

ONTOLOGICAL INSECURITY AND REGIONALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

NON-PHYSICAL SECURITY-STABILITY- CONTINUITY

Soner AKIN



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“We cannot continue to rely only on our military in order to achieve the national security objectives that we've set. We've got to have a civilian national security force that's just as powerful, just as strong, just as well-funded”

Barack Obama

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Prolog

The concept of ontological security has been used in political science and IR literature since the mid-2000s. In this book, the concept of institutional ontological security has been examined in general and an evaluation has been made for the sub-regional classifications of the Middle East countries. As it is known, according to the science of psychology, if the conditions prevent and invalidate the continuation of the established behavior patterns and self-narratives of the individual or cause a radical change in these patterns and narratives, this situation will cause the suppressed basic ontological problems to come to the surface.

Under these conditions, the actor loses confidence in the continuity of himself and his environment and finds himself in a state of deep anxiety. This situation is also encountered in the analysis of security problems in the discussions of regional politics. Existing ontological security literature and the emerging discussion of regionalism and ontological insecurity are reviewed within this framework for this book.

Chapter 1

The Concept of Ontological Insecurity

The most important break in security studies is the development of ontological security approach since the early 2000s. The common point of these studies is to reveal that states do not only focus on physical security when making decisions in international politics, but also try to ensure their identity security. In other words, according to the ontological security approach, the identity security of states affects their foreign policy behaviors and identity security emerges as a variable in understanding state policy. The concept of ontological security was transferred to the discipline of international relations from the disciplines of psychoanalysis and sociology. In the event that the conditions in which a country exists, the self-narrative of the human being interrupts, ontological problems arise and the country loses his confidence in the continuity of his existence and his environment and enters into a state of anxiety (Mitzen, 2006: 353). This is called as "ontological

insecurity". Indeed, individuals with ontological security will be able to cope with the risks of life thanks to a strong perception of their own selves. On the other hand, individuals who have existential anxieties and constantly question their selves will have ontological insecurity. There exist another question on whether states might be actors that provide ontological security for individuals (Zarakol, 2017: 53).

Ontological security, which Giddens sees as confidence in the continuity of one's self-identity and in the coherence of the surrounding social and material environments of action; Routines in the lives of societies and states as well as people can continue to exist in connection with social interactions and stability, and in its absence, ontological insecurity can be mentioned. The concept of ontological security was first used by psychiatrist R.D. Laing. Ronald David Laing, being a Scottish psychiatrist, has written about mental health and psychoses (Kinnvall, 2004: 750). Laing is one of the important psychiatry theorists and practitioners of the 20th century, who turned from existentialism to mysticism, did not take into account the reality of life and added the human dimension to the psychiatric understanding that only drew

the general framework. Ontological security concept was also transferred to the discipline of political science from the disciplines of psychoanalysis and sociology (Steele, 2008).

According to the ontological security approach, states' identity security affects their foreign policy behaviors and identity security emerges as a variable in understanding state policy. The only subject of security is the state, and while states shape their security policies, they follow policies aimed at protecting their national sovereignty and territorial integrity. It can be revealed that states do not only act with a focus on physical security when making decisions in international politics, but also try to ensure their identity security. Indeed, it can also be argued that the policies pursued by the states governed in the extreme right-wing paradigm for security cause more insecurity. Moreover, within this paradigm, states will feel more insecure with the arming of other states, even though they arm themselves for their own security. In other words, states might view each other as potential aggressors, even if their subjective judgments of their own existence are not (Subotić, 2016: 615). In some geographies, states become dependent on the conflict created by the security dilemma,

even though it conflicts with their physical security, and in this way, the dilemma becomes permanent. The rival role may make states more dependent on competitive routines and competition. Since the elimination of the security dilemma will mean the elimination of the routines based on competition and the absence of these routines will create uncertainty, ending the dilemma will create ontological distrust for the states (Mitzen, 2006: 351).

Chapter 2

Regional Ontological Insecurity

Today, the most important factor that causes ontological insecurity problems with the great global change it has created in all countries of the world is undoubtedly the problem of regional incompatibility and the inability to follow each other. Epidemics, cross-border conflicts and migrations that changed people's daily life routines all over the world did not only affect individuals. In addition, it has triggered many changes on a social, national and global scale. For example, the threat that started in the field of internal security with international migration and civil wars caused problems in economic, social and political fields in a very short time (Russo and Stoddard, 2018:27).

Ontological security theory with its analysis tools and socio-psychological infrastructure in regional studies, multipolar world order and changing power balances in regional politics, regional wars, coronavirus epidemic, increasing inequalities, mass migration movements, the rise

of the extreme right and populism. contributes to the analysis of uncertainties. In addition, it offers an eye-opening perspective in understanding the psycho-cultural dynamics in irrational state behaviors, long-term conflicts and othering processes. With this theoretical ground, the behavior or narratives of states are read (Georgiou, 2013:308)

For example, the borders of the Middle East region, which the Western states have arranged according to their own political and economic interests and redefined with the periodic change of their interests, are in a state of great confusion even after three centuries. It is necessary to explain what kind of role the religious diversity in the Middle East plays in increasing security concerns in the region. The relationship of a similar nature should be discussed under the headings such as oil, economy-security, water-security, armament-security, political culture or leaders-security and ethnic diversity-security. Ontological regional security and consequently affected international security are affected by ethnic conflicts and wars of states and may differ depending on the change in the balance of power (Chernobrov, 2016:588).

What makes the Middle East really important today is the oil that was discovered towards the end of the 1800s. The Middle East is the richest region in the world in terms of both oil and natural gas reserves. After oil became the world's most valuable and unrivaled raw material, revolutions, wars and coup d'états followed each other wherever oil came from, and the people of the countries that owned oil could never breathe easily. Today, oil, which is the most important source of energy in the development of industry, development, technology and of course civilization, is also the leading actor of political and economic conflicts.

Along with the acceleration of the industry and the rapid increase in the world population, oil will continue to be the leading actor of conflicts in the future as it is today. What makes the Middle East advantageous in terms of costs; It is the cost difference between oil production at sea and oil production on land. Because Middle Eastern oil is produced on land and under the sand. The cost of production in the seas increases with the platform and the depth of the water. As a result, from any angle, Middle East oil is the cheapest and most attractive oil in the world (Roberts, 2020:226).

At first glance, the regional ontological security approach is seen as a reflection of the rapidly increasing identity studies in the field of security in the post-Cold War era, in Political Science in general and in International Relations in particular. Ontological security approaches drawn on the basis of the basic concepts of social constructivist theory reveal this situation. In ethnically diverse regions, ontological security as a mechanism for securing identity is considered as a driving force at least as much as physical security.

Regional identity is important for ontological security. However, trying to explain ontological security by reducing it to identity alone causes incompleteness. Because ontological security is a comprehensive and layered security framework related to existence in the world, including identity. To consider the ontological security approach, which emerged at the individual level, at the state level, inevitably means accepting the existence of a similarity between the individual and the state, and then the state and the region (Gebresenbet and Wondemagegnehu, 2021)

The regional ontological security construct cannot be read independently of the internationally valid security

understanding and the norms and structures created in line with this understanding, regardless of the region. Ontological security, which indicates the state's meaning and positioning in the context of the historical process, also has an important place in macro security. The ontological security of the state does not arise simply by producing an inclusive biographical narrative for itself. The state has to produce bodily actions in accordance with the historical narrative it envisions for itself. Regional ontological security, above all, considers the interconnection of even the physical with the social. In addition, since ontological security does not have a tangible concrete indicator, it is based on the social and societal acceptance of individuals and human communities (Kinvall, 2004: 750).

This situation, which can be perceived as falling into the trap of one-sidedness, arises from the nature of the ontological security approach. In a holistic regional ontological security approach, it is directly or indirectly articulated with all other concepts and coexists. There is no fixed or cumulative history in terms of regional ontological security (Shani, 2017: 281).

Chapter 3

Intersubjective Dimension of Security

The new dimensions of security are difficult to identify and specify. Indeed, faced with the diversity of regional, national and international problems, there is a real fragmentation of the issue of security in the post-cold war era. Three points deserve to be studied. Firstly, the role of America, its limits, its means, secondly the security in Asia and thirdly the future of disarmament, a particularly interesting example of regionalization can be evaluated under the framework of intersubjective dimension of security. Most experts argue that the security dilemma is a social construct of intersubjective understanding in which states are insecure enough to make the worst assumptions about their intentions and ultimately define their interests in terms of self-sufficiency.

In contrast, the security society is a more diverse social structure based on the common knowledge that states can resolve their conflicts without war and trust each other. Both classical realists and neo-realists seek to explain the

world as they see it. In a positivist sense, they seek to develop permanently valid universal concepts and laws that will form the basis for predicting the future. As the world was prone to violence to a large extent in the past, it is likely to continue to do so in the future. Lessons from the past show that the best way to ensure security is to strive towards power (Mitzen and Larson, 2017).

Despite the debate about narrow or broad definitions of security, differences between pessimists and optimists remain as to whether the world will be safer in the future. Collaboration in the post-Cold War world is not viewed this way by all neorealist writers. Some scholars argue that the traditional neo-realistic view of international relations should be lightened or even replaced. Many contemporary approaches can be considered to illustrate alternative ways of thinking about international security. Despite the differences between these approaches, they share the view that a stronger international security in the future is possible through cooperation. Many argue that there are significant shifts in international security that could increase opportunities for peace. This, however, is not a universal view (Vieira, 2016).

Recently, this understanding of security has been criticized and many international relations experts have proposed an expanded concept of security by extending the understanding of national security to include other issues. Inter-subjective transitivity involves states abandoning the security policies they have developed with reference only to themselves, and taking into account the security interests of their neighbors. The tension between national and international security has not been recognized by all security experts. Other experts argue that the emphasis on the state and interstate security ignores the fundamental changes in world politics, especially after the Cold War. Ethnic-nationalist groups rather than states should be the focus of inter-subjectivity security experts (Browning, 2018: 108).

It can be argued that we continue to live in a world of insecurity and constant security competition. Cooperation between states may arise, but this is difficult to achieve and maintain. There are two factors that make cooperation difficult. The first one is the possibility of cheating and second one is the states' interest in relative gains. Indeed, states were aware of this, and despite joining alliances and signing arms control agreements, besides, they remained

vigilant that they must ultimately ensure their own national security (Kinnvall, 2007).

