



# **POPULAR APPROACHES TO SOCIAL, HUMAN AND ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES**

**Editor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Filiz KUTLUAY TUTAR**



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**Editor in chief:** Berkan Balpetek

**Cover and Page Design:** Duvar Design

**Printing :** June -2024

**Publisher Certificate No:** 49837

**ISBN:** 978-625-6069-19-0

© Duvar Yayınları

853 Sokak No:13 P.10 Kemeraltı-Konak/İzmir

Tel: 0 232 484 88 68

[www.duvar yayinlari.com](http://www.duvar yayinlari.com)

[duvar kitabevi@gmail.com](mailto:duvar kitabevi@gmail.com)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Chapter 1 .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>The Doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect as a Legitimizing Discourse for International Interventions</b>	
<i>Caner KALAYCI</i>	
<b>Chapter 2 .....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Just War Theory as the Intellectual Root of International Intervention Practices</b>	
<i>Caner KALAYCI</i>	
<b>Chapter 3 .....</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Understanding Perceived Value: Theory, Importance, and Implications</b>	
<i>Ebru ERDOĞAN</i>	
<b>Chapter 4 .....</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>Cultivating Customer Loyalty in the Digital Age: Strategies for E-commerce Success</b>	
<i>Ebru ERDOĞAN</i>	
<b>Chapter 5 .....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in The Light Of Archetype Theory</b>	
<i>Aylin TALU</i>	
<b>Chapter 6 .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>The European Security Policy: Focus on the Concept of Terrorism, the European Counterterrorism Measures, and its Limitations</b>	
<i>Zeyyat BANDEOĞLU</i>	

## **Chapter 1**

### **The Doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect as a Legitimizing Discourse for International Interventions<sup>1</sup>**

**Caner KALAYCI<sup>2</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> This article is based on Caner Kalayci's master's thesis titled "The Responsibility to Protect in the Context of the Syrian Crisis", written in 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Res. Assist. Dr., Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University/ Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of International Relations, Bolu/ Turkey,  
canerkalayci@ibu.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0001-7693-211X

## **Abstract**

After the Cold War, the legitimacy of military interventions for humanitarian purposes began to be a much-debated issue. The focal points of the debate were how, when, and under what authority a correct and legitimate humanitarian intervention would be implemented. The doctrine of responsibility to protect emerged for this purpose and aims to give the international community a responsibility that amounts to the authority to intervene in case of serious human rights violations. The study first examined the basic principles of this doctrine. In addition, the basic debates about the doctrine and the attitudes of states toward this doctrine are also discussed.

**Key Words:** Responsibility to Protect, International Intervention, Humanitarian Intervention, Sovereignty, ICISS

## **Uluslararası Müdahaleleri Meşrulaştırıcı Söylem Olarak Koruma Sorumluluğu Doktrini**

### **Özet**

Soğuk Savaş sonrasında insani amaçlarla yapılan askeri müdahalelerin meşruluğu çok tartışılan bir konu olmaya başlamıştır. Tartışmanın odak noktaları ise doğru ve meşru bir insani müdahalenin nasıl, ne zaman ve hangi otorite altında uygulanacağı olmuştur. Koruma sorumluluğu doktrini de bu amaçla ortaya çıkmış ve ağır insan hakları ihlallerinin yaşanması durumunda uluslararası topluma müdahale yetkisine varan bir sorumluluk vermeyi amaçlamıştır. Çalışma öncelikle bu doktrinin temel esaslarını incelemiştir. Buna ek olarak, doktrine yönelik temel tartışmalar ve devletlerin bu doktrine yönelik tutumları da ele alınmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Koruma Sorumluluğu, Uluslararası Müdahale, İnsancıl Müdahale, Egemenlik, ICISS

## **1. Introduction**

Those who consider humanitarian intervention contrary to international law in terms of violating sovereignty refer to the articles of the United Nations (UN) Charter on non-interference in internal affairs, sovereign equality, and non-intervention. Those who see humanitarian intervention as legitimate claim that globalization erodes sovereignty and that the understanding of sovereignty cannot be asserted in cross-border problems. On the one hand, the principle of non-interference in internal affairs is guaranteed by the UN Charter; on the other hand, human rights violations in these internal conflicts have created an inextricable paradox in the international community's perspective on these crises (Kaşıkçı 2015: 132). The interventions in Iraq in 1991, Bosnia in 1992-1993, Kosovo in 1999, and Rwanda in 1994 after the Gulf War led to the discussion of the extent to which the sovereignty of states can be interfered with by the desire to put an end to human rights violations caused by the actions of a state against its citizens and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people as a result of these actions by using force (Sak 2015: 122). While these discussions continued, the starting point for the responsibility to protect was the speech of the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan at the UN General Assembly in 1999. In his speech, Kofi Annan called for states to revise their understanding of sovereignty (Secretary General's Annual Report to the UN General Assembly 1999, <http://www.un.org/press/en/1999/19990920.sgsm7136.html>). In addition, in his speech in 2000, Kofi Annan drew the attention of the international community by asking, "If humanitarian intervention is an unacceptable attack on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, a Srebrenica, systematic violations of human rights?" (Annan 2000: 48).

The UN system's mobilization of the humanitarian military intervention option does not work in an orderly manner, and the Security Council's politicized veto makes it difficult to act (Nye and Welch 2013: 273). At this point, the responsibility to protect approach aimed to strike a balance between the principle of non-interference in traditional internal affairs, where state sovereignty is prioritized, and the idea of not being indifferent to humanitarian crises (Kaşıkçı 2015: 132). Another purpose of the responsibility to protect is to provide the international community with a code of conduct to implement in the event of humanitarian disasters. In the context of these developments, the responsibility to protect, which started to become the norm with the report prepared by ICISS, was also supported by the reports of the UN Secretary-General, General Assembly resolutions, and Security Council resolutions.

## **2. Commission on International Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) and Report of the Responsibility to Protect**

The issue of when humanitarian intervention should be carried out has always been a topic of debate. The inaction of the UN in Rwanda in 1994 and the UN military intervention in Kosovo in 1999 caused many controversies. This situation shows that there is an ambivalence in the implementation of humanitarian intervention. For this reason, humanitarian intervention, which does not have a specific framework, has gained a bad reputation. The humanitarian intervention in Kosovo has led to debates about the legitimacy of military intervention within a sovereign state. Other topics of discussion were the unsuccessful UN operations in Bosnia and Somalia. Thus, the events in Rwanda, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Somalia have had a major impact on how the problem of humanitarian intervention is analyzed (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 1).

In September 2000, an independent Commission on International Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) was established under the leadership of the Canadian government. The purpose of this commission is to introduce a non-controversial code of conduct in which interventions for humanitarian purposes can be applied within the framework of predetermined principles and by a legitimate authority. The issues that the Commission works on are military intervention for humanitarian purposes, international security, international peace, human rights, and sustainable development. After a year of work, the Commission published its report on the responsibility to protect in December 2001.

The report aims to establish the military intervention for humanitarian purposes on a legitimate basis. It is based on the fact that this goal must be achieved absolutely because today's international system is different from the international system of 1945, many new actors have entered today's international system, the system has gained depth, intra-state conflicts have increased, many international organizations related to human rights have been established, the number of failed states has increased, violence has become a way of life in failed states, and the number and actions of terrorist organizations have increased.

### **2.1. Basic Principles of the Responsibility to Protect**

The most important innovation that the norm of responsibility to protect seeks to bring about is a change in the understanding of sovereignty and that the Security Council is not the only authority to decide to intervene. Considered in the context of sovereignty, the norm of the responsibility to protect aims to bring sovereignty into the line of sovereignty as responsibility. As for authority, its aim



is not to find an alternative to the Security Council but to make the Security Council work better. However, in cases where the Security Council cannot decide on military intervention due to the veto, it argues that the General Assembly and then regional organizations should be responsible for human rights violations from the perspective of not remaining silent against human rights violations.

The ICISS report emphasizes that the classical understanding of sovereignty must change to achieve its goals. According to the UN system, sovereignty means the ability to make decisions about resources and people within their own country's territory, while the internal authority of states is not completely unlimited, as it is limited by constitutional regulations (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 12). Not all examples of humanitarian intervention to date have led to the abandonment of the principle of non-intervention, which is dominated by the classical understanding of sovereignty. The fact that even the strongest defenders of state sovereignty argue that state sovereignty does not imply unlimited power over its citizens to do whatever they want shows the need for the development of the norm of responsibility to protect (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 8).

The responsibility to protect approach emphasizes that sovereignty entails two responsibilities: external responsibility; which refers to respecting the sovereignty of other states, and domestic responsibility refers to respecting the fundamental rights of its citizens (Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 8). The most important difference that the responsibility to protect approach wants to create in the understanding of sovereignty is the transition from sovereignty as a right to sovereignty as a responsibility.

According to the UN Charter, when member states sign the treaty, they guarantee to the international community of nations to fulfill the duties imposed by the Charter, and this is not a transfer or weakened form of sovereignty (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 13). However, the responsibility to protect approach argues that the understanding of sovereignty should change. Otherwise, it is emphasized that humanitarian intervention practices will always be controversial and cannot become a specific code of conduct.

The responsibility to protect approach aims to bring sovereignty from sovereignty as control to sovereignty as responsibility (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 13). According to this approach, sovereignty involves three stages of responsibility (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 13): First, the sovereign state is responsible for protecting the welfare, security, and lives of its citizens. Second, national political authorities are accountable to the international community through the UN abroad and to their citizens at home. Thirdly, the sovereign state is responsible for the actions and omissions of its state institutions.

When sovereignty is considered in this context, it will have a positive impact on international human rights studies and human security discourses.

In summary, we can mention two fundamental principles. Firstly, state sovereignty entails responsibility, and the responsibility to protect people primarily belongs to the sovereign state. Second, where people suffer severely due to civil wars, rebellions, and failed state situations, and where the state in question fails or is unwilling to eliminate these sufferings, the responsibility of the state is replaced by the responsibility of international protection. The responsibility to protect also imposes a three-fold responsibility on the international community. These; are the responsibility to prevent, the responsibility to react, and the responsibility to build.

### **2.1.1. Responsibility for Prevention**

While the responsibility for preventing humanitarian disasters and deadly civil wars rests primarily with the sovereign state and its relevant organizations, conflict prevention does not belong solely to national and local forces (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 19) The international community also has many obligations for the success of the intervention. For the intervention to be successful, the Commission considers it necessary to understand the causes of the conflict and act as an "early warning", to have "preventive means" on standby, and to have the "political will" of those who will intervene (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 20).

With an early warning approach, it will be ensured that the problem at the root of the problem is quickly analyzed and the political, economic, military, or judicial institutions will be improved. In this way, necessary measures can be taken to solve the problem without the need for any military intervention (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 23).

As tools to be considered within the framework of the responsibility to prevent, states, the UN and specialized agencies, international financial institutions, regional organizations, non-governmental organizations, religious groups, the business sector, media, academic and scientific institutions can collaborate (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 26). Thus, the responsibility to protect aims to transition from a culture of response to situations of human rights violations to a culture of prevention (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 27).

### **2.1.2. Responsibility to React**

The responsibility to react is a responsibility that can lead to military intervention in extreme cases when all preventive efforts have been exhausted

and the sovereign state is unwilling or fails to solve the problem (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 29). In the face of action contrary to human security when all preventive efforts fail, the problem can be solved by reacting in the military, economic, political and diplomatic fields with the approval of the UN Security Council. In the military context, the arms embargo and the termination of military cooperation and training programs can be considered within the scope of prevention responsibility. In economic terms, financial sanctions can be imposed on foreign assets of the state, and airport restrictions such as no-fly zones can be imposed. Politically, efforts such as restrictions on diplomatic representatives, restrictions on travel, and suspension of membership in international organizations can be listed. These methods fall within the responsibility to respond without resorting to military intervention. In addition, the option of military intervention is considered within the responsibility of reaction. The norm of responsibility to protect stipulates the option of military intervention, which is within the scope of responsibility to react, to the fulfillment of six criteria; the right authority, just cause, the right intent, the last resort, the proportionate methods, and the reasonable expectation of success.

### ***Just Cause***

The ICISS report identified the just cause as widespread loss of life and a large proportion of ethnic cleansing (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 32). The actions to be counted as just cause are determined as follows (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 33): Large-scale loss of life specified in the 1948 Geneva Convention, the danger of loss of life with or without genocidal intent, the systematic killing or rape of people in a region, ethnic cleansing as defined in the Geneva Conventions and their additional protocols, and violations of the laws of war by causing a large loss of life or the commission of crimes against humanity, the occurrence of disasters such as civil wars and famine caused by failed states, and the loss of life caused by natural disasters that states cannot cope with or seek help. The ICISS report does not consider any reason other than these items as just cause. For example; The presence of a military coup in one country or an attempt to intervene in another country to protect the rights of its citizens is not accepted as a just cause. It is noteworthy that the just cause principle does not determine the extent of ethnic cleansing and the loss of life to a large extent. The purpose of this is that when any lower limit is set, it will be accepted that the international community will not have the authority to intervene if the limit is not reached (Evans and Shanoun 2002: 103).

### ***Right Intention***

The idea of the responsibility to protect states is that for military intervention to be legitimate, its primary purpose must be to prevent or stop human rights violations. (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 35). Overthrowing the regime or changing borders, continuing the occupation of territories after the intervention, or assisting the overthrow of the regime or one of the warring parties were not considered within the scope of right intention. At this point, the uncertainty of whether there will be a difference between the expressed intention and the implementation is debatable. For this reason, it was thought that the intervention should be multilateral, not unilateral, to keep the right intention criterion away from discussions (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 36).

