so years to make such opinion definitely obsolete. In any case, such changes were the basis for Trump's MAGA stand and the launching of various trade wars. The significance of China's economy is acknowledged at least since 2008. Strategic reassessment of China by the U.S. has been announced definitely in the fall of 2018.

The main stress must be put on the economy and politics/policies. I am going first to examine the Chinese official declarations and projects, taking into due consideration the critical opinions, mainly from the United States. Ultimate importance for assessment of China's impact on the contemporary globalization I am going to attribute to the scrutiny of Chinese economic policies, in particular in the fields of foreign trade and foreign direct investments.