Chapter 4

Regional Hegemony in Middle East

States are increasingly internalizing the notion that whatever the interdependent and chauvinistic appeal of their national security may be, security policies aimed solely at their own interests are ultimately self-destructive. It is argued that we continue to live in a world of insecurity and constant security competition, pointing out the 1991 Gulf War, the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia and some parts of the Soviet Union, the continuation of violence in the Middle East, the 2003 Iraq War and the war against terrorism (Adısönmez vd., 2022).

It is clear that there are many internal and external factors that create or indirectly encourage the development of these security concerns throughout the Middle East. However, when the historical process is examined, it is seen that internal risk factors specific to the region are more effective than external factors in the increase of security concerns and the formation of security perceptions. The

religious diversity in the Middle East is perhaps the most common feature in the emergence and acceleration of all the turmoil and war environments in the region. For this reason, while explaining what kind of role the religious diversity in the Middle East plays in increasing security concerns in the region, it is necessary to approach the similar relationship from different angles. These are topics such as oil and economy-security, water-security, armament-security, political culture, leaders-security and ethnic diversity-security (Subotić, 2016: 618)

Today, the Middle East region is primarily identified with its rich oil resources for most people. The presence of oil in the region is one of the most important factors to be considered in any observation about the Middle East. In addition to the fact of oil, the economic situation of the region also plays a decisive role in security perceptions. Oil and economic structure reflect on the security perceptions of the region on the basis of countries, and in some cases even play the most fundamental determinant role. (Adısönmez vd., 2022).

In addition to the fact that oil is so effective in regional security, the economic disorder, instability and vulnerabilities that are common throughout the Middle East

damage the security structure directly or indirectly. After the Middle East region got out of the control of the imperialist states and became independent, it first dealt with the economic structure. Efforts to nationalize the factors of production, which were under the control of foreign powers for a long time, were started. This process, which was fast and stable at first due to the intensity of the reactions, later slowed down and stopped. Thus, foreign capital and foreign powers succeeded in infiltrating the region again and placed their influence through the ruling elites, although not as in the colonial period (Shani, 2017:280)

The irregularity of the economic structure causes social and political problems in the region and these problems increase the reaction of the people to the administrations day by day. These Middle Eastern governments, which were formed far from the participation of the people, are intensifying the reaction of the people by endangering the security of the state with their inexperience in the face of economic problems. In addition, economic inequalities have led people to illegal activities in the Middle East as well as in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Weapons, drug trafficking and corruption are spreading throughout the region day by day, which indirectly threatens security and

increases the power of illegal groups (Heritage and Lee, 2020)

The Middle East region is a region that has been identified with conflicts and wars throughout history and today, and is remembered by most people in this direction. It is more likely than other parts of the world that unrest and disagreements will lead to conflicts in the Middle East region and that a war environment will occur in the following stages. The continuing impact of the Crusades, the legendary past of Islamic civilization, the current situation against the West, American hegemony and former Western colonialism have turned into the biggest oppositional discourses. The establishment of a Jewish state in the middle of the Arab world with the support of the West, the fact that Westerners have always supported oppressive governments in the Middle East and the third world in line with their own interests, and the consumer society logic of Western culture summarize the hatred against western hegemony (Kinnvall, 2004).

Chapter 5

Contemporary Populism on Insecurity

The main reason for insecurity in the international arena is the hierarchical structure in the international system. In this context, the state is positioned as a tool to ensure security. Today, the majority of the world's countries are already fed up with the language of diplomacy that instills insecurity. In fact, trust-building for NATO has been handled within the framework of eliminating distrust and fear caused by uncertainty about the enemy's intention, emphasizing the regime of transparency, restraint and verification. Populism is a concept that has become more popular in recent years, both in academic circles and in everyday language. Although populism mostly develops on the axis of political science in connection with political theory and political ideologies, the number of studies that cautiously adapt and apply the concept to the field of international relations is gradually increasing (Mälksoo, 2018: 378).

In terms of the dynamics of security, the permeability between the international level and sub-state units has increased and the individual level has gained a normative value in the context of the security of the state. The expansion of security generally includes economic injustice, environmental pollution, climate change, depletion of natural resources, migration and refugee problem, political pressure, lack of food and water, epidemics, population growth, regional and national conflicts, in addition to military threats to security understanding. terrorism, organized crime, ethnic and religious conflicts, acts of violence by states against their own people, cyber-attacks, drug, arms and human trafficking, etc. Discussions on this axis started in the early 1980s, and the concept of security has been gradually expanded since the 1990s (Dupuis and Thorns, 1998: 27).

Populism, like all other social structures, needs to be considered together with historical and social contexts during social transformation, and it must be understood within these contexts whether it is progressive or reactionary. The second dimension, 'authoritarianism', can also be considered within this framework (Steele and Homolar, 2019: 216).

New security studies are based on a broad and populist understanding of insecurity that emerged as a result of the transformation of the international system and the concept of security, which was tried to be conveyed in the previous chapters. This understanding, emphasizing that the focus of security is now diversified, has moved the field of study beyond military issues and expanded it to include the security of all elements from the individual to the global. The state, which is the main reference object in classical/traditional security understanding, can be counted as a reference object in new security studies only when evaluated with the individual and society. The new security studies, which represent the opposition to the traditional understanding of security, which perceives security as the identification and elimination of military threats in general, are based on the idea that the purpose of security policies should not only prevent armed conflicts, but also ensure the happiness and well-being of people (Kay, 2012:241).

Chapter 6

Social Internal Dynamics and Ontological Security

Threats to security in the post-Cold War era originate from supra-state or intra-state areas rather than other rival states, and besides, the state itself can be a threat to its citizens. The acceptance of this approach brought with it the creation of a new security agenda and, accordingly, a transition from a state-centered approach to an individual-centered approach. In the new studies carried out on the axis of this understanding, the security of the individual as a level of analysis has been increasingly focused on, and accordingly, the concept of "human security", which has been normed by the United Nations, has also become a part of the new understanding of security. Therefore, the new understanding of security, the deepening and expansion of security, the "who is security for?" gives the answer "human" to the question (Skey, 2010: 720).

In summary, "transformation of ontological security in international relations" refers to the expansion of security

in the context of threats and its deepening in the context of actors. These expansions and deepening phenomena not only necessitated the creation of the concept of "human security" as an important tool of the security agenda, but also led to the formation of a new security understanding developed around this concept (Gustafsson and Nina, 2020: 880).

Inner security has become a concept that can be provided in cooperation with other states. Therefore, it is important to accept that the national security logic of states cannot provide security alone. This logic is formulated as if one state is safe, the other is safe. In other words, it is indispensable to accept that security will be achieved as a result of mutual efforts of states. Internal, social and external factors influence the concepts of arms control and disarmament. External factors, security concerns of states, acceptance (not) of the current status quo, problems arising in relation to inspections, special policies followed by states, general international political situation, differences between military forces, determining the criteria for disarmament and arms control activities, the allies' approaches to the issue. Internal factors are the general elections held in the country, the continuity of the ruling

class, the impact of public opinion on disarmament and arms control processes, and economic issues (Chernobrov, 2016: 587).

The fears that emerged as a result of these painful events lie on the basis of the threat perceptions created by the states as a result of the painful events they have experienced throughout their history. The sense of threat that arises as a result of these fears causes the loss of trust between states, as explained throughout the article. This situation, in turn, affects the policies of the states, the functioning of the organizations they are members of and the implementation of the agreements signed within the framework of these organizations (Kinnvall and Mitzen, 2020: 243).

Perceptions are of great importance when it comes to threats and fears. Therefore, changing perceptions is essential in reducing fears. Weapons can be sent to different regions, then returned to their original places. Distance no longer matters when it comes to the use of weapons. Therefore, it is more important to show that the weapons will not be used and that they are not a threat to the addressee states, rather than at which point the weapons are deployed. In other words, controlling arms within the framework of treaties and providing information about

them is important for building trust. This situation reveals the necessity of establishing a dialogue. The first step to reduce fears and subsequently change perceptions is to build trust. Confidence building can begin when a state feels that the opposing state/state group will not use its weapons against it (Dale et. al, 2019: 370).

Chapter 7

Ontological Security in Arabian Peninsula

Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq are the first countries that come to mind in the Middle East when the Arabian Peninsula is mentioned (Hopwood, 2015).

Before the UN, some foreign naval forces tried to provide ontological security in this geography. For example, the US 5th fleet, which took on this task in Bahrain, had patrolled the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea region for more than ten years; It is stationed near Djibouti. The country has also taken part in the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative. The founding purpose of this initiative is to develop one-to-one cooperative relations with a large part of the Middle East and especially with the Gulf Cooperation Council countries. The Istanbul Cooperation Initiative is based on the same ideas as the Mediterranean Dialogue, and focuses on common issues such as cooperation in the fight against international terrorism,

defense reform and joint education. The primary objectives of this initiative, in which Bahrain has participated since its establishment, have been constituted as mutually adopting the initiative, being flexible and complementing each other. The phenomenon of mutual ownership means that the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative is actually a two-way initiative and naturally both sides should take responsibility (Bahrain, 2020: 223).

NATO's purpose here is not to force its participants to adopt something; on the contrary, it is to increase the possibility of cooperation by listening to the opinions of the participating countries and identifying their needs. Istanbul Cooperation Initiative also aims to be flexible in a way to produce accurate and fast results for the different interests and expectations of its participants. It has been another important element of ontological security in Bahrain as an investigative authority associated with the National Security Agency or National Security Organizations, but not subordinate to the Ministry of Interior, formally part of Bahrain. The event that Saudi Arabia got into the event and thus Bahrain, and that could enable Iran to enter Saudi Arabia, is known as the Bahrain Revolution, which started in 2011 and lasted until 2014. Today, the opposition and the

Caliph's government do not trust each other, and the other is that the hard rhetoric of the radical wings of both sides continues to be active in the process. The struggle between the reformist and conservative wings in the Caliph family continues (Al-Marashi, and Causevic, 2020: 33).