### ***Last Resort***

The aim of the responsibility to protect is primarily to explore and implement ways to prevent a humanitarian crisis without any diplomatic or military intervention. These efforts include compelling parties to reach agreements and peacekeeping forces observing negotiations. If all peaceful means and efforts under the responsibility to prevent are ineffective, the responsibility to respond, including military intervention, can be implemented as a last resort.

### ***Proportional Methods***

An important factor for the legitimization of military intervention is to implement the intervention with proportionate methods. This principle means that military intervention should be used as minimally and as much as necessary in terms of duration and intensity. According to the responsibility to protect, the intensity, duration, and scale of the military intervention plan should be planned with the most necessary methods and the shortest duration to achieve the humanitarian objective in question (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 37). In addition, all the rules of international humanitarian law should be closely observed within the framework of the intervention and there should be no contradiction with these rules.

### ***Reasonable Expectation of Success***

If there is a discussion of intervention within the borders of a state, it must first be highly achievable to stop or prevent the humanitarian atrocities in question. In addition, if the military intervention causes another conflict or causes the conflict to escalate, and the situation after the intervention is worse than the situation before the intervention, the intervention will lose its legitimacy (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 37).

### ***The Right Authority***

The responsibility to protect report identified the Security Council as the most competent authority for the decision to intervene militarily. According to the report on the responsibility to protect published in 2001, it is emphasized that in cases where a decision cannot be taken in the Security Council due to the veto, this responsibility passes first to the General Assembly and then to regional organizations. However, the World Summit Final Declaration in 2005, in which the responsibility to protect was unanimously accepted and an important step in becoming the norm, specified the Security Council as the sole authority to decide on intervention.

#### **2.1.3. Responsibility to Build**

The responsibility to build is evaluated under the heading of post-intervention obligations. Ensuring peace and prosperity in the country, ensuring security, making the judicial system functional, promoting sustainable development and economic development, working on the post-intervention superstructure and infrastructure of the country where the crisis is experienced with multilateral cooperation, promoting the development of human rights, observing elections, strengthening national institutions, carrying out programs to improve the economy, the return of refugees and their accommodation when they return, health, education, economic conditions and social rights are considered within the scope of the responsibility to regulate thoroughly and to build without any neo-colonial suspicion (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 39-45).

### **3. Authority Problem**

The concept of the responsibility to protect initially assigns the responsibility of protecting people's lives and welfare to the sovereign state. However, this idea argues that if the relevant state fails to fulfill this responsibility, the responsibility should pass to the international community. The first authority that came to mind at the point of transferring responsibility to the international community was the UN Security Council. Because the UN Security Council is the center of international law and the international system. However, if the UN Security Council cannot make a decision to intervene or if one or more of its permanent members use their veto right, it is intended to put a certain framework on how to solve the crisis in question. However, there is a great deal of debate about the implementation of this framework.

The Responsibility to Protect Report acknowledges that there is no other authority more appropriate for humanitarian intervention than the Security Council (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 49). The idea of the

responsibility to protect is not intended to find an alternative to the Security Council, but simply to ensure that the authority that decides to intervene in humanitarian disasters works better. For this reason, the Security Council veto and the issue of legitimacy have been the most controversial issues of the responsibility to protect approach. It has been observed that the veto power of the five permanent members of the Security Council has hindered interventions aimed at preventing or stopping humanitarian crises in the past. The general acceptance of the report on the responsibility to protect this issue has been to make it a "code of conduct" for the five permanent members to use their veto power in humanitarian crises. The scope of the code of conduct is the understanding that any permanent member of the Security Council should not use its veto power if it does not harm their vital interests in responding to the humanitarian crisis in question (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 51). In this context, "constructive abstention" has been used in the past (The Responsibility to Protect Report 2001: 51). However, it is ambiguous that the vital interests of countries do not have a specific framework for whom, what and according to what criteria. In cases where the Security Council could not decide to intervene, the responsibility to protect approach first gave responsibility to the UN General Assembly and then to regional organizations. In addition, under Article 99 of the UN Charter, the Secretary-General also has the opportunity to bring the matter to the agenda of the General Assembly.

### ***General Assembly***

When the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, fails to perform its duties due to its veto, the General Assembly may convene for an Emergency Special Session within twenty-four hours under the "Union for Peace" procedure. For this, nine positive votes of the Security Council are needed. After nine positive votes from the Security Council, the problem can be discussed in the General Assembly. In addition, for the unity for peace resolution to be on the agenda of the General Assembly, according to Article 12 of the UN Charter, that issue should not be on the agenda of the Security Council. For any military intervention to be considered against an act that threatens international peace and security, 2/3 of the General Assembly must adopt the resolution ([http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/otherdocs/GAres377A\(v\).pdf](http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/otherdocs/GAres377A(v).pdf)). According to Article 18 of the UN Charter, unity for peace resolution adopted by 2/3 of the General Assembly can only be advisory.

### ***Regional Organizations***

According to the UN charter, the task of maintaining international peace and security rests primarily with the Security Council. Later, in the context of the procedure of unity for peace, the General Assembly takes over. However, in cases where these two bodies fail to reach an intervention decision, regional organizations can intervene under Chapter 8 of the UN Charter, provided that they are authorized by the Security Council. One of the most debated issues on this matter is whether the country experiencing the crisis falls within the mandate of the regional organization being authorized. NATO's intervention in Kosovo has been discussed in this context. The fact that the intervened country is a non-NATO member has damaged the legitimacy of the intervention. In addition, the fact that the decision to intervene was not voted on at least once in the Security Council also damaged the legitimacy. Supporters of intervention have argued that there is no problem with NATO being tasked because of the risk that the problem would spill over into NATO's boundaries. But it is also debatable whether all peaceful measures have been exhausted, even in the face of imminent danger.

### **4. Responsibility to Protect in the United Nations**

While the report on the responsibility to protect prepared by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) in 2001 is the main pillar of the approach, the efforts of the UN secretaries-general, the UN General Assembly resolutions, and the UN Security Council resolutions have also made the implementation of the responsibility to protect a norm for implementation and have been developed and shaped until today.

### ***A More Secure World Report***

This report, published in December 2004 by the High Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change organized by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, emphasizes that the world of 1945 has changed and new threats have emerged that will threaten human security and the security of states. For this reason, this report emphasizes that the UN, which aims to protect fundamental human rights and promote social progress, should also introduce new regulations against new threat perceptions.

This report sets out five criteria for the legitimacy of military intervention. These are the principles of the seriousness of the threat, appropriate purpose, last resort, proportionality, and equivalence of consequences (A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility Report 2004:3). Of these criteria, except for the seriousness of the threat, the other principles were present in the responsibility to protect report with the same meanings. In this report, the expression equivalence

of results is used instead of a high chance of success. Under the heading of the seriousness of the threat, it was discussed whether the problem affects human security and the security of states and whether there is genocide, ethnic cleansing, widespread loss of life, and violations of international humanitarian law. In addition, the report underlines that the principle of non-intervention in the UN Charter should not be protective of violations of international humanitarian law, genocide, ethnic cleansing, and widespread loss of life (A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility Report 2004: 65). As the authority source for military intervention decisions, it has cited the Security Council and the General Assembly. It also aimed to introduce an innovation in the voting method in the Security Council. Accordingly, the members of the Security Council will first hold an open vote as a "decisive vote", and then a second vote. A 'no' vote in the first ballot would not be effective or legal, while the second vote would be considered official (A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility Report 2004: 82). The purpose of this vote is to ensure that the permanent members of the Security Council do not use their veto power when they do not have vital interests.

In addition, the report argues that if sovereign governments are unable or unwilling to prevent serious violations of international humanitarian law, genocide, ethnic cleansing, and genocide, military intervention can be applied with the approval of the Security Council, as a last resort, and in the context of the responsibility to protect internationally (A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility Report 2004: 66).

### ***Larger Freedom Report***

In the report titled "Larger Freedom" published by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 2005, it is emphasized that the main task is not to find an alternative to the Security Council in terms of the source of authority, but to make the Security Council work better (In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights For All Report 2005: 33).

### ***Outcome Declaration of the 2005 World Summit and Subsequent Developments***

On 24 October 2005, the UN General Assembly, in its World Summit Final Declaration, adopted the concept of the responsibility to protect in paragraphs 138 and 139, which states that the primary responsibility for genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and crimes against humanity rests with the sovereign state, but in cases where this responsibility is not or cannot be fulfilled, the responsibility passes to the international community (2005 World Summit



Outcome, a resolution adopted by UN General Assembly, A/RES/60/1 2005: 31). Thus, it has become clear that the norm of responsibility to protect can be put forward through four specific crimes. The unanimous adoption of this resolution by the General Assembly in the Final Declaration of the UN World Summit contributed to the responsibility to protect becoming the norm. However, criticism arose that accepting the Security Council as the sole authority to decide on international intervention, as stipulated in the accepted Articles 138 and 139 regarding the responsibility to protect, did not fundamentally change this doctrine.

The UN Security Council accepted the responsibility to protect for the first time on 28 April 2006 with Resolution 1674. This decision adopted Articles 138 and 139 concerning the responsibility to protect the World Summit (Security Council Resolution 1674: 2006). On 11 November 2009, the Security Council reaffirmed this resolution in its Resolution 1894 (Security Council Resolution 1894: 2009).

After UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon took over from Kofi Annan in January 2007, he continued to work to make the responsibility of protection the norm for the international community. In December 2007, Edward Luck, who has done important work on international organizations and international peace, was appointed as Ban Ki-moon's special advisor on ensuring the conceptual, political, and institutional development of the responsibility to protect highlighted in paragraphs 138 and 139 of the Final Declaration of the 2005 World Summit (Eldem 2015: 12). In addition, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, in his speech in Berlin in 2008, emphasized that the responsibility to protect is not the same as humanitarian intervention, and that it is not hostile to the concept of sovereignty, but rather strengthens the sovereignty of states (<http://www.un.org/press/en/2008/sgsm11701.doc.htm>). In the same speech, Moon emphasized that the two secretaries general of the UN (Kofi Annan and Boutros Boutros Ghali), who are engaged in the evolution of the concepts of humanitarian intervention and sovereignty to alleviate the reservations of African countries, are also Africans, and tried to indicate that the responsibility to protect is not a policy tool of the great powers (<http://www.un.org/press/en/2008/sgsm11701.doc.htm>).

In January 2009, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon presented the "Implementing the Responsibility to Protect" report at the UN General Assembly to operationalize the concept of the responsibility to protect (UN General Assembly, Report of the Secretary-General 2009). The report caused a long debate in the UN General Assembly. The UN Chairman-in-Office, Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, stated that the debate on the responsibility to protect is not a productive and enlightening one, arguing that the collective security system has

not reached a level to implement the responsibility to protect and that the principle of just cause is the same as the doctrine of just war before the UN Charter ([http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/PGA\\_dEscoto\\_ENG.pdf](http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/PGA_dEscoto_ENG.pdf)). The debate has developed between those who see the responsibility to protect as a policy tool of powerful states and those who see the responsibility to protect as an approach that can introduce a moral code of conduct to prevent and stop crimes such as genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Implementing the Responsibility to Protect Report submitted on 12 January 2009 was adopted only on 14 September 2009 with the General Assembly's 63/308 resolution with the signatures of 67 states after long discussions (Eldem 2015: 13). This adopted report is based on three main pillars. In the first pillar, states assume the initial responsibility to protect their citizens against genocide, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and war crimes (Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, UN General Assembly, Report of the Secretary General 2009: 8). The second pillar is the responsibility of the international community to assist states in fulfilling the initial responsibility and in increasing their capacity to fulfil this responsibility (Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, UN General Assembly, Report of the Secretary General 2009: 9). The third pillar is that in cases where the state with the initial responsibility does not or cannot fulfil its responsibility, the international community has a responsibility to implement all measures in a timely and decisive manner, including the option of military intervention, in accordance with international law (Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, UN General Assembly, Report of the Secretary General 2009: 9). Although many reports have been published under the umbrella of the UN to develop the doctrine of responsibility to protect, this doctrine has not yet caused a radical change.

### **5. States' Approaches to the Responsibility to Protect**

For the international acceptance of the responsibility to protect, first, the global powers and then the international community must adopt this norm. When the responsibility to protect was first published in the ICISS report in 2001, the United States of America (USA), Great Britain, Japan, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, Rwanda, Kenya, and the European Union expressed their support for this report (Tiewa 2012: 153). In addition, many states have expressed reservations about the implementation of the responsibility to protect. As the content of the responsibility to protect has changed, the approach of states to the responsibility to protect has also changed.

Clinton's view that the U.S. cannot respond to every humanitarian catastrophe or human rights violation, while the U.S. view of humanitarian military

intervention was perceived as neo-Wilsonism (O'Donnell 2014:571). During the Bush era, the responsibility to protect was approached at a distance due to concerns that it would limit the power to use force (Pingeot and Obenland 2014: 26). Obama, on the other hand, was hesitant about the responsibility to protect without a Security Council resolution (O'Donnell 2014: 571). The focus of the US has been on not weakening the veto power in the Security Council. In addition, the fact that its reactions to human rights violations were not similar in different examples showed that it adopted a foreign policy approach based on national interest. Therefore, the U.S. is not willing to take responsibility for an intervention that is not in its interest. For this reason, it has not taken a clear stance on the idea of the responsibility to protect.