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) owes its activism in foreign policy largely to being one of the world's leading oil exporters. The UAE, which has made significant economic gains from oil exports since its independence in 1971, has undergone a significant transformation, especially since the 1990s, and has become both a political and economic power at the regional and global level. Instruments such as serious imports of weapons and defense products, attempts to establish military bases in different regions, lobbying activities in important Western capitals, and efforts to gain the trust of the Christian world by prioritizing moderate Islamic discourse can be cited as some of the tools of the UAE's active and multidimensional foreign policy. The UAE has been dependent on its Western allies for security for many years. Having close relations with the USA and the UK, the UAE tried to minimize its fragile structure against regional threats by staying under the security umbrella of these countries. However, this

situation has started to change partially in recent years. Factors such as the transformations in global politics, different approaches in the management of the great powers, the changes in the power equations at the regional level and the differing nature of the threats have pushed even small countries such as the UAE to solve the issues related to their national security with their own instruments. The policy of increasing tension in the Middle East in the recent period will not be in the interests of any of the countries in the region. At this point, countries that need the help of external actors in terms of national security undoubtedly present a more fragile structure. For this reason, the economic superpowers of the Gulf region have to establish relations with the political and military superpowers of the region in the context of a conciliatory and collaborative framework, rather than adopting an aggressive foreign policy. A policy in this direction is the main key to regional development, political and economic stability in the Middle East, and cultural cohesion among culturally close peoples in the region (Roberts, 2020:225).

Differences in the sectarian affiliations of the groups that make up the Yemeni people, inequality in access to administrative power and resources, and ongoing

marginalization policies stood out as obstacles to achieving permanent stability in the country. When this sensitivity in the internal structure of the country is combined with the direct and indirect foreign interventions to the country located on the Gulf of Aden-Bab'ül Mandeb Strait-Red Sea-Suez Canal, which is a strategically very important waterway; The state structure in Yemen has become dysfunctional. Yemen, the poorest country in the Middle East. Along with its limited capacity, it tries to overcome the complex political, social and security problems it faces. The "humanitarian crisis" due to the civil war in Yemen is growing day by day. As regards ontological insecurity in Yemen, the political and humanitarian situation has become seriously complex and intractable. The strategic importance of Yemen and the fact that the country is on a commercial transit route has almost whetted the appetite of regional actors as well as global powers. In addition, Yemen is in the middle of the commercial and hegemonic struggles of global and regional actors (Botterill et.al., 2020: 1140).

The political structure in Kuwait has split into two irreconcilable parts, but neither has a project to convince the silent majority that they are on the road to liberation. So

far, there is no bridge or half-bridge that can connect the two. This division did not remain within the limits of acceptable disagreement, but instead reached the point of using unprecedented expressions and rhetoric in Kuwaiti political action, some of which we witnessed backstage. The level of ontological distrust has reached the highest level of denial. The longer the witnessed political tensions continue in Kuwait, the greater the level of instability. It adversely affects the economy and society and exposes national security to risks (Cordesman, 2018a).

Kuwait is one of the countries with the highest per capita income in the world. The factor that creates this phenomenon is the combination of high reserves of energy resources and a very low population. Due to the inclusion of the energy sector in Kuwait, the contribution of the industrial sector seems to be quite high. The budget opportunities provided by the revenues of energy resources make it easier for the government to make infrastructure investments in particular. High current account surplus facilitates the import of needed foreign investment goods. In this case, the essential element needed is the continuation of this current economic-political determination and political stability. Foreign capital can play an important role

in the realization of these projects, not only as capital, but with the contribution of technological knowledge and governance (Yom, 2020: 571).

In the Sultanate of Oman, the Sultan is the sole and final decision maker in the country's administration, especially on defense, foreign policy and internal security issues. Oman, together with Kuwait, is the richest country in the region and its per capita income is at the highest level in the region. At the same time, it is an extremely safe country, unlike the countries in the region. Therefore, it is the country with the lowest ontological insecurity, for the region. Oman is the 19th most reliable country in the world. The country in general belongs to the Ibadhi sect, so they have a very tolerant understanding of Islam (Katzman, 2011).

Qatar bases its ontological security in two ways. The first is Al-Udeid Air Base, which is in an irreplaceable location with the United States. The importance of this air base for the United States and Qatar has been mentioned above. The second is the diversification of Qatar's dependence on itself. It is also possible to say that Qatar has implemented a balance policy in the region. To support this

situation, large-budget projects carried out by Qatar with the United States can be remembered herein.

Qatar officially became an independent state, separating from British rule on September 3, 1971. The control of the region was given to the Sani Dynasty with the treaty signed by Mohammed bin Sani in 1868 with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The country is a Persian Gulf country. Its only land neighbor is Saudi Arabia, and its other sides are surrounded by the Persian Gulf. It is bordered by Bahrain to the northwest, Saudi Arabia to the west and south, the United Arab Emirates to the east, and Iran to the north (Cordesman, 2018b).

Saudi Arabia is bordered by Jordan to the northwest, Iraq to the north and northeast, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates to the east, Oman to the southeast, Yemen to the south, the Persian Gulf to the northeast, and the Red Sea to the west. In the second decade after the Cold War, Saudi Arabia, which saw the USA as a security threat due to its aggressive behavior in the region, started to see Iran's attitudes and behaviors in the region as the main security threat from an ontological security perspective. It brought with it a power vacuum in the Middle East that the regional powers would enter into a

fierce regional rivalry among themselves. The regional power that came to the fore more in turning this power gap into an opportunity was undoubtedly Iran (Miller, 2017).

In Jordan, a conciliatory and reformist strategy was followed against the security threats against the regime. This reformist attitude aims to make the country more compatible with the Western economic system and the Western state system. Although Jordan shows the characteristics of a third world country in terms of the weak structure of the state and its efforts to ensure regime security, it creates a unique security concept in terms of contributing to world peace and caring about the security of the individual as well as the state. In the case of Jordan, the state's excessive dependence on economic aid from other states in order to provide the necessary economic income to maintain the public order and state system in the society causes ontological security in Jordan to be dependent on these aids. At a point where the economically dependent structure of the country seriously concerns the security of the regime and makes it dependent on the outside, another issue that threatens the security of the regime is the Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin, who are largely in the country. The fact that the population of Palestinian

origin brings the Palestinian issue to the Jordanian political life negatively affects the country. Due to Jordan's being an economically weak state as a result of the war between Iraq and Kuwait, one of the biggest trade partners in the Middle East, the country's economy went into a deep depression in the nineties, which has almost fixed the level of ontological insecurity felt in the country to even lower levels until today. Following the loss of two major trading partners, commercial activities in the country have been reduced to a minimum and Jordan has become more dependent on foreign aid (Helbrecht et.al, 2021: 245).

Iraq did not have much difficulty in reaching today's high level of ontological insecurity. It took place with the invasion of the United States of America in 2003, and this interventionist state took some decisions without considering the reality, conditions and historical experience of Iraqi society. Before the departure of the American forces, Iraq's air force, air defense and navy could not complete its development in terms of command and equipment. The situation in Syria and the events in the region, and the deterioration of the security environment through Shiite-Sunni sectarian polarization negatively affected the Iraqi army in general. The US invasion of Iraq

and its subsequent withdrawal deprived Iraqis of the construction process and destroyed their efforts to create their own ontological security perceptions, thus terrorism became the most effective variable as a bloodshed factor that eroded Iraq's vision and possibilities (Narak, 2007: 458).

The post-war resistances in Iraq are increasingly taking on a fundamentalist Islamic character. If this resistance cannot be broken, global terrorism will escalate with the morale and excitement of having brought the sole superpower of today, the USA, to its knees. Being aware of this, the USA will, on the one hand, intensify its military and police measures to break this resistance, on the other hand, will accelerate the establishment of a democratic regime in Iraq based on moderate Islamic values (Lischer, 2008: 98).

Turkey should analyze the policies it has pursued against the Iraqi Turks and should not allow the Turkmen with whom it has the same language, religion, history, culture and blood ties to be oppressed further. It should not be forgotten that the only support that will help this people make their voices heard in the world is the State of the Republic of Turkey, which has an effective power in the

Middle East. Turkey is responsible for their ontological security. Turkey needs to take the Turkmen issue to the top of the world agenda by making the necessary political initiatives as soon as possible. While Turkey is making all these initiatives, it should exhibit active policies by using the media factor without wasting time. Necessary measures should be taken by preventing assimilation attempts against Turkmen. Iraqi Turks should be introduced to Turkey and the world. Relations with the world and Arab countries should be strengthened, and we should serve together to ensure an environment of trust and peace in Iraq. Turkmen should be supported economically, Turkmen businessmen and entrepreneurs should be helped by providing necessary facilities. The Turkmen Front should be strengthened and its fighting power against the oppression of Kurdish groups should be increased. Turkmen should be supported in their struggle for existence (Adisonmez and Onursal, 2020: 293).

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Chapter 8

Caucasus Case

Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan can be seen as the countries belonging to Caucasus sub region of Middle East. There is a paranoia of siege in Armenia, and the ontological insecurity has made Russia an indispensable protective country of Armenia, and has caused Armenia to become dependent on Russia. Having invaded Nagorno-Karabakh, which is the territory of Azerbaijan, after gaining its independence in 1991, in violation of international law, Armenia found itself in an unstable environment. Being stuck between Turkey, Iran, Azerbaijan and Georgia and experiencing geopolitical difficulties caused by the lack of access to the sea, Armenia could not participate in projects such as Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan, which ensure the delivery of Azerbaijani oil and natural gas to international markets. In addition, the so-called Armenian genocide and claims on Turkish territory hindered the development of diplomatic relations with Turkey. While the close relations between

Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey isolating Armenia, Armenia, which could not establish good relations in its region apart from the support it received from Russia, lagged behind Azerbaijan and Georgia in reforms (Pacher, 2019: 565).

Georgia's security environment has undergone major changes in recent years due to international and regional developments. Georgia actually prioritizes peaceful methods in order to eliminate the threat of ontological insecurity. But it is clear that he could not reach a conclusion by peaceful means. Its own power is not capable of producing a response to Russia's aggressive policies. In Georgia's domestic policy, as a democratic state, it was deemed necessary to make political reforms, stability and strengthening of democratic institutions. One of the most important goals of countries where the state system is not fully institutionalized, such as Georgia, is the establishment and consolidation of the political and economic structure of the state. The biggest threat perception in Georgia's ontological insecurity is the use of force that may arise from neighboring states. Georgia tries to legitimize that Russia's policies threaten not only Georgia but also the whole of Europe. Therefore, it wants to extend its ontological

insecurity status to the whole region. Georgia is aware that it cannot balance RF alone. Therefore, it emphasizes international cooperation, institutions and organizations to ensure its security. NATO and the EU are their priority partners. On the other hand, Georgia doesn't fully trust these partners (Akchurina and Della Sala, 2018)

Despite the danger of Russia and Iran, the Karabakh conflict was reflected in the foreign policy of Azerbaijan, which envisages cooperation with the USA, the West and Israel. In summary, the parties focused more on perceived security threats in bilateral relations, with a preconceived notion of the anarchist nature of the international system, and put the opportunities for mutual cooperation into the background. Azerbaijan should have made more serious efforts and taken sharp steps to convince the international community of the need to establish mutually beneficial cooperation relations, to reconcile its own national interests with the intersecting and conflicting interests of world powers, and to gain international security guarantees for the independence and security of Azerbaijan. Armenia's annexation of Azerbaijani lands, global processes, geostrategic location, delivery of natural reserves to markets around the world, regional and global security

threats structured the ontological insecurity issue for Azerbaijan. It is the obligation to deal with regional and international problems responsibly and to cooperate. After gaining independence, Azerbaijan's main goal was to establish relations with all states of the world based on equal rights and responsibilities. Indeed, Azerbaijan has tried to provide security by creating and shaping its own environment, despite the threats and dangers it perceives in a chaos environment due to ontological insecurity. In the post-independence phase, the resolution of the Karabakh problem, which is the most important element of foreign policy, has been the primary objective of Azerbaijan's foreign policy despite the change of regimes. Ending the occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh and returning the refugees to their homeland was announced and implemented as the main objective of foreign policy. This can be interpreted as a step to dispel ontological distrust. The existence of an ongoing conflict environment in Azerbaijan has forced it to expand the ties it has established in the international system by using all potential possibilities, and to approach possible problems against its sovereignty and border integrity (Grzybowski, 2022: 507)

Chapter 9

Islamic Republic of Iran and Ontological Insecurity

Iran has adopted an extraordinary attitude in terms of the existence of Israel and the solution of the Palestinian issue, and in the process it has found itself in a position that is unyielding even from the Palestinians in this regard. With the Islamic revolution, Iran gained a new self-image to a large extent and thus redefined the group that it does not consider itself. In this framework, his policies towards the West and his approach to some issues constituted an important pillar in the continuity of self-narratives and in ensuring ontological security. The rejection of the West, which is fictionalized as the others of the Iranian regime and its values and practices, has had a priority in ensuring and maintaining ontological security for Iran. In this direction, the current presence and ongoing practices of the Israeli regime in the region can also be considered by Iran as a product and reflection of the Western understanding and treated in this context. When we ask the question why

Iran persists in its foreign policy practices, especially in the context of its relations with Western countries, which cause major problems in its domestic policy as well as negatively affect its foreign policy, sometimes putting its economy in trouble under the clamp of sanctions, and sometimes causing threats to its physical security. traditional approaches do not enable us to reach a satisfactory answer on this issue (Firoozabadi, 2011: 33).

The activities carried out by Iran in Syria have also been seriously criticized. In particular, the Shiite militants commanded by Tehran have been the focus of criticism from both the West, the Arab world and Israel. These criticisms, in their scope, do not only accuse Iran of meddling in the internal affairs of Syria or other countries in the region, but also focus on reinforcing its influence there with ballistic missiles and thus posing a threat to regional stability (Bahrevesh, 2018: 842).

The military-strategic thinking ability of the Iranian state has taken on a transboundary character in the historical process, and it has begun to draw the threat-oriented security circle over the wide Middle East geography, which mostly expresses beyond its borders. The only thing that gets you into trouble here seems to be

financial impossibilities. The Iranian Army has been tasked with a broad authority to provide assessment and consultancy services on national security issues, and in this sense, its impact has remained functional and institutional rather than geography. The influence of the Iranian Army is directly felt in arms purchases, trainings, military exercises and annual budget negotiations. In Iran, numerically powerful but technologically obsolete army and police forces are integrated with the revolution's intelligence units and paramilitary structures. First of all, Iran shapes its international security strategies over its own national security concept, reconstructs it within the foreign policy vision guided by its revolutionary principles, and decides on the threat-opportunity perception in the context of security strategies. Tehran increased its military, technical and logistical support to the Assad regime in order to consolidate the regional resistance, and with the prolongation of the war, serious increases began to appear in Iran's defense expenditures and military losses. Since the Arab Spring's leap to Syria, Iran has started to give serious weight to the preventive war strategy, which carries the war beyond the borders of the country, instead of the narrow national security understanding, which is the product of the

traditional security strategy (Moshizadeh and Khanlarkhani, 2021).

The securitization, which Iran uses a lot in foreign policy, is provided by the mobilization of the peoples of the region, especially through religious and national references. Today, Iran creates all its foreign policy discourses, regional strategies and military planning based on the security of the regime. In its ontological insecurity, Iran, which constantly defines itself under risk and threat, claims that its state security starts outside the borders of the country and resorts to securitizing the regional countries and militia structures it supports in this way (Mitzen and Larson, 2017).

The Revolutionary Guards Army, which was established alongside the traditional army due to ideological concerns, has been described as the backbone of Iran's national security both at home and abroad. In this context, the Revolutionary Guards Army, which was established right after the 1979 Iranian Revolution and took on the mission of protecting the values of the revolution and the revolution, shows us how the concept of security is perceived by the Tehran government. Adopting the strategy of becoming an influential power in the region by making

use of proxies abroad, Iran benefits from the Revolutionary Guards Army, which is directly subordinate to the religious leader. Therefore, it can be said that the Revolutionary Guards Army, which has an important role in ensuring the national security of Iran, which constantly defines itself under risk and threat, is an important actor in the solution of regional issues (Amani et. al., 2019)

Iran has made many gains in the region in its more than 30 years of alliance with Syria. Both countries have formed a proxy network together, and with the relationship they have developed with Hezbollah in Lebanon, they have achieved great progress in terms of asymmetric warfare. Together with the armed groups in Iran, Syria, Hezbollah and Palestine, it has formed the "axis of resistance" line. This preemptive line is very important for Iran because the bitter memory of the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War has taught Iran that it must defend from its own territory. In this respect, any regime change in Syria, even the creation of a pro-Western regime here, means the disintegration of the "axis of resistance" for Iran, the loss of its connection with Hezbollah and the armed organizations in Palestine, and the collapse of its forward defense line. In addition, Iran, which constantly perceives threats from the West and the USA,

has strengthened its asymmetrical war elements because it is aware that it cannot fight these powers in a conventional sense. This situation increases the importance of its connection with the proxy or militia network for Iran. In addition, such a scenario would mean wasting more than 30 years of hard work for Iran. Because of all these, Iran took the events in Syria and the civil war directly as its own security issue and worried that a possible regime change would endanger its own security (Lupovici, 2019).

Iran sees and proposes the Islamic Revolution as a model and a source of inspiration for the struggles of the peoples of the Middle East. However, in the winds of change blowing in the Arab world, the crowds that fill the squares demand democracy, freedom and social justice, and as seen in the example of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamist opposition, which is the strongest candidate for power, acts with a more pragmatic understanding of politics. These developments contradict Iran's ideal of being a model for the Middle East. The course of the process will show whether the Arab world can create a democratic politics and society on its own social, political and economic ground; however, real hope and transformation for the Middle East would come true if the

struggles for democracy and freedom did not lose the chance they had caught in the grip of geopolitical interests and stability-oriented strategies of global powers. The current asymmetry between the regime and the people in Iran is directly proportional to the people's demands/needs for freedom and participation. In addition, despite the Regime's efforts to limit its real politics against the public, the reasons and consequences of this asymmetry not decreasing due to the fact that political parties and non-governmental organizations in Iran have not been able to deepen and the Regime has a transcendent power over the people with all its instruments are important problems that await answers (Dolatabadi, 2021: 235).

However, it is inevitable that a conflict that will arise in the case of an imbalance between the state and the rights of the individual will result in favor of the postmodern individual with the rapidly advancing globalization and the increase in the effectiveness of social media. Therefore, the data obtained in this study, which is based on the wisdom of the masses regarding this unavoidable result, may also be illuminating for similar events that may occur in Iran. The most concrete effect of the Arab Spring on Iran-Saudi relations is the destruction of Riyadh's allies in the region,

thus creating a regional atmosphere in favor of Iran and naturally causing Saudi Arabia to worry. The inability to maintain the current regional status quo has put Saudi Arabia in a weak position in the region against Iran. While the administrations were changing in Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen, which are pro-Western, Sunni and status quo regimes, the failure of the regime in Syria, an anti-Western, Shiite and Iranian ally, brought along a new era in which Iran will further strengthen its regional position. With the collapse of the Baathist regime in Iraq in 2003 and the removal of the status quo foreign policy line, pro-Western and Saudi ally Mubarak in Egypt in 2011, Saudi Arabia has been deprived of a strong ally in the region. In other words, the traditional foreign policy strategy of the Saudis in the region, which is the status quo and balancing the revisionist forces by cooperating with a powerful Arab state, collapsed in 2011 with the Arab Spring (Abdullah, 2019)

Chapter 10

Near Eastern Regionalism and Discussion on Security

Lebanon, Palestine, Cyprus, Israel, Turkey and Syria can be seen under the fourth sub region determining geography as Middle East. This sub region can also be described as Near Eastern zone within Middle East.