Russia, on the other hand, has always been in favor of taking the intervention with a Security Council resolution. In other words, he has been a defender of the classical understanding of sovereignty, the principles of non-intervention, and sovereign equality (O'Donnell 2014: 577). However, in response to this understanding, its intervention in Georgia in 2008 based on the responsibility to protect shows that the policies it adopted were not consistent.

From the very beginning, China rejected the idea that Kofi Annan's understanding of sovereignty should be revised and its responsibility to protect it (O'Donnell 2014: 576). They even stated that even an intervention by the Security Council resolution could be a violation of both the prohibition of the use of force and the principle of sovereign equality. (O'Donnell 2014:577). Academics in China have two different views on the responsibility to protect. Some think that the responsibility to protect is a ploy of Western powers, while others think that this new norm may be a response to international human rights violations (Tiewa 2012: 160). China's approach to the responsibility to protect, which accepted the responsibility to protect at the 2005 World Summit, is largely driven by the following factors (Liu and Zhang 2014: 406): its strategic national interests, the possible risks of intervention, and its ideological concerns over state sovereignty. According to its 2007 report on UN reforms, responding to situations of gross human rights violations can only be given in consultation with the countries and regional organizations of the region and by the UN Charter (<http://www.china-un.org/eng/smhwj/2005/t199101.htm>). In fact, China supports all efforts under the responsibility to prevent within the framework of the responsibility to protect. However, he argued that this norm should not create an element of pressure on the sovereignty of states, that nation-states should be helped for the development of human rights, that good governance should be developed, and that intervention should be carried out by international law without violating the principle of sovereignty and non-intervention, like most

states (Tiewa 2012: 159-160). China, which did not prevent the intervention in the context of the responsibility to protect by abstaining in the Security Council in the Libyan intervention, defended the idea of an intervention by taking the opinions of regional states and regional organizations and respecting the sovereign rights of Libya.

The European Union (EU) is the only major power that supports the responsibility to protect, despite divisions in the implementation of the responsibility to protect (Brockmeier, Kurtz, and Junk 2014: 430). France is one of the states most supportive of its responsibility to protect. So much so that he put forward an opinion on limiting the veto power of the Security Council in cases of humanitarian atrocities (O'Donnell 2014: 576). Another indication of France's support for the responsibility to protect was its willingness to implement its responsibility to protect in the face of the great disaster that occurred as a result of the cyclone in Myanmar in 2008 (Bellamy and Drummond 2011: 190). In addition, France took an active role in the UN-mediated intervention in Mali and Libya in 2011.

Britain, on the other hand, has openly supported the responsibility to protect as a legal basis for the use of force, with or without a Security Council resolution, unlike the United States (O'Donnell 2014: 574). Tony Blair was the most supportive of the responsibility to protect among the leaders of great states (Macfarlane, Thielking and Weiss 2004: 981). However, in the following years, although the UK continued to support the responsibility to protect approach in principle, it displayed an approach focused on national policies during the implementation phase.

Canada, which led the creation of the ICISS commission, initially supported this approach. However, the fact that the conservative Stephen Harper became prime minister of Canada significantly reduced support for the responsibility to protect (Pingeot and Obenland 2014: 26). Although Germany has supported the responsibility to protect from the beginning, it has been in favor of the development of the responsibility to prevent and the use of military intervention as a last resort (Pingeot and Obenland 2014: 26).

Brazil, a developing country, on the other hand, saw the responsibility of protection as a tool for imperial purposes in the first period. However, he later argued that the first stage of the responsibility to protect, the responsibility to prevent, should be developed. It has announced the idea of "Responsibility to Protect" to the international community to develop the responsibility to protect. According to this approach, it is important to respect the sovereignty of states, to develop studies on the responsibility of prevention, and to increase the accountability and transparency of the Security Council (Stuenkel and Tourinho

2014: 396-398). In this context, Brazil's main goal is the establishment of a multilateral order in which all states can act equally (Stuenkel and Tourinho 2014: 396-398).

India, another developing country, emphasized that the responsibility to protect is a tool of the interventionist understanding of the Western powers and that the realization of reform in the Security Council is more important than the responsibility to protect (Rotmann, Kurtz, and Brockmeier 2014: 365). India, which was very cautious in the negotiations on the responsibility to protect approved at the 2005 World Summit, defended the idea that the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states and the principle of sovereignty should not be disturbed (Jaganathan and Kurtz 2014: 462). In the General Assembly debate in 2009, although he adopted the idea of "sovereignty as responsibility" and approached the responsibility to protect positively, he returned to the reservation approach after his first experience of the responsibility to protect in Libya (Jaganathan and Kurtz 2014: 463). The reason for this was the regime change in the country after the intervention in Libya.

South Africa, on the other hand, argued that it would be more beneficial to seek "African solutions to African problems" after the end of the apartheid era in 1994 (Verhoeven, Murthy, and Oliviera 2014: 510). South Africa approached the responsibility of protection with reservations. South Africa, which upholds its responsibility to prevent gross human rights violations by the rules of international law, has endorsed Security Council Resolution 1973 providing for its intervention in Libya. However, the fact that the intervention caused regime change made South Africa one of the states that had the most negative view of its responsibility to protect it (Verhoeven, Murthy, and Oliviera 2014: 510).

## **6. Debates on the Responsibility to Protect**

Much of the criticism of the responsibility to protect has focused on issues such as the idea that it is a new policy tool of great powers, that it is no different from humanitarian intervention, and that it weakens the sovereign rights of states. On the other hand, those who approach the responsibility to protect positively argue that the responsibility to protect is a good opportunity not to remain silent about widespread human rights violations and that it does not weaken the sovereign rights of states, on the contrary, it strengthens sovereignty by giving the first responsibility for protecting its citizens to the state in question. In the responsibility of protection, the effectiveness of interventions is important for some, and the legitimacy and methods of interventions are important for others. According to some, humanitarian intervention is contrary to state sovereignty and is a tool for the political interests of the great powers. According to the opposing

view, humanitarian intervention is a practice that is not contrary to sovereignty based on just causes.

In the responsibility-to-protect approach, the fact that states are responsible for the events that occur in their countries is seen as the result of sovereignty and does not pose a problem. However, the adaptation of the responsibility of the international community to the law of nations has been the main issue that has been difficult (Arsava 2011: 111). The issues of when it is clear that states cannot fulfill their responsibilities and when the responsibility will pass to the international community are important dimensions of the problem (Arsava 2011: 111). Another criticism of the responsibility to protect is that classifying crimes could restrict the Security Council's scope of action. This critique is based on the notion that under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, international peace and security concerns afford a broader range of action than the responsibility to protect.

Alex Bellamy has discussed the contribution of the responsibility to protect military intervention in three ways. First, the doctrine of the responsibility to protect can help reduce the moral damage caused by the intervention; secondly, the doctrine can provide diplomatic and political solutions to complex problems, especially military ones; and third, develop innovative conservation practices for the protection of civilians (Bellamy 2008: 630).

Michael Doyle examined the roots of the responsibility to protect based on international ethics and emphasized that the doctrine is generally linked to liberalism and that even the realist and Marxist traditions take their place in the doctrine through the understanding of international ethics (Doyle 2011: 72). Doyle also argues that the Myanmar and Kenyan practices of responsibility to protect have removed neo-imperial suspicions (Doyle 2011: 81).

Chomsky argues that there is no historical and practical difference between the doctrine of the responsibility to protect and humanitarian intervention (<http://chomsky.info/20090723/>). In addition, Chomsky criticized the decision to intervene in the doctrine adopted at the World Summit in the Security Council and thought that the veto right should be abolished to solve this problem (<http://chomsky.info/20090723/>).

Ramesh Thakur, a member of the ICISS commission and a proponent of the development of the doctrine, identified three dilemmas for the doctrine. The first is that always respecting the principle of sovereignty can lead to humanitarian catastrophes; secondly, that the veto power of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and the fact that the decision on humanitarian intervention is under the authority of the Security Council will lead to a political deadlock; the third is that intervention without the approval of the UN would be a violation of international law and weaken the international order (Thakur 2002: 325).

However, Thakur argues that ICISS will solve these dilemmas through comprehensive, innovative, balanced, and independent studies within the framework of political realism.

Thomass Weiss, on the other hand, disagrees with the criticism that the idea of the responsibility to protect reflects the plans of the great powers and will be used as a Trojan Horse by the great powers (Weiss 2004: 135). Weiss also stated that since the Westphalia treaty, the responsibility to protect has added the principle of respect for human rights to the understanding of the sovereignty of states consisting of territory, people, and authority elements (Weiss 2004: 138).

David Chandler, on the other hand, finds it more useful to focus on three aspects of the responsibility to protect debate. First, it must be acknowledged that this doctrine was not created to appease human rights organizations that oppose military intervention in humanitarian aid; secondly, it must be recognized that the concept of intervention is compatible with sovereignty; Finally, thirdly, it must be acknowledged that intervention does not weaken the authority of the UN Security Council, but rather strengthens it (Chandler 2004: 61).

Stefanie Fishel, on the other hand, criticized the doctrine, arguing that the ICISS report reproduces past dilemmas about intervention and fails to explain the complex capitalist forms of structural violence, actual violence, and war (Fishel 2013: 215). One criticism of the doctrine of the responsibility to protect is that it is largely political and unstable (Labonte 2012: 983).

Patricia Weber approached the responsibility to protect approach negatively, stating that the doctrine of the responsibility to protect fails to comprehend the international reality by ignoring that the interests of states direct their behavior and that it is a mistake to designate the Security Council as the decision-maker in the doctrine (Weber 2009: 582). Because Weber argues that this will benefit Western states with a Foucauldian understanding.

A criticism of the doctrine of responsibility to protect is that it is not clear what kind of sanctions will be imposed if the international community fails to fulfill its responsibilities, and whether the Security Council's negligence will be subject to its jurisdiction in cases where it does not fulfill its responsibilities (Halatçı Ulusoy 2013: 276).

Finally, the reason why the most important reservation of states in the development of the responsibility to protect is the sovereign equality of states is that sovereignty is withdrawn from the right dimension and the responsibility dimension is brought to the fore (Telli 2012: 207). The primary conclusion of the ICISS report on sovereignty is that, although it is of vital importance, sovereignty is neither a principle that can never be violated, nor is it a justification that the international community can resort to for not taking action in the face of large-

scale human rights violations, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, and genocide crimes (Keskin 2009: 76).

### **Conclusion**

Examples such as Syria, Palestine, and Ukraine, where serious human rights violations have occurred in recent years, show that the international community has failed to build peace in the context of its responsibility to protect. This situation shows the weakness of trust between states even in humanitarian crises and shows that discourses such as the responsibility to protect essentially serve the policies of hegemonic powers. The inability of the international community to take action also means that the UN Security Council countries cannot meet on a common point. As a result, although the doctrine of the responsibility to protect has developed some codes of conduct for the international community, the fact that the Security Council remains the only authorized body to decide on international intervention and that previous examples of international intervention serve the foreign policies of the hegemonic powers continue to be the dead ends of the doctrine.



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## **Chapter 2**

### **Just War Theory as the Intellectual Root of International Intervention Practices<sup>1</sup>**

**Caner KALAYCI<sup>2</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> This article is based on Caner Kalayci's master's thesis titled "The Responsibility to Protect in the Context of the Syrian Crisis", written in 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Res. Assist. Dr., Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University/ Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of International Relations, Bolu/ Turkey,  
canerkalayci@ibu.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0001-7693-211X

## **Abstract**

In this study, just war theory, which is the intellectual root of the discourses used to legitimize interventions in the processes of international intervention practices, was examined. In this context, it is emphasized that this theory is the historical basis of various discourses legitimizing international interventions such as humanitarian intervention, responsibility to protect, and failed state used after World War II. In this context, first of all, the basic principles of just war theory are emphasized. The study also examined the development of just war theory from the classical period to the modern period.

**Key Words:** Just War, Jus ad Bellum, Jus in Bello, Jus Post Bellum, International Intervention

## **Uluslararası Müdahale Pratiklerinin Düşünsel Kökeni Olarak Haklı Savaş Teorisi**

### **Özet**

Bu çalışmada uluslararası müdahale pratikleri süreçlerinde müdahaleleri meşrulaştırmak için kullanılan söylemlerin düşünsel kökeni olan haklı savaş teorisi incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda 2. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra kullanılan insani müdahale, koruma sorumluluğu ve başarısız devlet gibi uluslararası müdahaleleri meşrulaştırıcı çeşitli söylemlerin de tarihsel dayanağının bu teori olduğu vurgulanmıştır. Bu bağlamda öncelikle haklı savaş teorisinin temel ilkelerinin neler olduğu üzerinde durulmuştur. Çalışma ayrıca haklı savaş teorisinin klasik dönemden modern döneme kadar gelişimini de incelemiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Haklı Savaş, Jus ad Bellum, Jus in Bello, Jus Post Bellum, Uluslararası Müdahale

## **1. Introduction**

The idea that it may be legitimate for other states to intervene militarily in the country where human rights violations are committed is based on the theory of just war. War, which stems from the motive to dominate or the idea of solving problems by resorting to violence, has existed since the beginning of humanity (Dalar 2008: 230). Traditionally, just war theory provides a framework for the moral dimensions of the use of military force in international relations and the moral criteria for military interventions (Atack 2002: 285). The just war tradition provides a common language for actors in resorting to force and guides how to behave in times of war and intervention (Bellamy 2006: 5).