After the end of the French mandate in Lebanon, the British mandate ended in Palestine in 1948, and at the same time, the State of Israel was declared here. Lebanon, which is one of the countries most affected by the political crises and wars in the region, has also taken its share from the struggle that the people, who rebelled with the demand for democracy and freedom in Syria, started against the government. Due to its location on the busiest routes of Middle East trade, Lebanon has witnessed the influence and struggles of global powers throughout history. The establishment of Israel gradually increased the idea of Arab unity in the Middle East and the states acting with the ideal

of Pan-Arabism came together and started the Arab-Israeli Wars. This situation, by deeply affecting Lebanon, which is the border neighbor of Israel, heralded the start of a new and difficult process. The most well-known event in recent years, which has peaked ontological insecurity in Lebanon, is the Beirut port explosion. In this event, 215 people lost their lives and thousands were injured in the big explosion that hit the median in Beirut Port on August 4, 2020 (Malak et.al., 2021)

The Palestinian Authority has attached great importance to development plans and programs since 1994. However, after a while, these plans began to clash with external factors. The Israeli occupation of Gaza and the West Bank forced it to hold power in its own hands in the economic, security and political spheres. As a result of this situation, Israel gave limited information to the Palestinian people on certain issues. In other words, the level of ontological insecurity, which is at the highest level, has entered a period that is stable in the light of these disclosures, but its severity can decrease. According to the security annex signed between the Palestinian Authority and Israel, the Palestinian Security Bodies were established. The equipment, number of personnel and duties of these bodies

were determined according to the agreement signed by the Israeli and Palestinian parties. Among the priorities of the said security institution were protecting the homeland and citizens, maintaining public order and enforcing the law in the West Bank and Gaza. In addition, since Palestine's struggle is not terrorism, but a right sanctioned by international traditions, the Palestinian Authority has been obliged to fight against Palestinian terrorism (Mitzen, 2006: 350).

It should be noted that although some progress has been made in the efforts to change the structure of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the PLO, to establish a new election calendar and unity government, the division in Palestine still continues. The division in question is not only a division in which Fatah controls the West Bank and the Islamic Resistance Movement organization HAMAS (Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya) also controls Gaza, it is also an ideological division that will affect all Palestinians and the Palestinian resistance. arguable. The failure of Fatah, which advocates secular nationalism, and the PLO under its control, in the elections and its stance during the most recent Gaza War, increased HAMAS's support in both the West Bank and Gaza. Therefore, it can

be argued that HAMAS's social support for the Palestinian issue has increased rather than the discussions of two separate states in Palestine, while Fatah has suffered a serious loss of prestige (Mullin, 2010: 530)

Since Southern Cyprus is an EU member state today, it has become difficult to discuss it in the Middle East sub-region. It is known that the country that experiences ontological distrust most deeply within the EU is the Greek Cypriot part. We cannot see the Turkish Section, namely the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in such a unity structure. Therefore, we can take the Turkish Republic of Cyprus under the sub-title of Near East analysis. Enosis was used in the 1930s to mean the connection of the island of Cyprus, which was under the administration of the United Kingdom, to Greece. After this date, many Greeks and Turks were forced to relocate on the island, and even after the Second World War, the ideals of the Greeks to unite with Greece increased. Today, the fact that the Greek part, backed by an EU-supported formation, first displaced the Turks and then merged with Greece, with a plan involving the Turks, has turned into an ontological distrust phenomenon for the TRNC (Kramer, 1997: 18).

Among the various security policies implemented by Israel to the Palestinian people, the most important and current event is the construction of firewalls. For Israel, the issue of ontological security is very important, and security ranks first in the list of Israel's strategic objectives. The reason for this is that as a result of forcibly settling in Palestinian lands by following an expansionist policy, the Palestinian people feel obliged to protect themselves and take precautions against the situation of defending their rights. According to the Israeli political and military authorities, the existence of the State of Israel can only be in safe and protected territory. Israel makes a great effort both politically and militarily to protect itself from internal and external risks. Since its establishment, the State of Israel has always tried to ensure its security and has given priority to plans for this purpose. Israel has adopted an appropriate strategy to get rid of the security problem and to obtain a comfortable living space. An example of this is the firewall. However, despite all these measures, it was not very successful. Israel has succeeded in convincing the whole world, especially the USA and the EU, to ensure its own security. Some strategic changes and developments in the region have reduced the level of ontological distrust

towards Israel. These; Peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan, the Oslo Accords with Palestine, the consequences of the 1991 Gulf War and the destruction of the Iraqi military infrastructure by the United States, which is a threat to Israel's existence, can be counted as the signing of a series of peace treaties by Israel and Arab countries. . However, despite this, Israel's political leaders have never kept the security issue in the background. Security has always been a central issue for Israel. Security and regulations on this issue are emphasized in all peace treaties signed by Israel. The presence of the State of Israel between Asia and Africa also caused the Arab States, which they considered enemies, to surround their country. This affects Israel's security policies. For this reason, Israel has become allies with powerful states today. Israel attacked the cities, towns and villages in the West Bank and Gaza, and reoccupied the cities, villages and towns in these regions that are affiliated with the Palestinian Authority. It destroyed the military forces and institutions affiliated with the Palestinian Authority and paralyzed life in Palestine. It continues to oppress the Palestinian people by committing various crimes such as systematic mistreatment of Palestinian civilians, sometimes described as genocide, impunity for

those who commit these acts, and violating the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. The announcement of Jerusalem as the new capital in 2020 created new tensions and most countries didn't recognize it. (Ben-Shalom et. al. , 2022: 5).

Turkey's ontological security concerns, in the context of relations with these states, are problematized with which images, that is, what looks like balance and consistency, and it is argued that the notions of interest and cooperation may therefore become invalid in interstate relations. Looking at the last century of Turkish-Greek relations, it is seen that the disagreements that broke out during most of the general course clarified the image of the enemy. This image can be understood again through discourses and with its historical facts. Turkey's view of Syria in particular and the Arab geography in general can be considered as a part of its identity. This identity reflects the features that are largely formed with references from history, oriented towards exclusion, the necessity of staying away from the Arab geography and their perception of being underdeveloped and uncivilized; As a result of this, it causes the issues in which Syria is involved to be called as a security issue immediately. Like Turkey, many countries

want their relations to continue, just like individuals. Exactly the part of this argument that countries like Turkey want stable relations is the dimension expressed in the ontological security literature. The argument in question; When considered in terms of image and balance theories, the psychological dimension of ontological security emerges. It is stated that the images as stereotypes developed by states against each other are effective in foreign policy, the relations between the two countries are realized around this image and the dynamic of cooperation or conflict is lost, the preservation of this image increases ontological security, and in case of change, ontological security is provided by the narrative and identity of the state. In fact, this argument becomes more understandable when examined with the example of Turkey (Kuniholm, 2019: 55).

By the end of the Cold War, Turkey had the opportunity to act in a multi-faceted foreign policy. Therefore, the decisive influence of the Western connection on Turkish foreign policy began to wane. However, this did not mean that relations with the West were broken, and the Middle East emerged as one of the elements towards which Turkish foreign policy was directed. Second, in recent years, a

power vacuum has emerged in the region, especially due to the negative consequences of the US invasion of Iraq. Turkey has started to take advantage of this gap with its new foreign policy identities and tools. In parallel with the increasing interest in the Middle East, Turkey has established an identity between its own interests and the increase in regional stability and welfare. Therefore, Turkey has started to oppose these moves when it thinks that the moves of the West will harm the regional stability. Turkey may not be able to turn the favor shown to it into a trump card that can affect the course of events in its region. However, it can contribute to the stability and well-being of its region by benefiting from being seen as a model, being sympathetic to it, and the expectation that it will take a more active role in the region. Turkey's image in the Middle East is a resource that it can benefit from in its relations with other countries and regions (Sotoudeh and Niakoe, 2019: 111)

The civil uprising in Syria turned into a civil war with a strong religious or sectarian dimension in the process. After 2011, some organizations came to the fore in the regions where the Syrian regime lost control, thanks to factors such as their human resources, financial power, war experience

and ideological commitment, and they came to control an important geography, especially in the northern front of Syria. Parallel to the weakening of the regime in Syria, different centrifugal forces based their existence on external support have emerged, and this has created a new playing field in terms of proxy warfare in the region. Thus, the Syrian civil war has deepened both regional polarization and proxy war, and on the contrary, regional competition has fed ontological insecurity in Syria.

Showing uncompromising attitudes on the water problem, Syria started to support the PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê or Kurdistan Workers Party), i.e. a terrorist organization in order to prevent Turkey's Southeastern Anatolia Project. Turkey has repeatedly warned Syria not to support the actions of the PKK terrorist organization, but has failed to see the steps it expects from Syria in this regard. During this period, the PKK did great harm to Turkey. Syria has entered into various collaborations with Iraq, Iran and Greece to support terrorism (Orhan, 2014: 33).

Due to its geographical location, Syria has great geopolitical importance both in the world and in the Middle East region. The fact that Syria is both a land and a coastal

state, has Mediterranean coasts in the west, is the gateway to the Middle East region through Turkey in the north, has a dominant position in the Eastern Mediterranean, has demographic characteristics, hosts different ethnic groups, has many factors that deeply affect the region. Syria maintains its geopolitical importance with its many features such as being the source point of the current and movement. Syria, as one of the most important countries of the Middle East, which was one of the most important areas of the struggle for influence between the USA and the Soviet Union during the Cold War years, took its stance in favor of the Soviet Union. When he examines the relations with Russia since 1946, when he became independent, it is seen that these relations have developed further with the coming to power of the Baath Party in Syria in 1963 and especially Hafez Assad from 1970. In the civil war that started in 2011 and still continues today, the support of different groups in Syria by global and regional actors on behalf of their own interests has caused these events in the country to turn into a proxy war. While Russia was the biggest global actor supporting Assad in this proxy war, it was the USA that was positioned against Assad and therefore Russia by supporting some opposition groups in the field. By

supporting two opposing factions, the two countries are actually in a power struggle against each other in the proxy war in Syria. There are some geopolitical factors that keep the relations between the two countries tight. Almost all of these factors stem from Syria's geopolitical position. Due to its long-standing close alliance with Syria, Russia finds the opportunity to present its objections to the unipolar world system through the Middle East and Syria today (Manfredi Firmian, 2022: 108).

The country that will suffer primarily from the civil war that will arise as a result of the West's intervention in Syria and that this civil war gains a regional character is Turkey. Such a wide-ranging regional war would also make it easier for the West to strike Iran, further escalating the regional civil war. Despite this, it is difficult to understand the reasons for the persistence of the current policy. Now is the time for Ankara to consider other policies. New policies to be sought must support democratization in Syria while respecting Syria's sovereignty as a sovereign state. It is highly probable that a civil war that will start in Syria will turn into a regional war that will engulf Iraq and Lebanon. Countries on the side of and against the Damascus regime should abandon the existing approaches and seek solutions

that are different and most suitable and applicable for regional peace instead of wholesale approaches (Hokayem, 2012: 8).