The intellectual background of the just war tradition can be traced back to the work of Greek thinkers in ancient times. This tradition was primarily aimed at limiting intervention and war between states. However, wars and interventions have been put on a legitimizing ground with the argument that some wars may be justified. In this context, just war focuses on when war can be justified and what the rules should be during war. Today, the moral rules sought for the formation of military intervention for humanitarian aid and the legal jurisprudence formed on this subject are based on the tradition of just war. In its broadest sense, just war includes all ideas and practices in Western culture that seek to determine when the use of force for political purposes can be justified and to limit the use of force even in such a justifiable situation (Turner Johnson 1994, Cited in Ereker 2004: 2).

The two most important pillars of the just war tradition are *jus ad bellum* (the right to resort to war) and *jus in bello* (rules to be followed during war). *Jus ad bellum* is about the declaration of war, which sets out rules about which wars are right and which wars are unjust. *Jus in Bello*, on the other hand, introduced certain principles for behavior during war. Another pillar of the just war tradition, *jus post bellum*, is concerned with the actions that must be taken to transition to a post-war peace atmosphere.

The general principles laid down by *jus ad bellum* can be counted as right authority, just cause, right intent, last resort, proportionality, and reasonable expectation of success. In addition, in some sources, the open declaration of war and the principle of mutual justice are also within the scope of *jus ad bellum*. *Jus in bello* principles can be counted as the principle of discrimination and proportionality.

From the principles of *jus ad bellum*, just cause is the critical stage of intervention and declaration of war. Although most just war theorists think that wars of aggression cannot be a just war, only defensive wars will be considered

just wars, it is assumed that wars of aggression will be considered just wars if they are against a previously done assault (Ereker 2004: 2).

Another *jus ad bellum* principle, the right authority, is the idea that the declaration of war must be opened by a lawful authority. This authority, on the other hand, has been accepted as the state by most just war theorists. Because the sovereign power of the state is considered legitimate.

The principle of right intention emphasizes that the purpose of war should be to establish peace and put an end to the atrocities to which people are subjected, otherwise, war cannot be a just war. The aim of colonization and expansion of sovereignty is not considered within the scope of right intentions within the tradition of just war.

A reasonable expectation of success is a situation in which the war has a high chance of success in its purpose. The principle of last resort, on the other hand, refers to the exhaustion of all efforts before resorting to intervention. Although the principle of proportionality in the principles of *jus ad bellum* differs from its meaning in the principles of *jus in Bello*, it states that the use of force should not cause harm beyond the purpose of the war (Ereker 2004: 3).

*Jus in Bello*, on the other hand, emphasizes the principles of proportionality and discrimination. The principle of proportionality is based on the fact that military intervention should bring more benefit than harm and that it should end the war with as little force as possible. Discrimination, on the other hand, is based on the understanding of the inviolability of civilians who do not fight. The killing of non-combatants in any military intervention can turn a just war into an unjust war. However, in some cases, the killing of civilians may be necessary. In this case, the criterion sought was not to deliberately kill civilians. Just war theorists explain this situation as a double effect. Thus, civilians who do not intend to kill civilians but are killed involuntarily will not harm the just war.

Table 1: Just war criteria (Fixdal and Smith 1998: 286)

<b>Jus ad bellum</b>	
The Right Authority	Only a legitimate authority has the right to declare war.
Just Cause	If there is a justifiable reason, it is not necessary to obtain permission to use deadly force.
Right Intention	In war, not only does the cause and purpose have to be just, but the intention must also serve the purpose and the cause.
Last Resort	If there is no other alternative to war, it can be resorted to.
Proportionality	War should bring more good than harm.
Reasonable Expectation	It is necessary to find a reasonable basis for the intended purpose.
Mutual Justice	No state can pretend to have all the justice.
Open Advertisement	A clear and official declaration is required before the use of force.
<b>Jus in Bello</b>	
Discrimination	Those who do not fight should have immunity.
Proportionality	Military operations should not exceed the limits of the objective.

The idea of just war was used in ancient times by the Greek and Roman empires and Christian clergy; In the Middle Ages, canon law was used by scholastic-minded thinkers and the Crusades; Later, it became a theory developed by positive law, legalism, reformism, realism, religious wars and liberal interventionism and their representatives.

Many thinkers divide the just war tradition into various sub-traditions. In general, however, the theory of just war is reduced to three traditions. The first tradition always considers war to be both morally and legally justified, the second tradition never finds war justified, and the third tradition believes that some wars may be justified and others may be unjust (Claude 1980: 84). This work classified the sub-traditions of just war theory as follows: positive law (legality), natural law (morality) and realism (Clark 2005, Cited in Bellamy 2006: 8). These three sub-traditions have been developed by many thinkers from the Greek and Roman empires of antiquity to the present day. In addition, these three traditions have evolved in the historical process, influenced by each other and the structure of the changing international system.

The realist tradition of just war has proven to be anti-just war in that it does not accept any moral constraints in international politics and emphasizes power, interest, and politics in the justification of war (Bellamy 2006: 117). According to the realist tradition, when the vital interests of a state are at stake, the violation of any just war criteria does not matter. The most important representatives of this tradition were Machiavelli and Hobbes. The concepts



brought to the fore by this tradition were reason, common sense, politics, power struggle, and national interest.

On the other hand, the positive legal tradition of just war has developed with agreements made by states, with codes of conduct and traditions becoming legal obligations, and with the jurisprudence of competent judicial organs and temporary courts (Bellamy 2006: 120). The leading representatives of this tradition were Gentili, Grotius, and Vattel. The natural law tradition, on the other hand, has been nourished by theological and secular sources. In the theological source, people are given certain rights and responsibilities by God, but in the secular definition, similar rights and responsibilities are given from different sources (Bellamy 2006: 120). These rights and responsibilities constitute the perspective of the natural law sub-tradition on the theory of just war.

## **2. The Historical Evolution of Just War Thought**

It is accepted that the idea of just war is a theory created by Christianity, that it gained its holistic framework through the works of medieval thinkers, that it has important religious and secular sources, and that its origin goes back to the classical period (Ereker 2004: 4). The doctrine of just war, which forms the intellectual basis of humanitarian intervention, later completed its evolution within the framework of realism, reformism, liberalism, natural law, and positive law developments.

### **2.1. The Idea of Just War in the Classical Period**

The classical period was the period when the foundations of the idea of just war were laid. What needs to be examined in this period regarding the idea of just war are ancient Greek philosophy, Roman law, Christian church law, and the thoughts of religions and scientists such as Saint Augustine, Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero. Ancient civilizations tried to portray war as a principle of the legal system by institutionalizing war as a part of religious and philosophical systems (Dalar 2008: 230).

In ancient Greek philosophy, restrictions on war are based on Hellenic traditions. These traditions emerged from the wars between the Greek city-states and the Persians (Bellamy 2006:16). Both within this tradition and later, the phenomenon of war is often considered equivalent to the phenomenon of intervention. Traces of restrictions on war during this period can be found in the understanding that war was officially declared, that wars should not be fought during summer periods, and that the ceasefire was respected (Bellamy 2006: 16).

Plato said that war should be fought only for peacebuilding and believed that the children and women of the enemy state should not be killed in time of war (Bellamy 2006: 18). Because he believed that they were not the causes of the war. This idea of Plato also coincides with the principle of distinction between combatants and non-combatants in today's just war thought. However, these views were envisaged only for the wars between the Greek city states, and even the wars against foreigners were considered justified without being subject to these principles (Ereker 2004: 6). Thucydides described taking revenge as a just war if one is attacked (Dalar 2008: 230). Aristotle, on the other hand, was the first to use the term just war with his five rules for legitimately resorting to war (Bellamy 2006: 18): "self-preservation, revenge against the aggressor, help allies, obtain resources, and maintain authority".

Roman law took Greek philosophy's restrictive approach to war a step further with Cicero's development of a more comprehensive law of war and *jus gentium* (law of nations) proposing universal limitations on actions in war (Bellamy 2006: 18). Cicero believed that for justice and happiness to continue, the state must maintain a balance between nature and law and that wars can only be fought to maintain the honor and security of states (Bellamy 2006: 19). Therefore, for Cicero, there is no difference between fighting for the honor of the state and fighting for the preservation of peace. Cicero attached great importance to the maintenance of peace and the development of its borders. Cicero emphasized two issues: "the declaration of wars by the right authorities and the limitation of punishments for defeated enemies" (Bellamy 2006: 20). The studies of Greek philosophy and Roman law in the classical period on *jus ad bellum* and *jus gentium* provided an important accumulation in the following years.

The first representative of canon law to think that wars could be justified was St. Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan. St. Ambrose followed Cicero in the justification of wars. St. Ambrose justified wars for self-preservation, in the name of God, and to protect Christianity (Bellamy 2006:24). St. Ambrose argued that the Christian duty to love one's neighbor includes defending them from unjust harm (Ereker 2004:7-8). Later, St. Augustine, on the other hand, took these studies further and put forward the Christian idea of just war in detail and was described as the father of the just war tradition. St. Augustine considered religious wars led by God to be just wars. This view laid the intellectual foundations for the Crusades and religious wars in the Middle Ages. St. Augustine described the feeling of revenge and ruthless punishment as war and what is bad, but emphasized that it can be resorted to when there are no other solutions (Ereker 2004: 9). Drawing on Roman law and philosophy and

Christian theology, St. Augustine made three important contributions to the *jus ad bellum* criteria of the just war tradition. These; are that there is always the right intention when resorting to war (wars are fought for peace and justice, not hatred and greed), that war is declared by the appropriate authority, and that wars are fought only for peace (Bellamy 2006: 27-29). In that period, it was considered the highest authority in Rome as the appropriate authority. However, in the following years, the loss of power of the authorities and the emergence of other power centers caused the principle of appropriate authority to become unclear. As a result, although his contribution to the just war tradition of the classical period was mostly based on *jus ad bellum*, he also contributed to the idea of civilian immunity, which is the *jus in bello* principle of the ideas about the distinction between civilians and combatants.

## **2.2. The Idea of Just War in the Middle Ages**

When we look at the developments in the thought of just war in the medieval period, the effects of canon law, representatives of scholastic philosophy, crusades, and religious wars come to the fore. However, after the establishment of the nation-states that dominated this period, the effectiveness of the Church weakened the theory of just war based on divine reasons lost its importance, and sovereignty-oriented theories of just war were developed (Dalar 2008: 231). Firstly, when discussing developments in ecclesiastical law, it is essential to mention the "Peace of God" initiative proposed by church jurists in the 10th century and the "Truce of God" in the 11th century. The Peace of God emerged due to the lack of political unity in Europe at that time and was an attempt at civil immunity by making a distinction between combatants and non-combatants (Ereker 2004: 10). Therefore, it can be said that these theoretical discourses contributed to *jus in bello*. Although the idea of the Armistice of God is an attempt to prevent war, it can be said that it contributes to the *jus in bello* part of the just war tradition with the rules it introduced for the prohibition of some weapons in wars (Ereker 2004: 10). The Italian church jurist Gratian, who made a significant contribution to the tradition of just war in the 12th century, suggested in his work "Decretum" that Christians could go to war for reasons such as taking back something that was taken unjustly, punishing evil, and avenging the damages suffered (Ereker 2004: 11). Gratian's work helped to understand how the church viewed the idea of just war. Gratian also divided just wars into two, arguing that wars can be justified in two ways. The first are wars declared by secular authorities, and the second are wars declared by religious authorities (Bellamy 2006:34).

In the tradition of just war, the most significant representative in the 13th century was Thomas Aquinas, who adhered to scholastic philosophy. Aquinas, who is based on sovereignty in his just war theory, states that the ruler who receives his sovereign authority from God is authorized for just war (Dalar 2008: 231). Aquinas argued that there can be no just war, but only if the justice provided by war is more beneficial than the injustice caused by war. Aquinas introduced two new ideas to the theory of just war. These are the "double effect doctrine" and the "proportionality" principle. The doctrine of double effect emphasized that civilians could not be killed in war, but that the killing of civilians, either necessarily or unintentionally, would not make a just war unjust. Proportionality, on the other hand, has been aimed at minimizing the damage and human loss in the war. In addition, Aquinas adopted the principles of legitimate authority, just cause, and right intention as criteria for just war (Bellamy 2006: 39). Aquinas asserted that for a just cause, the opposing side must be guilty, that those with public authority have the right to kill those who harm public order, that wars waged with the sole intent of killing cannot be considered just wars, and that killing prisoners captured in war is unlawful (Ereker 2004: 13).

Beyond all this philosophical debate, the most basic argument for crusades and wars for religion in the Middle Ages was that wars in the name of God and directed by God were just wars. According to this view, it was accepted that the sins of those who helped the Pope in such wars and those who died in such wars would be erased (Bellamy 2006: 46). According to this approach, it is accepted that the authority to resort to war belongs to the Pope and that there are no restrictions in the event of war.

As a result, the most important contributions of this period to the theory of just war are the emergence of the view that the authority to resort to war as the right source of authority belongs to sovereign leaders, the adoption of the principle of just cause and right intention, which is at the center of today's understanding of just war, and Thomas Aquinas' doctrine of double effect.

### **2.3. The Idea of Just War in the Early Modern Period**

It is necessary to start with Francisco de Vitoria, who established the connection of just war with natural law and prepared its normative basis for the development of just war in the early modern period because he integrated just war into international law. (Ereker 2004: 14). In his book "De Jure Belli", in which he deals with the just war, Vitoria examined the rights claims of the Spaniards in the lands in America in the context of just and unjust reasons, and linked the war of a political society against another political society to three

criteria, none of which can be compromised (Akal 1997: 61): Just cause, legitimate authority and right purpose. Vitoria concluded that natural law permits war and that it is not right to oppose war religiously because sacred sources are not opposed to natural law (Pagden 1991, cited in Ereker 2004: 14). Vitoria did not accept the difference of religions, territorial gain, expansion of borders, and wars used by kings to achieve their interests as just causes (Akal 1997: 62). Additionally, Vitoria considered offensive wars for self-defense to be a just cause. He believed that every community without legitimate authority has the right to self-defense, but only a complete political entity can engage in a just war (Akal 1997: 63). Regarding the criterion of right intention, Vitoria determined that at the end of the war, the right to be attacked should be aimed at gaining, that only what is necessary for the continuation of a just war can be taken from the enemy, that the independence of the enemy people should not be terminated, that the defeated king should not be deposed, and that it is not right to kill defeated warriors (Akal 1997: 63). Considering that civilians should not be killed in war, Vitoria also contributed to the *jus in bello* principle of just war, the distinction between combatant and non-combatant. As civilians, he identified women who did not understand war, children who did not hold weapons, clergy, travelers, guests, and neutrals (Akal 1997: 64). In his work *De Jure Belli*, Vitoria concluded his words about the just war with three sentences (Vitoria 1991, Cited in Uzun and Uzun 2009: 158): 1) Every way should be tried to avoid resorting to war 2) In a just war, the aim is not to eliminate the enemy, but to defend oneself and establish peace 3) After the war, victory should be met with Christian humility.

Francisco Suarez, who was influenced by Vitoria, also established the principles of just cause, legitimate authority, and right intentions for a just war. Suarez explained his view on legitimate authority by stating, "...When it comes to self-defense, a state has more freedom than private individuals because what the state defends is the supreme public good..." (Hamilton 1963, Cited in Ereker 2004: 18). Suarez, like Vitoria, did not see religious differences, territorial gains, and self-interest as a justifiable reason for war, emphasizing that a war of aggression could only be justified in response to an attack. Suarez, who did not see the high chance of success as a condition of just war, accepted that it was a threat to future peace and security if the king, who prevailed in the war, returned the lands he had won after compensating for his losses, unlike previous just war theorists (Ereker 2004: 19). Suarez also followed Vitoria on the issue of civilian immunity. In this context, he distinguished between those who fought and those who did not and accepted that anyone who did not fight would be considered innocent. Finally, Suarez said that innocents should not be

harmed in wartime, but just like previous just war theorists, he also accepted the double effect rule, that civilians can be killed by mistake.

Ibn Khaldun, one of the important thinkers of the period, emphasized that wars are inevitable for the future of states and societies, assuming that wars are caused by people's desire to take revenge on each other, that this is a natural situation for humanity, and that no nation can exempt itself (Dalar 2008: 231).

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the realist tradition, one of the three pillars of the just war tradition, emerged with Machiavelli. During these periods, the birth of the modern state, the acceptance of state sovereignty, the processes of Renaissance and Reformation, and the removal of religion as a just war were witnessed (Ereker 2004: 22). Niccolo Machiavelli accepted war as a process in which no moral principle can be mentioned when it comes to the survival of the state. Machiavelli's view of war still holds a strong position in the modern period. Rejecting scholastic methodology in general, Machiavelli believed that natural law did not contain common rules because human beings were selfish and self-interested beings. Therefore, he pointed out that princes would act above the law to protect their people and to act freely while providing the necessary authority (Bellamy 2006: 57). In addition, Machiavelli, who thought that the sovereign power would not be subject to any universal moral and legal restrictions when resorting to war or in the event of war, emphasized that the only guide of the sovereign power is necessity (Bellamy 2006: 57). Finally, Machiavelli's ideas of "raison d'etat (national interest)" and "inter arma silent leges" (law is silent in time of war) can be cited as the legacy of his views on war.

16th and 17th The century were the period in which all three sub-traditions of the just war tradition emerged concretely. With Machiavelli, the realist paradigm of the just war tradition emerged, while Alberico Gentili and Balthazar Ayala revived the legalist tradition in the same period. Gentili generally opposed Machiavelli's approach, emphasizing that sovereign powers do not have the right to resort to war at any time because international law governs the relations between states by rules created by sovereign powers with their consent (Bellamy 2006: 59). Gentili emphasized the principle of civil immunity, stating that children, women, traders, travelers, and agriculturalists should not be killed because they are not in any hostility in peacetime. Gentili and other proponents of positive international law have rejected the religious and realist approach to just war in the context that sovereign powers are constrained by both natural law and international law that they have accepted.

At the same time as Machiavelli and Gentili, the work of the humanists, the other sub-tradition of just war, was also influential. These thinkers, who are

called humanists or reformists, include Erasmus, Montaigne, Thomas More, Colet, Vives, and Rabelais. Thomas More stated that the noblest of wars are wars to protect the weak, but when the goal is achieved, the war should be stopped and attention should be paid to being humane in the war process (Ereker 2004: 24). Erasmus believed that many wars in Europe did not meet the criteria of just war and that only defensive wars against the Turks could be counted as just wars (Bellamy 2006: 64). The reason for this is the idea that the wars against the Turks preserved the Christian way of life. After these views, Erasmus also asked, "Can there not be a human being or a brother in the Turks?" (Bainton 1960: 133). Thus, by the end of the 16th century, the three sub-traditions of the modern just war tradition had emerged.

Hugo Grotius was the most important representative of the legalism tradition in the 17th century just war thought. Grotius' most important effort was to legalize the idea of just war. In his work "*De Jure Belli Ac Pacis* (The Law of War and Peace)", Grotius distinguished between the causes that justify war and the reasons that make war seem unjust. Grotius listed the causes of just war as self-defense, taking back possessions, and punishment (Grotius 2011: 74). Grotius identified the unjust causes of war as the desire to acquire fertile lands, the people's desire for independence, the assertion that they were the first to find what others had, the universal command of the emperor and the church, and the efforts to subjugate societies by pretending to be their good (Grotius 2011: 197-203). Grotius also made important contributions to the *jus in bello* dimension of just war by making statements about what cannot be done in a just war. First of all, he listed those who would not be justified to be killed in war by saying that "there is a limit to revenge and punishment" (Grotius 2011: 184). Grotius distinguishes between those who harbor hostility toward the other party and victims of fate who harbor no sense of hostility toward the other side. According to him, in addition to those he called victims of fate in wartime, children, the elderly, farmers, those engaged in trade even if they were enemy nationals, prisoners of war, women who did not commit a very serious crime, those who surrendered, clergy, and scientists who devoted themselves to the study of sciences that were honorable and useful for humanity were among those who would not be killed in war (Grotius 2011: 284-289). In addition to these, he considered the unnecessary burning and destruction of enemy resources and the destruction of sacred things as an unjust act of war. Grotius, who tried to legalize just war, finally emphasized peace and commitment to promises. According to him, the most important issues were to always consider peace in war, to accept peace even if it was harmful, and to protect it once peace was made (Grotius 2011: 375-378).

Post-Grotian legalism is divided into two different approaches, natural law-oriented and positive law-oriented. The representatives of legalism focused on natural law were Samuel Pufendorf and Christian Wolff. Representatives of positive law-oriented legalism were Emmerich de Vattel and Cornelius van Bynkershoek. Pufendorf generally agreed with Grotius' views. The only difference from Grotius was that the state with just cause passed through the territory of a neutral state. According to Pufendorf, although it is difficult to evaluate the justification of the war, he said that such a trial between the two sides would lead to taking sides, and therefore the neutral state should not allow the two warring sides to pass (Uzun 2010: 29). Wolff, on the other hand, identified damage and the threat of harm as the causes of just war (Uzun 2010: 29). Wolff also found it contrary to natural law to help the unjust party, and he believed that it was a right granted by natural law to remain neutral (Uzun 2010: 29). Bynkershoek, on the other hand, determined that the just causes of war were to take back something that was owned and to defend oneself. For Vattel, the justifiable reasons for war are to punish the aggressor and self-defense. Vattel retained the basic teachings of the just war tradition and placed just war on a secular basis rather than natural law (Bellamy 2006:81).

In the 17th century, Machiavelli's approach focused on power and national interest was continued by Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes, who defined interstate relations as a "state of nature", considered war as a part of the state of nature (Ereker 2004: 25). The reflection of Hobbes' views on the idea of just war has three consequences; The challenge to the idea of positive law is that the international system, which Hobbes describes as the state of nature, is that Hobbes's attitude in favor of absolute sovereignty refutes the rules of *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* and that each sovereign is governed by his law because Hobbes divides the world into political units (Bellamy 2006: 71).

Immanuel Kant was the most important representative of the reformists in the 18th-century just war tradition. In his "Perpetual Peace", Kant rejected the possibility that wars could be justified. At the same time, it is seen that war is instrumentalized in Kant's views to achieve peace (Ereker 2004: 26). Although Kant embraced wars for peace in his political theory, as a moral philosopher, he was constantly in an internal reckoning about the justification of wars (Bağcı 2003: 111). Kant emphasized that the violation of the rights of states would constitute a just cause of war, but the aims of these wars should be limited only to the compensation of the violated right (Bellamy 2006: 85). According to Orend, Kant added the principles of *jus post bellum* in addition to the principles of *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* as an innovation to the just war tradition (Orend 2000: 57). Kant's scope of *jus post bellum* is that the post-war



victorious state must respect the sovereign rights of the defeated state and allow them to establish their government (Orend 2000: 58).

As a result, in the early modern period, the tradition of just war was based on international law rather than scholastic thought, realist and reformist approaches came to the fore, and in addition to the principles of *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*, the concept of *jus post bellum* emerged about what should be done after the war.

#### **2.4. The Idea of Just War in the Modern Period**

During this period, developments generally focused on realism and international positive law came to the forefront. Notable just war theorists of the time include Hegel, Clausewitz, Walzer, and O'Brien. In this period, the important developments of the just war in the context of international positive law were the Hague Conferences, the Covenant of the League of Nations and the United Nations Charter, and the Geneva Conventions signed afterward and the status of the International Criminal Court.

Clausewitz defined war as a means of using force to impose on the enemy (Clausewitz 2015: 30). He also argued that war is not a coup d'état without continuation, but a serious means to a serious end, and that it is a continuation of politics by other means (Clausewitz 2015: 34-45). At this point, it becomes clear that Clausewitz sees the theory of just war as a political action that is planned and implemented in line with the political goals and strategies of states, away from religious and moral evaluations (Ari 2001, Cited in Ereker 2004: 27). Hegel, who did not accept the principles of just war, saw war as "a positive element in the formation of the state as a state, the development of human freedom and the overcoming of the negative characteristics of civil society" (Yalvaç 2008: 93). According to Hegel, there are two types of just wars: self-defense and wars waged by high civilizations against low civilizations (Bellamy 2006: 90). In addition, according to Hegel, although politics is independent of morality in international relations, the phenomenon that determines the relations among states is the state of war (Dalar 2008: 233).

Michael Walzer emphasized that a just war should be waged unjustly and that an unjust war could be waged justly (Walzer 2010: 47). In addition, Walzer stated that states and people have fundamental rights, the fundamental rights of states are self-determination and territorial integrity, and the rights of people are the right to life and liberty (Corey and Charles 2012: 187). According to Walzer, the violation of these rights constitutes a just cause for war. Among the principles of *jus in bello*, Walzer references the principle of double effect rather

than proportionality, and he believes that one should not take refuge behind the principle of double effect (Ereker 2004: 35).

Ramsey, one of the modern just war theorists, limits the principles of *jus ad bellum* to law, justice, and order, emphasizes that strong states have a responsibility to the weak threatened by the aggressor and that the principle of civil immunity is more important than the principle of proportionality (Ereker 2004: 33).

In O'Brien's *jus ad bellum* analysis, the protection of Western democratic values and the value given to human beings come to the fore (Ereker 2004: 34). According to him, the internal element that limits military necessity is the value given to human beings, while the external element is the dependence of people on each other (Ereker 2004: 34). O'Brien *jus in bello* principles emphasizes the theory of double effect and the principle of proportionality.

We can reduce the developments of legalism focused on positive law in the 19th century to international agreements. The first example of this was the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which was formed by the Geneva Convention in 1864. The contribution of this committee to the theory of just war is that it is an important step in the development of the law of war and includes wounded soldiers and medical personnel within the scope of civilian immunity in wartime. After the ICRC, the evolution from the right to resort to war within the scope of just war to the right of international intervention in the modern sense began. The Peace and Disarmament Conferences of 1899 and 1907 in The Hague equated war with intervention, aimed to limit war and international intervention, and helped to develop the laws of war. As a result of these conferences, no common consensus was reached, but the international right to intervene in the regulation of the rules of war continued the tradition of just war. The League of Nations, which was established after the First World War to prevent major wars from happening again, did not prohibit international intervention but imposed important restrictions, but these restrictions were not binding. In the run-up to the Second World War, the Briand-Kellog pact proposed to remove war and intervention as an instrument of national policy (Bellamy 2006: 103). None of these efforts prevented the Second World War, but they had a significant impact on shaping today's humanitarian response. From the Second World War to the emergence of the understanding of responsibility to protect, the important developments that formed the basis of the idea of international intervention for humanitarian aid were the United Nations Covenant, the Genocide Convention, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the Geneva Conventions and their additional protocols, and the acceptance of the Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICJ).