Chapter 11

The sub region as Asia Minor

Afghanistan and Pakistan are among the countries that can be examined for this sub-region. The fact that Afghanistan is very close to three countries that hold nuclear power, such as Russia, India and Pakistan, is one of the factors that increase its importance for great states. Another factor is that, besides being a barrier in front of Russia's descent to the south, it is on the transit route to transfer Caspian Basin oil and natural gas to the Indian Ocean. Due to the planned oil and natural gas lines, Afghanistan has become an area where some countries are plotting various political games for their own interests. Supporting the pro-Sharia Taliban is also included in these political games and operations. There may be a struggle for the construction of the necessary pipelines to transfer the energy from Afghanistan to the world. After the withdrawal of the Russians after the Soviet-Afghan War, the Taliban came to power by taking advantage of the weaknesses of

the central governments in Afghanistan and kept most of the country under their control. Since the beginning of the 18th century, all administrations, emirates or states established in the geography of Afghanistan could not obtain sufficient income from the lands on which they were founded, could not provide ontological security and ultimately failed. The ideological rivalry over Afghanistan during the Cold War brought along ethnic groupings in which the countries of the region were involved and the fierce conflicts of these groups. Thus, Afghanistan became the center of the war. Discussions of ontological insecurity for Afghanistan should be addressed by pointing to the security versus stability dilemma. While stability is a prerequisite for both the development of political processes and security, it is necessary to allow groups and elements that are considered to pose a threat to security to be included in processes that may mean compromising security in order to ensure stability. In this sense, solving the security-stability dilemma is possible by ensuring the ontological security of people and society, which seems to be a distant target in the conflict environment, and ultimately the ontological security of the state (Epstein, 2007)

Pakistan, whose foreign policy was shaped according to the conditions of the Cold War; The nature of its relations with India, the USA, China, Russia and Afghanistan, the events of September 11, etc. For these reasons, it has some difficulties in adapting to the post-Cold War conditions. In addition to the policies of the great powers regarding the Indian subcontinent, the identity policies determined at the establishment of Pakistan played a decisive role in the country's internal political life and ontological security understanding as well as its foreign security policy.

After the Cold War, the tendency of Indo-American relations to develop has left Pakistan at the risk of being isolated against India. For this reason, while Pakistan was the most important ally of the country in question in Afghanistan, where the USA was fighting against the USSR during the 1980s; After the Cold War, he developed close relations with the Taliban in order to prevent the loss of a position in Afghanistan. As a result of the spread of the nation-state system all over the world; Brutal wars broke out in order to redefine the borders between the newly established or to be established countries according to the existing ethnic or religious identities. Population exchanges and projects to create citizens in line with the identity

policies of the new state brought great destruction to the people, and irreparable legitimacy problems emerged between the peoples and the administrations, especially in extremely poor countries such as Pakistan, where defense expenditures are at a very high level. At the root of these legitimacy problems lie efforts to legitimize ontological distrust. The policies implemented during the Cold War were shaped in accordance with the interests of the superpower of the pole, rather than the interests of new countries such as Pakistan.

While ontological security concerns were more dominant in Pakistan during the Cold War period, economic concerns came to the fore after the Cold War. During this period, many problems between the countries that were members of any pole were either left to sleep or tried to be resolved within the framework of the interests of the superpowers (Kinnvall, 2004: 750)

However, in the post-Cold War era, smaller-scale divisions called ethnicity have increased. After the Cold War, it was necessary to improve relations with neighbors, especially with economic development. In this situation, Pakistan's relations with India, which is the most important

neighbor for its ontological security, have gained great importance (Shivamurthy, 2022:260).

Chapter 12

The Mashrik Zone

Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria exist in this zone. Tunisia's independence process also prepared the conditions that formed the structure of the new regime. Purging Tunisian society from traditional and Islamic structures and modernizing it in the Western sense by using state apparatus has been a part of the country's ontological security understanding. In the last sixty years, opposition movements have started to emerge in Tunisia against the structure and functioning of the regime. The most important of these opposition movements was the Tunisian Islamic movement. In the 1960s Tunisia implemented a planned socialist economy model. However, the model applied failed and led to economic problems, unemployment and growing social dissatisfaction. In addition to the domestic political developments, important developments have also been experienced in foreign policy in Tunisia, and there have been changes in its relations with both Turkey and

Western and Middle Eastern countries. In addition to the positive developments in domestic and foreign politics, the most important problem that makes Tunisia uneasy is the security problem. The ontological security problem, which has become one of the critical issues of the country with the increase in terrorist activities in Tunisia, has escalated after the 2011 revolution. Another security problem threatening Tunisia arises as a result of the repercussions of the developments in Libya, which is a border neighbor, to Tunisia. Due to the violence and internal turmoil in Libya, many Libyans had to move to Tunisia (Innes and Steele, 2013: 37)

Morocco has institutional relations with the European Union, due to its economic, political and security challenges and its geostrategic and historical background. In this case, it increases the ontological security level compared to other countries in this sub-region. Therefore, it has signed trade and cooperation agreements with the European Union. France has a priority for Morocco. There is a close affinity between the Moroccan and French elites and intellectuals. On the other hand, French administrators see Morocco as a bridge in their African policies. In order to prevent the emergence of the radical Islamic threat, the

Moroccan administration uses the security card with great skill to provide the requested support for its economy and social structure. In order to secure their political future, Heads of State have entered into alliances with supporters of liberal economy, technocrats, businessmen and military or security elites. In its foreign policy, Tunisia has always maintained its moderate, pro-Western stance. As a result of this stance, it entered into military and security arrangements with Western countries such as France and the USA. During the Cold War, he developed economic and commercial relations with the eastern bloc instead of political relations. The foreign policy principles of the new government established after the Arab Spring have been very diverse. Among these principles, the peaceful state, international legality, strengthening the conditions of mutual understanding, tolerance and solidarity between states and people, ensuring more justice, democracy and balance in international relations, consolidating security, stability, prosperity and development in the interest of humanity can be listed (Georgiou, 2013: 306).

The great powers that came into contact with Algeria and the international institutions and organizations operating under the influence of these powers were

insufficient to ensure the peace and ontological security of the region. This situation affected Algeria deeply and the country started to feel the need to review and redefine its security understanding and policies. Taking advantage of the inability to provide security in the countries dragged into civil war and taking advantage of the chaos environment, international terrorist organizations have begun to be effective as agents of great states. It cannot be said that Algeria fell under the influence of a proxy country immediately. However, the relations established with the countries under the mandate may further complicate the process of ensuring ontological security. In addition to the problems in neighboring regions, the complexity of the Libyan crisis, the security dilemma of the coastal region, the ongoing stagnation in relations with the Kingdom of Morocco, and finally, a passive policy in foreign policy caused Algeria to stay away from various international and regional issues (Arieff, 2013).

Chapter 13

The Maghreb Sub-region

Sudan, Libya and Egypt are also debatable for this region. There is border tension between Sudan and Ethiopia. It has increased even more with the military build-up of the two countries in the Faşaka region and its surroundings on the border line in recent months. In this case, it increases the level of ontological insecurity. Ethiopia, on the other hand, demanded the withdrawal of its troops from Sudan, which it claimed was occupying its border lands. The First Sudanese Civil War took place between 1955'-1972. In this period, there was a struggle for autonomy between the northern part and the southern Sudan region. During the first and second civil wars, the separatist guerrilla groups called Anyanya I and Aanyanya II kept the ontological insecurity level at very high levels. The country was included in the group of countries involved in the Lebanese Civil War as part of the ADF known as the Arab Deterrence Force. This period, which

lasted in 1976 and 1979, further increased the intensity of ontological insecurity. The fact that he was also included in the group of countries that were party to the Iraq-Iran War between 1982-1988 caused a period of continuous unrest. The Second Sudanese Civil War was fought between 1983 and 2005 between the central Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army, which fought for the independence of the southern Sudanese provinces. The Darfur War has been going on in the country since 2003. Here, the Sudan Liberation Organization took part in the face of the country's national army. Apart from these, the invasion of Anjouan Island that took place in 2008 and the conflict with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement SPLA-N group that lasted between 2011 and 2021 are among the elements of unrest that have led to the permanent ontological insecurity in the country (Tchie and Ali, 2021:45)

The importance of Libya in terms of global politics and trade is related to its oil and natural gas resources, as well as the carbon reserves around the island of Cyprus. Since the beginning of the civil war in 2011, countries active in Libya have been able to get involved in the war. The militias in Libya have so far refused to integrate into a

central security force. Most of these militias are disciplined, but the strongest are accountable only to the executive committees of various Libyan cities. These militias form the so-called Libya Shield, a parallel national force that acts at the request of the ministry of defense rather than at its behest. This unstable security status increases the level of ontological insecurity in Libya. The security situation in Libya is extremely fragile. Also, the security situation is dangerous. Future security and peace in the country continue to be unpredictable. Even the postponement of the elections in Libya creates great tensions. In addition, security incidents such as conflicts between militias and oil blockades may occur (Molnár et.al., 2021).

The threat he perceived from Israel was the most fundamental determinant of Egypt's ontological security. Israel, backed by the US, was just beyond Egypt's border, preventing that country from reaching Arab countries in the East. Thus, in the 1950s and 1960s, Egypt was the only country that could become a hegemonic power in the Arab world due to its political and military capabilities and deter Israel. Finally, after the 1952 Revolution, Egypt became one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned countries (Tabaar, 2013: 730)

Egypt's military success in Syria relieved Egypt's loneliness in the Arab world. Empowered by this, Nasser took a tougher stance on the Baghdad pact and Eisenhower doctrine. In January 1958, the annual meeting of the Baghdad Pact was held in Ankara. This was joined by US Secretary of State Dulles. As Nasser feared that the Baghdad Pact would be linked to NATO, the Egyptian press launched a harsh campaign against the Baghdad Pact. It was written here that at every meeting of the Baghdad Pact, a decision was made against the Arab world. It was also emphasized that the Baghdad Pact was against the Syrian-Egyptian unification. As Nasser did not feel very safe, his unification with Syria was, in a way, a reduction in these fears. In this case, the United Arab Republic was not only a shield for Syria, but also for Egypt. This unification led to an increase in Egypt's influence in the region. The creation of the United Arab Republic as a result of military action also consolidated Nasser's leading role in the Arab world. Syria gave the appearance of an open field to the competition of the great powers within its own political structure. While Egypt only strengthened its position with this unification, it was not possible to say the same for Syria. Nasser gained a strong position against the

regime in Jordan and Iraq by dominating Syria. In fact, although this merger was not something Nasser originally intended, it was perfectly suited to his own interests (Zuhur, 2007).