Table 2: Just war criteria in the context of three basic traditions (Bellamy 2006: 127)

Criteria	Realism	Positive Law	Natural Law
<b>Jus ad bellum</b>			
The Right Intention	National Interest	Enforcing the law	Keeping the peace
Just Cause	National Interest and Self-Defense	Self-defense and Collective enforcement under UN Chapter 7	Self-defense and punishing those who violate a legitimate right
The Right Authority	State	State and non-state actors with non-expansionist aims	The state and the defined political community
Reasonable Expectation	Positive cost-benefit balance for the state		Possible outcomes are better than they were before the intervention
Last Resort	Negative change in the balance of power and the perception of a threat to national interests	Imminent threat	The use of force is the most harmless option
Announcement	Not Required	Useful for the UN Security Council and for determining the rules to be applied	Notification of the causes of the war and the opportunity for peaceful reparations
<b>Jus in Bello</b>			
Discrimination	Rules can be broken if necessary	Immunity of non-combatants, double effect, and responsibility to do due diligence	Immunity of non-combatants, double effect, and responsibility to do due diligence
Proportionality	The balance of costs to society, the military, and the state should be taken into account and common sense should be exercised	Disproportionate force should not be used in the attack	Disproportionate force should not be used in the attack
Compliance with Conventions	When it comes to mutual goals, it is unacceptable to dictate things	Responsibility to enforce the law	Responsibility to comply with the law and responsibility for non-compliance with unfair law

### **3. Conclusion**

States establish certain causalities for wars or international interventions. Examples include the failed state, rogue state, democratization of non-democratic regimes, war against terrorism, preventive self-defense, humanitarian intervention, and the responsibility to protect. Whether a war is justified or whether international interventions are legitimate has been a source of debate for years. Although the just war theory has developed some criteria and principles, it has not caused a comprehensive change in the structure of international politics. In other words, no matter how extensively the theory has been constructed, it has not had much reflection in practice.

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## **Chapter 3**

### **Understanding Perceived Value: Theory, Importance and Implications <sup>1</sup>**

**Ebru ERDOĞAN<sup>2</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is based on the author's doctoral thesis entitled "The Effect of Customer Satisfaction and Perceived Value on the Relationship between Online Shopping Convenience and Customer Loyalty", prepared under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Abit BULUT.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Res. Asst.; İnönü Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, İşletme Bölümü.  
[ebru.gulhan@inonu.edu.tr](mailto:ebru.gulhan@inonu.edu.tr), <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6981-8335>

## ABSTRACT

Perceived customer value is a multifaceted and crucial concept in modern marketing, influencing customer loyalty, engagement, and overall business success. The objective of this book chapter is to examine the development and significance of perceived customer value, with a particular focus on its role in relationship marketing (RM) and inter-organisational relationships. It introduces the concept of "perceived relationship value" (PRV) as a key integrative element for building successful customer-supplier relationships. This chapter also explores how perceived value mediates customer loyalty and engagement, particularly in the context of the internet and social media interfaces, highlighting factors such as trustworthiness, company personnel, and the importance of staying connected. Additionally, it addresses the impact of perceived value in luxury markets, where emotional and symbolic values are crucial for consumer satisfaction and brand loyalty.

**Keywords-** *value, perceived value, customer behavior, customer relationship, marketing.*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Customer value is a multifaceted concept central to competitive advantage and long-term business success, encompassing the perceived benefits and costs associated with a product or service. It is crucial in various industries, from consumer goods to tourism and healthcare, influencing customer satisfaction, trust, and loyalty (Dobele ve Lindgreen, 2011; Gallarza ve Gil Saura, 2020; Salem Khalifa, 2004). In the context of novel food products, customer value is shaped by functional, social, hedonic, and altruistic values, as well as cost perceptions like price and effort, which collectively impact product evaluation outcomes (Perrea et al., 2017). In durable goods markets, such as washing machines, the alignment between customer value and market prices can be limited, indicating a need for better value-based pricing strategies (Codini et al., 2012). The tourism sector has extensively studied customer value, highlighting its role in enhancing service quality and customer relationships, and adapting to new challenges like e-value co-creation and over-tourism (Gallarza ve Gil Saura, 2020). In healthcare, understanding customer value is vital due to diverse consumer needs and resource pressures, with factors like experience quality and staff expertise being significant (Dobele and Lindgreen, 2011).

Customer value also plays a pivotal role in customer relationship management, serving as the foundation for marketing activities and strategies aimed at maximizing customer contributions through metrics like customer lifetime value (Kumar and Reinartz, 2016). Additionally, in commercial experiences, measuring customer value involves assessing expectations and satisfaction to identify key value drivers (Eriksson, 2009). Overall, customer value is a dynamic and complex construct that requires a comprehensive approach to understand and leverage it effectively across different sectors (Hou et al., 2020; Pechlaner, 2002).

## **PERCEIVED CUSTOMER VALUE**

Perceived customer value is a multifaceted concept that represents the benefit a customer receives relative to the cost they incur for a product or service. It is central to marketing theory and practice, influencing customer satisfaction, loyalty, and overall business success (Aghdaie and Mousavi, 2022; Misra et al., 2022).

### **The Concept of Value**

As a multifaceted and highly comprehensive subject area, the study of values occupies a central position and is of great importance within the social sciences. The analysis of values is a common practice in a number of academic disciplines,



including business, economics, sociology, literature, ethics and aesthetics. The significance of values in the social sciences lies in their role as the foundation for individual attitudes and behaviours, and as a key determinant of the social system.

Rokeach (1973) defines values as a continuous set of beliefs that regulate the lives of individuals. Bilsky and Schwartz (1994), building upon Rokeach's work, define values as principles and beliefs that determine people's goals and motivation. In this context, in sociology, values are defined as abstract relative approval judgements that determine human behaviour and guide and direct them. In general terms, values can be defined as abstract realities that influence the behaviour of individuals and groups, the formation of institutions and the basic characteristics of the social structure (Ersoy, 2006). First of all, all social institutions that make up the social structure have their own values. As the fundamental educational institution of society, the family plays a pivotal role in the transmission, dissemination, and perpetuation of the values of social institutions such as education and religion to subsequent generations. The mechanisms through which values find expression are the social roles assumed by the individual in society. In addition, the determination of good and evil in a society, ideal ways of thinking and behaving are all shaped by values. In this regard, it can be posited that social control mechanisms and rewarding instruments within society are value-based (Özensel, 2003).

Value also has many meanings in business science. For some, value means price (what is this car worth?), for others benefit (the value I get from this car). In addition, it signifies the worth of an object. For instance, some individuals prioritize the concept of "value for money," which implies that they are particularly sensitive to price. Another group of people prefer money for value. This consumer group is willing to pay a premium for products or services that offer enhanced benefits, such as improved quality, convenience, or other perceived advantages associated with a particular brand. Furthermore, the concept of value is defined as "the respect something deserves; the importance, value or usefulness of something". In this context, the term "values" is also used synonymously with other concepts such as merit, usefulness, utility, practicality, advantage, desirability, gain, profit, good service, help and benevolence, efficiency and importance (Mahajan, 2020).

The creation of value is the fundamental objective of marketing, and it serves as the foundation for all marketing activities. Rahi (2016) emphasises that value is important wherever there is a potential customer and that it should be equal to what the customer pays and what they get in return. The term "value" can be defined as the customer's comprehensive evaluation of the benefits received in exchange for the costs incurred in obtaining or utilising the service. This

encompasses not only the financial outlay but also the time, effort and opportunity costs foregone in order to obtain the service (Lai, 2015). That is, perceived value is a customer's overall assessment of the utility of a product based on perceptions of what is received and what is given (Graf and Maas, 2008). One of the points to remember is that value is perceived subjectively by customers. Customers are not homogeneous; therefore, different customer segments perceive different values in the same product.

Kusumadewi (2019) defines customer perceived value as the difference between the potential customer's assessment of all benefits and all costs of an offer and the perceived alternatives. In the words of Sánchez-Fernández and Inieta-Bonillo (2007), value can be defined as the customer's perceived preference for product attributes, attribute performances and the evaluation of the results resulting from use. It is a multifaceted concept that facilitates or discourages the achievement of goals and objectives in use situations. In this context, the term 'value' can also be understood as an implicit criterion that individuals employ when making preference decisions (Sánchez-Fernández and Inieta-Bonillo, 2007). Total customer value is the perceived monetary value of the package of economic, functional and psychological benefits that the customer expects from the product offered to a particular market and is realised over the customer's purchase, one-time purchase or repurchase period (Harahap et al., 2021; Rahi, 2016).

Although early research on the profit impact of market strategies suggested that value is determined by product quality, relative price and customer expectations, value is a complex issue that involves numerous additional variables. Customer value can be defined as the equilibrium between the advantages derived from the consumption of products and services and the costs perceived by the customer (Nyadzayo andKhajehzadeh, 2016). In other words, it is the customer's evaluation of the utility of a product based on his/her perception of what he/she receives and gives (Wang et al., 2004). The evaluation encompasses an assessment of the functional, emotional, social, and perceived sacrifice values, entailing a comparison between the benefit or quality obtained and the perceived sacrifice involved in paying the price to obtain it. The concept of customer value, defined as a balance between the benefits and costs of an offer as perceived by the customer, is widely acknowledged as a crucial element influencing the performance of a firm (Leroi-Werelds et al., 2014). The formation of this component depends on personal characteristics, such as prior product knowledge and financial resources, as well as conditions such as the time frame and place of purchase or use of a product/service (Nyadzayo andKhajehzadeh, 2016).

The value creation process translates the outputs of the strategy development process into programmes that both extract and deliver value and encompasses three key elements. The first is to determine what value the company can provide to its customers, the second is to determine the value the company can receive from its customers, and the third is to maximise the lifetime value of desirable customer segments by successfully managing this value exchange, which involves a process of co-creation or co-production (Payne and Frow, 2005).

### **Perceived Customer Value**

The concept of customer value, which can be expressed as a strategic instrument for the attraction and retention of customers, has become one of the most significant factors in the success of both production enterprises and service providers. Today, in an increasingly competitive business world with ever more demanding and value-conscious customers, it has become indisputably necessary for businesses to understand how to assess value from a customer perspective. Although the concept of value perceived by the customer is, in theory, an objective one, in practice it is subject to a number of subjective elements, including judgements, expectations and evaluations. To illustrate, while customer X anticipates a low price when purchasing a product, customer Y anticipates a high-quality product, and customer Z may consider factors such as functionality and effectiveness.

Ulag and Chacour (2001) stated that value can be approached in three different ways: values, desired value and value judgements. In accordance with this classification, the term "value" in a business context is defined as "centrally held enduring core beliefs, desirable end states or higher order goals that drive the behaviour of the individual customer or customer organisation." Desired customer value can be defined as the customer's perception of the customer's expectations of the product and service offered, with the objective of achieving the desired purpose and goal in a particular use case. Value judgments are considered to be the most crucial element in defining the value perceived by the customer. Value judgement can be expressed as "the customer's assessment of the value created for them by a supplier in a given use case, given the trade-offs between all the benefits and sacrifices involved" (Ulag and Chacour, 2001).

Customer perceived value is the perception of what a product or service is worth to a customer against possible alternatives. Perceived value means that the customer receives benefits and services for the price paid or whether the customer feels the benefits and is expressed as a simple equation in the form of benefits-cost ( $CV = B - C$ ) (Mahajan, 2020). What the customer pays is not only the price variable, which includes payments during use such as cash, cheques, interest,

fuel, service, but also non-price factors such as time, labour, energy, inconvenience. The concept of customer perceived value is generally understood to be a relative preference that characterises a customer's experience of interacting with some object, such as a good, thing, place, event or idea (Wu and Li, 2018). In accordance with Graf and Maas (2008), customer value may be defined as the perceived quality in the market, adjusted for the relative price of the product in question. Buna göre, algılanan değerin her müşteriye göre değişen öznel bir yapı olduğu (Eren and Eker, 2012) ve müşteri değerinin, müşterinin hedeflerini kolaylaştıracağına inanılan ürün ve hizmet sağlayıcısından kaynaklanan fayda ve fedakârlıklar arasındaki dengeyi temsil ettiği söylenebilir (Blocker et al., 2011). Khalifa (2004) drew attention to four types of consumer value definitions regarding perceived customer value, which is a subjective phenomenon. These are (Khalifa, 2004, p. 650):

- Low price (focus on the price sacrifice provided by the business),
- What the consumer wants and expects from a product or service (focus on benefits),
- Quality for the price paid (focus on quality as a sacrifice or benefit component),
- It is the total benefit (taking into account all components) that the customer receives in return for the total sacrifice.

Customer perceived value is the difference between the potential customer's assessment of all benefits and all costs of an offer and the perceived alternatives (Harahap et al., 2021). In accordance with an alternative definition, customer perceived value can be defined as a comparison between weighted "take" attributes and "give" attributes, whereby the ratio of total benefits received to total sacrifices made is expressed (Wang and Wu, 2012). These sacrifices can be monetary costs based on price, but they are also influenced by non-monetary costs, i.e. differences including search cost, time, physical and mental effort spent by the service consumer, customer tastes and customer characteristics (Andreassen and Lindestad, 1998; Dodds et al., 1991). In accordance with El-Manstrly (2016), the term "customer perceived value" is defined as "the consumer's comprehensive evaluation of the utility of a product (or service), based on their perceptions of the exchanged benefits". In light of the aforementioned definitions, it is possible to enumerate the principal characteristics of perceived customer value as follows (Uzkurt, 2015, pp. 4-5):

- The Importance of Creating Perceived Customer Value
- Customer value is the value perceived by the customer.

- Customer value is the proportional perception of total benefits and total costs by the customer.
- In the process of creating customer value, the primary objective is to reduce costs while simultaneously enhancing benefits.
- Customer value perception is a subjective component.
- Customer value, product and service features and CRM approach constitute a whole.