When the assassinations against the statesmen in Egypt are examined, there are claims that the attackers of almost all of them are the Muslim Brotherhood. Since the independence of the country, the power of the authoritarian military has taken over. Sham trials, rigged elections, and arbitrary detentions are commonplace. Under Hosni Mubarak, many organizations denounce massive violations of human rights. The frequency of these acts decreases from 2011, but after the July 2013 coup, the human rights situation returns to its previous level. Under the presidency of Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, political opponents as well as journalists are regularly imprisoned (Gebresenbet and Wondemagegnehu, 2021:99)

In Egypt, yet, no clear evidence could be shown about the assassinations of the Muslim Brotherhood supporters. Therefore, the assassination, killing, bombing, etc. It is possible that the events were brought to life by anti-regime or Ikhwan groups and tried to be attributed to the Muslim Brotherhood. n It is seen that the commercial activities that

started with Sadat grew tremendously with Mubarak. Mubarak did not engage in comprehensive purges in the army, but tried to ensure that he was not threatened by the army through the relations he established with the ministers of defense and chiefs of general staff and the financial privileges given to the officers. In addition, by investing heavily in internal security and intelligence units, it created security centers that are loyal to itself and alternative to the army, thus aiming to get rid of its dependence on the army at the point of maintaining the country's order. During the Mubarak period, the ministry of defense and military production, as well as the ministries such as aviation, transportation, communication and environment, were mostly given to retired officers, and the rate of military origin was high in bureaucracy and local administrations (Piazza, 2019:411)

Conclusion

Multidimensional regional crises that emerged in the Middle East after the Arab Spring have been observed as the most important parameters of the regional security equation. While the Syrian, Yemeni and Libyan civil wars, which emerged as a result of the Arab revolts, gathered the countries of the region in different camps, an effort was made to provide a unity against the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and Syria in particular in Iraq. However, after the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, many differences of opinion regarding Iraq and many potential security crises in the Northern Iraq issue remain. The Qatar crisis, which is similar to the last gulf crisis, emerged as a negative development in terms of regional stability and deepened the regional disintegration. The states, which are in the middle of these crises and civil wars and are relatively weak, have followed a band-wagoning policy by following a common policy with regional leaders and international powers. States such as Turkey and Iran, which wanted to play a role in shaping the regional security complex, tried

to counteract the policies pursued by global actors with a general balancing act. The unstable regional security structure recurring between these two planes has also paved the way for all countries in the region to face problems such as border, migration, survival and expansionism. Analysis of the Middle East regional security complex at micro and regional levels requires a realistic analysis of the polarizations and strategic developments in crisis regions, and a multidimensional examination of regional-level rivalries and global collaborations. For ontological security, it has always been an important issue to examine how the regional crises defined as the parameters of strategic change in the Middle East should be examined. Here, rather than chronological approaches, the realities that are most likely to harm ontological insecurity should be highlighted (Katzman, 2021).

For example, it became an indicator of how deep the polarization in the Syrian crisis has deepened and that a strategic change process is taking place in the Middle East. The strategic change experienced in the Middle East in the context of the Syrian crisis was the declining Syrian authority due to reasons such as destruction rising to irreversible levels, scarcity of resources, and the need for

Iranian and Russian military presence. The foreign policy of the UAE, which separated from Saudi Arabia in the Yemen crisis, came to the fore as one of the important developments that damaged the functionality of the Gulf cooperation, which was cracked due to the Qatar crisis in the Middle East. One of the most strategic effects of the Qatar crisis on the Middle East security complex was the return of the Saudi Arabian-Egyptian relations, which had not developed positively recently, to a friendly trend (Legrenzi, 2015).

Although Saudi Arabia has made quite a lot of military investments from Iran, Iran tried to close the gap in the defense sector, which it could not feed economically at these levels, with the close strategic partnership it developed with Russia. While Saudi Arabia and Egypt play for regional leadership from time to time, these Shiite regimes mean that the region falls under Sunni influence, while Iran, as a reaction or balancing policy, encourages organizations such as Hamas and Hezbollah in the Gulf countries against the government, thereby displacing the regimes of these countries politically. threatened from the flank. Sunni states, on the other hand, either cooperated

among themselves or tried to act together with non-regional powers.

Another state fueling the arms race in the Middle East is Iran. According to Western sources, Iran, Libya, Syria, Iraq and Algeria are the leading states that want to have Nuclear Weapons in the Middle East. However, among these, Iran is the country that attracts the most attention due to its nuclear activities. It is claimed that the Islamic regime established after the revolution in Iran has chemical weapons and is trying to have Nuclear Weapons as well. In this context, Iran's rapprochement with Russia and China, which are global powers with the technology to produce Nuclear Weapons, and their approach to strengthen diplomatic relations confirm the claims (Katzman, 2015).

The Muslim Brotherhood Organization can be perceived as a threat to its ontological security, and today it constitutes the largest opposition group in Egypt and has a significant number of supporters among the public. Finally, apart from Egypt, the organization also operates in other Middle Eastern countries with a large Sunni Muslim population, such as Syria, Jordan, Palestine, Sudan and Yemen, and has serious supporters there (Freer, 2018)

The rule of the Palestinian majority in Jordan by the Hashemite family and the rule of the Sunni majority in Syria by the Nusayri minority are examples of the social instability and ontological insecurity in the countries. This social instability reinforces the political insecurity of the region and increases the political appetite of non-regional global powers to the region (Arıkan, 2012).

Ontological security can be further shaken by sectarian nationalism. Islamist Shiite Movements are organizations based on Islamic ideology, established to protest the socio-economic and socio-political problems of Shiite Muslims living in various countries with a Shiite Muslim population, especially in Lebanon, Iraq, Syria and Bahrain. In another example, the process that started with the Arab Spring in Yemen, which is adjacent to the Saudi government, and the coming to power of the Shiite sect and Iran-backed Houthis caused the Saudi administrators to deeply worry and increase their military expenditures in this direction (Jose and Fathun, 2021).

Monarchy can also create a regime that is far from the control and legitimacy of the people. In such regimes, the level of ontological insecurity may increase as the sense of control is lost from the people's hands. Since the plans of

the rulers who are not accountable to the public can be kept secret, a constant uneasiness can be a part of the policy culture. Of the Middle Eastern countries, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Jordan and Oman are traditional monarchical political systems ruled by hereditary families. Among these monarchies, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman are absolute monarchies, while Jordan is governed as a constitutional monarchy (Bianco, 2020: 96).

The fact that there is no homogeneous administration within the country, that different ethnic and religious class structures are in competition, that foreign powers are closely related to the economic dimension of oil, and that they want to be involved in the administration of the regional states constitute the basis of the political, economic and military stalemates in the region. In this context, non-state organizations that have prepared a ready ground for themselves play a key role in the emergence and globalization of regional terrorism (Yossef, 2020: 65).

When we look at the energy dimension of the First Gulf War, the emergence of different opinions on oil prices among the Gulf countries was an important factor on the way to the war. While the UAE and Kuwait, which have a higher production capacity than their export quota, wanted

to maintain their current oil prices, Iraq was trying to put pressure on these states to increase prices in order to produce better within their own production capacity. These pressures by Iraq did not yield results and the Gulf countries did not increase their prices. The 1973 and 1979 oil crises clearly demonstrated that economic parameters should be taken into account in the decision-making mechanism and processes. Parallel to this, the alliance of the USA with Israel, oil policies, Iranian Islamic Revolution, Arab-Israeli conflicts are the factors that accelerate the emergence of Radical Islam. The Middle East, the center of oil and wealth, is turning into a geography about which much is said but little is known. Foreign powers such as the USA are involved in regional politics with promises such as autonomy, self-determination and owning oil reserves in their own regions to the minorities in the country, and they use this ethnic and religious structure of the countries as a policy tool (Donelli and Cannon, 2019).

The socio-economic difficulties experienced in the region of the Middle East, in a narrower sense, in the oil-deprived Arab countries, are the most important obstacles to economic and economic development. Major exporters in the Middle East, primarily Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq and

the UAE, play a critical role in the global oil market. An economic, social, political crisis or military conflict that may arise in the region adversely affects the exports of these countries.

Islamist thinkers, who realized the first systematic approach to the concept of jihad and struggled for the separation of Pakistan from India, had a great share in the formation of Political Islam. Al-Qaeda terrorist organization is an armed organization founded by Osama Bin Mohammed Bin Avad Laden in a camp called Al-Qaeda in order to gather and lead the Arab troops fighting in Afghanistan. The founding year of this organization is known as 1989 (Cafiero, 2018).

ISIS, which emerged 25 years later with the same ideology and changed its name to the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (DEAS), claiming that an Islamic state was established in the lands of Iraq and Syria after the Syrian capture of Raqqa in April 2013, also known as ISIS, especially in Kirkuk. It took control of the cities of Nineveh, Babylon, Selahattin, Anbar and Diyala in Iraq, and took the administration under its control to a large extent in Idlib, Raqqa and Aleppo from Syria (Hove, 2018).

The Middle East region has faced different problems in different historical processes. The Palestine Question, which started with the establishment of the State of Israel, followed by the Arab-Israeli Wars, the long-term echoes of the Iranian Revolution, the Gulf Wars, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the US Intervention in Iraq and many other wars and conflicts in the region. They chose to build their political and economic policies on the security paradox (Anderson, 2019:149).

The region' called the Extended Middle East is perhaps the last geography on earth to be a region in terms of homogeneity. As a matter of fact, when the African-Arab culture of Sudan and the French-African-Arabic culture of Tunisia are compared, it will be understood by itself how different countries we are talking about. Or when Turkey and Afghanistan are compared, it will be easily seen how different the two countries are. Likewise, it is strange to compare Azerbaijan and Egypt and to mention them within the same region. Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, Cyprus and Qatar are too different to be in the same region. However, insecurity and risk syndrome in the region, wars, oil and water struggles, migrations bring these countries closer to each other in common destiny (Roberts, 2021)

The rapid social and administrative change that started in the Middle East since 2010 is another factor that affects the Middle East policies of the USA. It is understood that there will be a transformation in the relationship of the USA with the authoritarian governments in the region. The continuation of the decline in the hegemonic power and the decrease in the belief in the legitimacy of its policies will reduce the sustainability of the USA's Middle East policies. The sustainability of the US's regional policies today depends on the change in its own power rather than the policies that other international actors will follow. The sustainability and course of the USA's Middle East policies will be more deeply affected by the nature of the policies to be followed by the USA (Kieliszek et.al., 2022).

At first glance, the ontological security approach is seen as a reflection of the rapidly increasing identity studies in the field of security in the post-Cold War era, in Political Science in general and in International Relations in particular. Ontological security approaches based on the basic concepts of social constructivist theory reveal this situation. Identity is important in terms of ontological security. However, trying to explain ontological security by reducing it to identity alone causes incompleteness.

Because ontological security is a comprehensive and layered security framework related to existence in the world, including identity. To consider the ontological security approach, which emerged at the level of the individual, at the level of the state, inevitably means accepting the existence of a similarity between the individual and the state.

Ontological security, which indicates the state's meaning and positioning in the context of the historical process, also has an important place in macro security. The ontological security of the states in the Middle East does not come about simply by producing an overarching biographical narrative for itself. The state has to produce bodily actions in accordance with the historical narrative it envisions for itself.

By 2020, the USA, which has made everyone accept that it is a global power again for a century with its physical activity, has had a large influence capacity in the Middle East. This situation led to the re-establishment of the ontological distrust of the USA, which was shattered by the oil crisis in the 1970s and gradually repaired and strengthened by the gulf wars and military interventions from the 1980s and 2000s. The USA trusts and respects

itself as an actor whose biographical narrative and physical activity complement each other.

The Middle East, which includes the countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the Arab countries of Iran and North Africa, is perhaps the most important geography of the world due to its colonial past, geopolitical and strategic importance, natural resources, and being a geography where all monotheistic religions are lived. The USA, which was hegemon in different periods and superpower in different periods, aimed to dominate the Middle East due to these characteristics of the region and followed the policies it determined in order to achieve its goals in this direction. In particular, due to the withdrawal of Britain from the region in the post-World War II period and the containment policy adopted by the United States in the Cold War atmosphere, the interest and relevance of the United States to the region has undergone both qualitative and quantitative changes. In parallel with the economic development in the western block, the USA, which supplies the majority of its need for oil and energy resources from the Middle East, has started to show more interest in the context of its energy policies in the region. Today, this interest is increasing even more within the framework of

the policy of balancing the challengers such as China. In addition to supplying the need for oil, energy resources and oil reaching the world uninterrupted in the direction of US policies, for example, energy supply security, maintaining the independence of the Israeli state, not allowing the existence of a strong hostile state in the Gulf, preventing states that are hostile to the USA from possessing weapons of mass destruction, Supporting the continuation of the current regimes of states with good relations with the USA, developing close relations with pro-Western Arab states, and controlling terrorism in the region have been defined as very important in the context of protecting US national interests. Since the beginning of the Cold War, the USA has been using the political, cultural, ethnic, religious and social fault lines in the region in accordance with its purpose. Thus, in 1946, he pushed for ethnic-based structures in Iran and Turkey, and religion and sectarian structures in other Arab countries of the region.

It has become inconsistent with the US administration's pre-war views. Although the Iraq War caused significant economic and military losses for the United States, the Neo-Conservative environment still

describes this intervention as a brilliant but misdirected strategic policy. In short, in line with the wrong and inconsistent policies followed during the Bush era, the civil, military, and security bureaucracy of the post-occupation state in Iraq was liquidated, and social polarization, primarily ontological insecurity, marginalization and radicalization processes were experienced in the liquidation process. The social fabric has become ready for the emergence, sprouting, development and rearing of terrorist organizations with religious motives, which are fed by violence through shrinking economic conditions and most importantly foreign interventions. By destroying Iraq, the USA set in motion a process that would later change the regional balance of power to form various centers of power. During the Obama era, the United States adopted a new paradigm that suggested that more pragmatism and security should become an effective public interest, and thus, using the principles of globalization, took a position arguing that multilateral approaches would increase with moderate policies in increasing the number of democratic states. After decision-making practices in international relations in the Bush era, the USA had the opportunity to change its image around the world by returning to the principles of

moral leadership and regaining the trust of the world community with the diplomatic implementation of multilateral decisions. By emphasizing the need to deepen the negotiation processes instead of military solutions to the problems, Obama tried to present a completely different approach to regional problems and thus aimed to end the war in Iraq. Because the US public opinion brought Obama to power because of the promise of making a radical revision in Bush's domestic and foreign policy. In this context, Obama rejected the unipolar world order persistently implemented by Bush and neoconservatives and emphasized liberal internationalism. The United States wasn't threatened by more than one major power during its reign, so it was deemed unnecessary to have a defensive potential designed to repel such a power.

In case the state is unable or unwilling to suppress the threat posed by non-state actors, military interventions should be aimed only at the use of force against the terrorist organization, not against the state or its army, and the operation should fulfill the principles of necessity, proportionality and discrimination. However, the emergence of other limitations in relation to international responses should be taken into account. The international

community needs to initiate a common and integrated strategy in line with the new and evolving characteristics of terrorism. Countries must adhere to a unified standard while fully respecting the sovereignty and leadership of the countries concerned and adhering to the purposes and principles of the United Nations charter. It is necessary to avoid linking terrorism with a specific ethnic or religious group, and to try to establish a new type of ontological security-based international relations based on a dialogue with the state concerned.

According to the power point of view, states were classified on the basis of either tangible or intangible possibilities, and accordingly the following hierarchical classifications emerged: great powers, medium powers and small powers. Some theories focused on great powers, such as structural realist theory, which limited analyzes of changes at the top of the international system, with little emphasis on medium powers and small states. In addition, the reductive approach of the aforementioned theories was limited to only one dimension of either material or non-material possibilities.

If permanent peace is achieved, problems such as uncertainty, security problems, an uncertain future and

limited regional trade in the Middle East region will disappear. For example, Palestine will be able to determine its own destiny and will get rid of the difficult conditions it has been exposed to. Israel, on the other hand, will eliminate the security problem it has experienced. Accordingly, it is stated that Israel is a less safe place due to its wrong practices in the current conditions, it is not accepted much by the Arabs, and the feelings of hatred and anger towards Israel are high. In order to achieve a permanent and fair solution, negotiations should be organized in a way that can respond to the concerns and needs of the parties in dispute. In this, the parties must clearly state their wishes.

The biggest reason for the troubles that humanity has experienced in the process from history to the present is the problems that the states have experienced with each other. The fact that the problems occurring in any region disturb the international peace and security and cause security concerns also affect other international societies. This has led to a conflict of interest between states. The main event that gives the disputes an international character is not the existence of states, but the fact that the results of the conflict directly or indirectly affect other states.

The conflict experienced by any two states can be a threat to other states in the same geography. States generally want to ensure and maintain peace, security and tranquility in their own countries. Due to the concerns that any conflict may threaten their own countries, first of all, neighboring and other states in the region will endeavor to resolve this conflict. States defined as superpowers can turn their mediation activities into competition because they see each other as rivals. Accordingly, the conflicting issues of the parties in conflict often make no sense by the states defined as superpowers, but the aims of these states are only to resolve the conflict and increase their prestige against the rival countries. One of the international law subjects that can perform mediation activities is international organizations. It is quite common for international organizations for Middle East to act as mediators in disputes. Because no actor is in an active position as international organizations. Generally, international organizations are involved in the resolution of qualified and complex disputes. For the states in conflict, international organizations have the power to prevent conflicts that may have dire consequences. For this reason, international organizations are under responsibilities and pressure during

the mediation activity as they will prevent the emergence of wars. The fact that international organizations have wider opportunities to collect information and documents is another important factor for them to be mediators. International organizations are more successful than other states because of their more willingness, efficiency and ability to collect information in the resolution of disputes.

Intercommunal diplomacy in the Middle East is not an alternative to classical first-course diplomacy between parties in conflict. But it is a complementary element. If there is no public support or the people are not ready for peace, it is not possible for the solution reached to be permanent. For this reason, the most important thing is that inter-communal diplomacy fills this gap, that is, it prepares the societies for peace as well as the parties.

First of all, a state that behaves rationally in the international system should gain power, increase its power, protect its power; In our example, while focusing on the behavior of the USA, which is a hegemonic power, to maintain this characteristic, the hegemon's search for consent is under the spotlight in order to further explain the USA's behavior. In this context, the concepts of power, relative power, great power, hegemony, balance of power,

security dilemma, hard power, soft power, consent, multilateralism, superiority and limitation were used.

The Middle East's location as a crossroads between Asia, Europe and Africa and its important land and waterways make the region attractive in terms of trade, military and politics. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the value of oil has increased the importance of the Middle East, which has oil reserves that correspond to about half of the world's oil reserves, with high quality, long-lasting and low cost oil reserves. Since oil, supply and demand regions are different, a factor affecting supply security; Since the changes in oil prices play a role in the stability of the world markets, they have the power to have economic consequences. Because of this strategic relationship between oil producer and consumer countries, it is important to keep the Middle East under control.

The inability of the regional states to establish a full political, economic and military unity among themselves, their different attitudes towards the West, and their hostile stance against the Israeli states in Turkey also have an important role in the increase in the conflicts in the region. In addition, the rooting of religious discrimination in the region and the sectarian divisions turn the region into a ring

of fire for ethnic, religious and cultural conflicts. All these reasons delay the peace that has been expected for centuries in the Middle East, and reduce the hopes of the peoples of the Middle East for peace day by day.

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