Perceived value consists of four sub-dimensions: emotional value, social value, quality value and price value (Eren and Eker, 2012). Rizan et al. (2020) added the "functional value" dimension to these dimensions, which includes the relationship between attributes and usefulness values. These dimensions are considered to represent expected/perceived benefits with the following aspects (Choo and Yoon, 2012):

- Functional, utilitarian and physical purposes,
- Image and symbolism with/without reference groups,
- Feelings or emotional states such as comfort, confidence, excitement, passion, fear or guilt,
- Curiosity, novelty or knowledge,
- Special situation or physical social context.

### **The Importance of Creating Perceived Customer Value**

The generation of value, particularly in the form of customer value, is regarded as a potential source of competitive advantage in the contemporary global context, with its importance increasing on a daily basis (Payne and Holt, 2001). It is posited that the identification, creation and enhancement of customer value represents a strategic approach that will ensure the long-term survival and success of the company (Haghkhah et al., 2020; Han and Hwang, 2013). Competitive advantage essentially arises from the value a firm can create for customers (Blocker et al., 2011). It is of paramount importance to gain an understanding of how customers evaluate a service or product if one is to gain a competitive advantage (Haghkhah et al., 2020).

Today, customer value is a strategic weapon to attract and retain customers and has become one of the most important factors in the success of both manufacturing businesses and service providers. Furthermore, the delivery of superior customer value represents a critical determinant of both present and future organisational success. This is because it exerts a substantial influence on customers' behavioural intentions and provides managers with insights into the means of attaining superior CRM performance (Wang et al., 2004). It is therefore

evident that an understanding of the value that customers perceive in an offer, the creation of value for the customer and the management of this value over time have long been identified as fundamental elements of business strategy for organisations seeking to survive successfully in a global competitive environment (Martelo Landroquez et al., 2013).

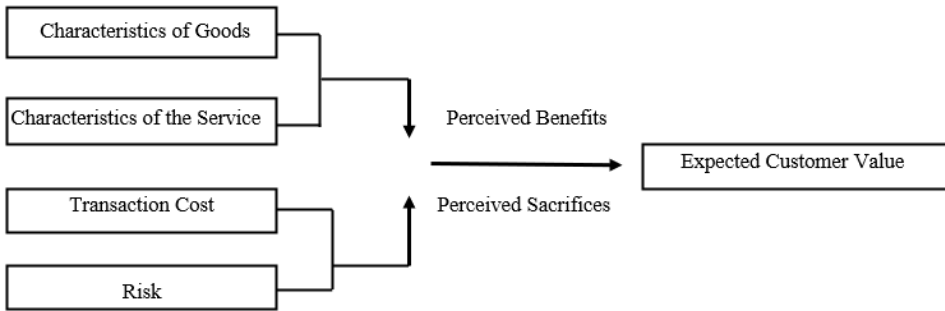
The concept of perceived value, defined as the ratio of perceived benefits to perceived costs, is also recognised as a key factor influencing customer satisfaction and customer loyalty (Kumar et al., 2011). The correct creation and maintenance of value is one of the important factors in attracting and retaining customers. Satisfied customers with a high perceived value have a positive attitude towards products, the company and the purchasing process (Simová and Cinkánová, 2016). In particular, there is a general consensus that customers' positive perceptions of value contribute to their strong motivation to make positive decisions about the firm and to establish a successful and long-term relationship with the firm (Kim and Han, 2008). To put it another way, customers develop loyalty towards a particular firm if they perceive that they receive more value than they would from rival firms (Kumar et al., 2011). For this reason, the concept of perceived customer value has become a crucial factor in the strategic planning of businesses, affecting every field of business activity.

### **Conceptual Structure of Perceived Customer Value**

The issue of perceived customer value has been addressed and assessed from two distinct perspectives: that of the consumer and that of the business. The value approach from the consumer perspective is concerned with the extent to which the value generated by a company's products and services exceeds customer goals, desires and expectations (Graf and Maas, 2008).

### ***Customer Value Approach Determined by Naumann***

The model developed by Naumann (1995) posits that customer value is expressed as the ratio of the benefits obtained from products and services to the sacrifices made to obtain them (Başaran, 2014, p. 59). This approach identifies the primary factors influencing customer satisfaction as product and service quality, transport and delivery facilities, the sophistication of sales methods, product design, enhanced customer service, the flexibility of price policy and billing factors (Eroğlu, 2005). The customer value model proposed by Naumann is expressed in Table 1 as follows.



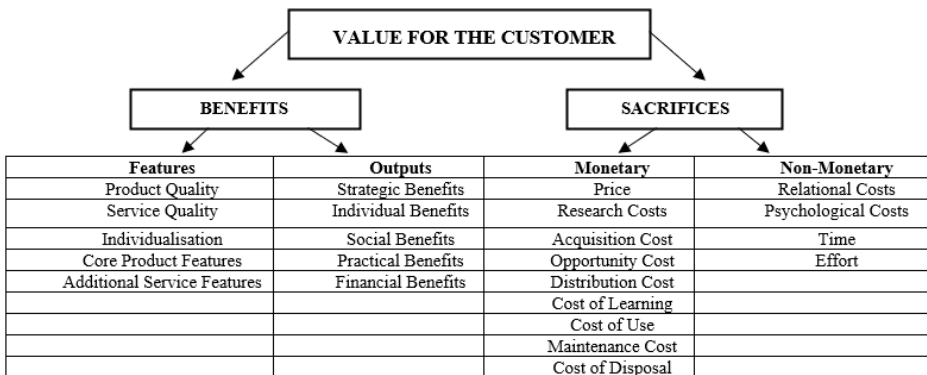
**Figure 1.** Naumann's Customer Value Model

**Source:** Çalhan, Çakıcı and Karamustafa, 2012, p. 92.

The benefits that constitute customer value include the characteristics of goods and services. However, the compromises made by the customer during the purchase and use process also form part of the value equation. These include transaction cost, life cycle cost and risk (Çalhan et al., 2012).

### ***Customer Value Approach Defined by Woodall***

In accordance with Woodall's approach, customer value is a customer's perception of a demand-side, personal advantage arising from a customer's relationship with the products and services offered by an organisation. The existence of benefits is perceived as attributes and outcomes expressed rationally or intuitively, or as a combination of these (Woodall, 2003). Woodall expresses the concept of value as customer value and defines value under two headings as benefits and trade-offs (Çalhan et al., 2012).



**Figure 2.** Woodall's Customer Value Model

**Source:** Adapted from Woodall, 2003.

### ***Customer Value Concept in the Context of Business Perspective***

In the past, the value offered to customers by businesses was typically assessed in terms of the quality of the products or services provided and the price paid. However, in the current business environment, there is a growing emphasis on identifying new methods for creating and delivering superior customer value. It is of the utmost importance for businesses to question other factors that may create perceived benefits and sacrifices and the managerial effects of these factors in order to gain a deeper understanding of and to restructure the perception and evaluation process of customers (Wang et al., 2004). Thus, businesses try to create superior customer value by continuously providing solutions to customers' apparent needs as well as their hidden and future needs (Blocker et al., 2011).

The customer value approach, as it pertains to business, is predicated on the notion that the creation of value for the customer is the fundamental objective of all activities undertaken by product and service providers. The aim of this approach is to assess how attractive individual customers, which are considered to have customer lifetime value, or groups of customers, which can be expressed as customer capital, are from a company perspective (Graf and Maas, 2008). In this approach, businesses focus on the output rather than the input of value creation. The aim for the business is not only to create customer value, but also to provide long-term customer value and to focus on the results that can be obtained from delivering superior customer value to the customer. In other words, the key concept that forms part of this perspective is the provision of customer lifetime value (Payne and Holt, 2001).

This perspective is based on the view that a business can derive value from its customers. Consequently, the business does not consider the value it provides to customers. From the perspective of customer value, this perspective can be considered to imply a business value allocation (Martelo Landroguéz et al., 2013). An analysis of Payne and Holt's (2001) definition of this customer value perspective suggests that it implies the allocation of firm value. Businesses that position all their activities on creating value for the customer are specifically seeking answers to the following concrete questions (Kumar and Reinartz, 2016, p. 36):

- What is the value for the customer? What do we know?
- How should product and service value (customer perception) be measured?
- How can the key drivers of customer value be identified and calibrated?
- How should customer perceived value be measured and managed?
- What are the drivers of customer value? How can these drivers be incorporated into real-time marketing decisions?



Organisations that engage in a continuous process of questioning and development in response to the aforementioned questions, and that strive to provide enhanced value to the customer, not only offer superior customer value; the perception of superior customer value also contributes to the development of customer satisfaction and long-term customer loyalty. This improved customer relationship status also positively affects the profitability of the business in the long term and contributes to achieving sustainable competitive advantage.

### **Types of Perceived Customer Value**

Although there is considerable diversity in the definitions of values that have been proposed in the literature, there are four basic types of values that can be identified. The aforementioned value types can be enumerated as follows:

#### ***Perceived Acquisition Value***

Acquisition value is the benefits that buyers believe they receive by purchasing a product or service, relative to monetary costs (Parasuraman and Grewal, 2000). In this value approach, the perceived purchase value of the product is influenced by two factors: the benefits that buyers believe they obtain by purchasing and using the product, and the selling price (Grewal et al., 1998).

#### ***Perceived Transaction Value***

It is the feeling of pleasure of obtaining value by making a good deal (Parasuraman and Grewal, 2000). The perceived transaction value is presented to prospective purchasers who have been exposed to price comparison advertisements or similar price promotions, with an explicit agreement or bargain in terms of a clearly discounted selling price. Thus, by comparing the selling price with the internal reference, they are able to assess the intrinsic value of the deal (Grewal et al., 1998). The perceived transaction value is determined by the customer's evaluation of the benefits and costs associated with the purchase. This evaluation is based on the customer's positive value judgements of the benefits and negative consequences of the sacrifices and costs involved (Kim et al., 2015).

#### ***Payment Value***

It is the benefit that remains after the product life is completed and the period of use is over (Parasuraman and Grewal, 2000). While the acquisition value and transaction value are evident at the time of purchase and throughout the purchasing process, the use value and payment value emerge as a consequence of the consumption of the product or service.

## **Perceived Customer Value Levels**

The evaluation of perceived customer value can be conducted according to three distinct categories: expected value, desired value and non-expected value.

### ***Customer Expected Value***

It is the normal value level that emerges according to the structure and characteristics of the sector (Akın and Seçgin, 2014). The expected or basic level is the level that is normal or modal for that business or sector. At this level, the company provides goods and services with the characteristics expected by the customer (Butz and Goodstein, 1996). The affordable and punctual travel services provided by domestic airlines in Turkey exemplify the customer-expected-value approach.

### ***Desired Value***

The second level of customer value is the desired value level. It is the value perception in which unexpected values are realised in the presentation although they are expected by the consumer due to the standard capacity characteristics of the business (Akın and Seçgin, 2014). These are features that add value for the customer but are not expected due to business and industry standards (Butz and Goodstein, 1996). An example is Dominos' "pizza delivery at the door within 30 minutes, otherwise refund" rule. This application fulfils customers' need for fast service in today's age where time is of the essence. With this example, it can be stated that initially, the desired level becomes the expected level.

### ***Unexpected Value***

The third and final level of customer value is the unanticipated, unpredicted, i.e. unexpected level. In this case, the business focuses on creating unpredictable superior customer value beyond the expectations and desires of the customer (Akın and Seçgin, 2014). At this point, the business, at least at a conscious level, seeks and finds ways to add value beyond the expectations of the customer. This level of value may include characteristics such as unusually fast service, a greater willingness to find a way to solve a customer's problems, additional service at no additional cost, or meeting customer needs in an unexpected way (Butz and Goodstein, 1996). One of the examples that can be given is that Amazon provides fast and reliable customer service without charging shipping fees from customers, constantly stands behind its products and provides convenience to the customer in returning the product even if a long time has passed, even if the warranty period has expired.

## **Different Dimensions of Perceived Customer Value**

### ***Functional Value Dimension***

The functional dimension is defined as the rational and economic evaluation made by individuals, while the quality perception of the product or service is the main component (Çetintürk, 2017). The functional value of a product or service is created as a result of the satisfaction of the customer's physical and psychological needs through the purchase of the product or service. The main focus of this dimension is on the physical and functional aspect of consumption (Onaran et al., 2013; Sánchez-Fernández and Iniesta-Bonillo, 2007). In this approach, customers perceive convenience in terms of location, timing, booking, flexibility of booking schedules, etc. Additionally, they value problem-solving features such as getting answers to their questions, detailed instructions from the service provider, and professional service quality (Zhang et al., 2019).

### ***Social Value Dimension***

The social value dimension can be defined as the customer's acquisition of a value pattern that encompasses social effects, including but not limited to image, status, sense of belonging and personal identity, as a consequence of purchasing the product or service in question (Onaran et al., 2013). In other words, it is the acceptance of the product or service by the society (Kaptanoğlu, 2018).

This dimension is based on social capital theory, which emphasises the role of social connections and support in one's work, studies and life. The qualitative results of a study on social value indicate that participants exhibited their social aspects by engaging in sharing economy activities, including forming friendships with other customers and service providers, placing trust and satisfaction in the business due to peer and family recommendations, and sharing their positive experiences (Zhang et al., 2017).

### ***Emotional Value Dimension***

This dimension consists of the sum of customers' feelings and emotions towards products and services (Çetintürk, 2017). Focusing on consumers' emotions is a key component of the emotional value dimension (Sánchez-Fernández and Iniesta-Bonillo, 2007). Emotional value is based on the idea that the essence of underpinning sharing economy services is a pleasant and exciting alternative to traditional service offerings. In qualitative data, participants emphasise their feelings of satisfaction and surprise during sharing economy activities (Zhang et al., 2019). To illustrate, let us posit that Uber drivers and customers engage in a cordial discourse about diverse musical genres, and that the drivers facilitate a pleasant journey for the customers. This is an illustrative example of how emotional needs can be met for customers. It

creates an ambience that is more akin to chatting with a friend in a domestic setting or a venue than in a taxi.

### ***Customer Perceived Sacrifice Dimension***

The sacrifices made by the customer to obtain the product or service are monetary and non-monetary costs. According to this principle, the customer emphasises the cognitive and physical efforts such as time, effort and energy spent to obtain the product and service at every stage of the purchasing process, and these are perceived by the customer as sacrifices (Onaran et al., 2013). For example, while some firms such as Ford, Sony and McDonald's focus on performance, pharmaceutical companies such as Pfizer or Bayer focus on favourable outcomes or perceived sacrifices by the customer and put all their efforts into satisfying the customer (Smith and Colgate, 2007).

### ***Customer Lifetime Value***

This approach focuses on retaining existing customers and turning them into loyal customers, rather than finding new potential customers and turning them into real customers. At the core of this understanding lies the idea of seeing the customer as a lifelong business partner instead of seeing the customer as an individual purchasing subject (Odabaşı, 2006). A business that provides customer satisfaction and gains the ability to retain customers for the entire life of the business is considered to have an important advantage in achieving sustainable profitability (Odabaşı, 2006).

Since not all customers are financially attractive to the firm, it is crucial to determine their profitability and allocate resources according to the customer's lifetime value. Customer lifetime value is defined as "the present value of future cash flows attributed to the customer relationship" (Zhang et al., 2016). It is the sum of the profit obtained and to be obtained from that customer during all periods in which the customer will be in contact and relationship with the business and allows the business to recognise the highest and lowest profitable customers (Kaptanoğlu, 2018). This approach is recognised as a financial measure that assesses customer pursuit and firm value, which is widely accepted as a widely accepted metric for measuring customer performance in the field of customer relationship management (Zhang et al., 2016).

### ***Creating Customer Value***

In addition to the concept of customer value, which has attracted a lot of attention in the marketing world since the 1980s, the idea of customer value creation was proposed by Prahalad and Ramaswamy in 2004. According to these scholars, customer value creation refers to the process by which producers and consumers as peer subjects create value for themselves and each other. This process of value co-

creation involves a personalised service experience through continuous dialogue and interaction (Zhang et al., 2017). In the last few years, increased competition between companies has shifted businesses that aim to achieve their business goals by protecting their customers to relational exchange practices with customers, and business logic that focuses on customers instead of market share has gained importance (Rantala et al., 2019).

According to the idea of value co-creation, value is created 'at the intersection of the bidder, the customer and the partners who create value by taking part in the value creation process' (Zadeh et al., 2019). In this process of value creation, customers assume a role that extends beyond that of a mere product or service purchaser. They become active participants in the value creation process, working in collaboration with the business. Thus, this practice enables interactions between customers and organisations that can benefit participating customers and generate higher value through the subjectification of a new service (Tuan et al., 2019). In this direction, it can be said that the co-creation of value by customers is critical in helping firms gain competitive advantage due to its impact on customer satisfaction and loyalty. Since high levels of customer value and satisfaction are linked to sales, brand and company loyalty, increased market share and profitability, it can be said that creating customer value has a significant contribution to providing superior competitive advantage (Rantala et al., 2019).

## **CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, the concept of perceived customer value is multifaceted and critical across various sectors, from higher education to e-commerce, cloud computing, and business-to-business relationships. Research indicates that perceived value encompasses both tangible and intangible elements, such as quality, efficiency, emotional value, and ethical considerations Amado-Mateus et al., 2023; Jensen et al., 2018; Liu et al., 2020). In the service sector, perceived value is influenced by factors like price, trust, and reputation, which significantly affect customer loyalty and purchase intentions (Lee et al., 2016).

Additionally, the Customer Relationship Attributes Model (CRAM) identifies key attributes that customers value in industrial relationships, emphasizing the importance of personal connections and value creation (Parry et al., 2012). Despite extensive research, the theoretical and conceptual development of customer value remains an ongoing challenge, necessitating continuous exploration and refinement. Overall, it can be said that the different dimensions and significant impact of perceived customer value underline its central role in marketing strategies and customer relationship management and provide valuable insights for both academic research and practical applications.

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## **Chapter 4**

### **Cultivating Customer Loyalty in the Digital Age: Strategies for E-commerce Success<sup>1</sup>**

**Ebru ERDOĞAN<sup>2</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is based on the author's doctoral thesis entitled "The Effect of Customer Satisfaction and Perceived Value on the Relationship between Online Shopping Convenience and Customer Loyalty", prepared under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Abit BULUT.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Res. Asst.; İnönü Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, İşletme Bölümü.  
ebru.gulhan@inonu.edu.tr, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6981-8335>

## ABSTRACT

Customer loyalty refers to the ongoing preference of customers to return to a particular company or brand for their products or services, often resulting from positive experiences and satisfaction. It is a critical aspect of business success as it not only ensures repeat business but also fosters word-of-mouth promotion, which can attract new customers. The importance of customer loyalty is multifaceted. Firstly, loyal customers are more likely to make repeat purchases, which increases the lifetime value of each customer and reduces the cost of acquiring new customers. Additionally, loyal customers often act as brand advocates, sharing their positive experiences with others, which can enhance the company's reputation and attract new clients. Moreover, customer loyalty can provide a competitive advantage, as it creates a barrier to entry for competitors and can lead to higher market share. In this chapter, customer loyalty will be mentioned and the strategic importance of the issue will be tried to be revealed.

**Keywords-** *customer loyalty, e-commerce, customer behavior, marketing, customer relationship.*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Customer loyalty plays a critical role in the success and sustainability of businesses across industries. It encompasses cognitive, emotional and behavioural dimensions, often referred to as heart, head and hand loyalty. The importance of customer loyalty is underlined by its ability to differentiate companies in highly competitive markets, driving both direct and indirect revenue through repeat purchases and positive word-of-mouth (Dapena-Baron et al., 2020).

Building and maintaining customer loyalty requires a systematic approach that integrates socio-economic, behavioural and cultural aspects of consumer behaviour (Topcu & Duygun, 2015). In the service industry, factors such as corporate social responsibility, service quality, customer satisfaction, and trust are pivotal in enhancing customer loyalty (Latif, 2021; Watson et al., 2015). In addition, loyalty programmes, particularly in sectors such as banking and hospitality, have become critical to maintaining strong customer relationships and ensuring business continuity (Ozuem et al., 2016; Park & Kim, 2019).

The complexity of customer loyalty is further highlighted by the need for tailored strategies that take into account the different ways in which loyalty can be achieved, as demonstrated by cross-country studies in the hotel industry (Kandampully et al., 2015). In addition, the evolving marketplace and the role of engaged customers require a deeper understanding of loyalty antecedents and their impact on business performance (Das et al., 2019; Setó-Pamies, 2012). Despite the wealth of research on customer loyalty, there is still a need for ongoing research to address the dynamic nature of consumer preferences and market conditions. As such, customer loyalty is not only a key marketing asset, but also a strategic imperative for companies seeking to achieve long-term success and competitive advantage.

## **CUSTOMER LOYALTY**

Customer loyalty is probably one of the best measures of success in any organisation. Therefore, loyalty has remained a central focus of much of firms' marketing activities since the importance of developing and maintaining customer loyalty was recognised (Nyadzayo and Khajehzadeh, 2016).

### **Concept and Characteristics of Customer Loyalty**

Loyalty can be defined as a manifestation of the need for basic human needs, including the desire to receive support, gain a sense of security, generate interest and create emotional bonds (Hikmawati et al., 2020). According to Albayrak et al. (2020), loyalty is the act of continuously purchasing and consuming a product

or service. Lee (2019) defines customer loyalty as "a deep commitment to repurchase or repossess a product or service that is consistently preferred in the future, despite situational influences and the potential for marketing efforts to cause behavioural change". Concurrently, loyalty may be defined as the interaction between customers' relative behaviour towards a brand or store and their repeated purchasing behaviour towards that brand or store (Noyan & Şimşek, 2014). Customer loyalty, which is recognised as a key factor in the success of the company and in the creation of an effective business strategy, is generally expressed as an attitude that enables the establishment of a relationship with the brand (Heskett, 2002; Kandampully & Suhartanto, 2000; Uncles et al., 2003).

As defined by Leninkumar (2017), customer loyalty is the commitment of buyers/customers to purchase specific products, services, and brands from an organisation for an extended period of time, regardless of competitors' innovations. Khan and Fasih (2014) posit that customer loyalty serves to motivate customers to repurchase and to persuade them to recommend these products or services to others (Khan & Fasih, 2014). This approach later manifests itself in the production of extremely good financial results for the company.

The concept of customer loyalty is often defined as the result of all the experiences a customer has with a service or product provider, including physical interactions, emotional involvement and value chain moments (Mascarenhas et al., 2006; Ngo & Nguyen, 2016). In this context, it can be stated that customer loyalty is the result of customer value and customer satisfaction (Zhang & Li, 2019). Customer loyalty, which is the main outcome of customer satisfaction, has been defined and measured in different ways for twenty years as mentioned above (Khuong & Dai, 2016). According to Kartika et al. (2019), customer loyalty is measured by four indicators. These are:

- *Saying positive things*: Customers say positive things about the product being consumed and this is usually in the form of reviews, stories or experience description.
- *Recommend to a friend*: A process of inviting others to shop with the service provider as a result of the perceived positive experience. It is realised in the form of the customer recommending a friend to buy the same product that he uses and likes.
- *Continuous purchasing*: It is the repurchase of a particular service and is an attitude that results in a repeated cycle that can be associated with loyalty. Loyal customers are willing to give advice and recommendations to use services and purchase products when requested by anyone.

Retaining existing customers and developing customer loyalty is extremely important for businesses as it provides various benefits to the organisation (Zakaria et al., 2014). The benefits to the product and service provider through the creation of loyalty are lower customer price sensitivity, reduced expenditures to attract new customers and improved corporate profitability (Rowley, 2005). In addition, the cost of providing service is lower because loyal customers are partially familiar with the products and need less information (Bowen & Chen, 2001). Some of the important attitudes and behaviours expected from a loyal customer can be expressed as follows (Rahim, 2012):

- The possibility of recommending the company's products and services to others,
  - The likelihood of continuing to purchase the company's products and services at least at the same level,
  - The possibility of purchasing other products and services offered by the company,
  - It is assumed that the company whose products and services are purchased is superior to rival companies.
  - They believe that it is worthwhile to purchase the company's products and services,
  - Willingness to spend more money to buy the products and services offered by the company,
  - Not actively seeking alternative service providers,
  - It is expected to provide the company with the opportunity to correct problems and not use problems as a basis for compromising the relationship.

The aforementioned characteristics indicate that the loyal customer group demonstrates a behavioural intention to maintain its relationship with a specific brand or company.

### **Importance of Customer Loyalty**

Customer loyalty is defined as a deeply held commitment to repurchase or patronise a trusted, well-liked product or service in the future, regardless of situational influences and marketing efforts that have the capacity to cause exchange behaviour (Mehta & Tariq, 2020). The retention of customers and the development of customer loyalty are regarded as crucial factors in the success of retail businesses, with a significant impact on cost savings and profitability (Prasadh, 2018). The construction of a loyal customer base represents a crucial foundation for the development of a sustainable competitive advantage, exerting



a profound impact on business profits, which are essential for the survival and growth of any enterprise (Chen, 2015; Mandhachitara & Poolthong, 2011; Rather & Sharma, 2017). According to the findings of many researches, the service cost of loyal customers is less compared to other customers. These customers have the potential to pay more and attract more customers through word-of-mouth communication.

In addition to the aforementioned advantages, it is also crucial to highlight that customer loyalty represents a strategy that generates mutual benefits for both firms and customers (Lee, 2019). Indeed, customers who demonstrate loyalty to a company are more likely to engage in frequent purchases, try new products and services, provide sincere recommendations to the company, and recommend products and services to others. This behavior contributes to the maximization of profits for the company. Loyalty is associated with a reduction in costs, an increase in sales, and an enhancement of trust in the business (Gürlek et al., 2017). As previously stated, the Pareto rule indicates that loyalty accounts for 80% of business profits and 20% of consumer spending (Bhaskar & Kumar, 2016). Given that customer loyalty is a double-edged sword in competitive markets, it can be posited that the cost of acquiring a new customer is significantly higher than the cost of retaining an existing customer (Lubis et al., 2020). Furthermore, it is a well-documented fact within the field of marketing that the acquisition of additional sales from existing customers is a considerably more straightforward and cost-effective endeavour than the pursuit of new customers (Kartika, et al., 2019).

The importance of customer loyalty is also well documented in the service literature. Empirical evidence indicates that a 1% increase in customer loyalty has a significantly greater impact on a firm's value than a 1% change in the discount rate or cost of capital (El-Manstrly, 2016). Moreover, the concept of loyalty can be understood as a reflection of the customer's subconscious, emotional and psychological need to find a constant source of value, satisfaction and identity (Lam et al., 2013). It is widely acknowledged that consumers who are satisfied with a product or service are less price-sensitive, less influenced by competitors' attitudes, and remain loyal to the firm for a longer period than those who are dissatisfied (Nam et al., 2011). In light of the numerous advantages and consequences associated with customer loyalty, it can be argued that fostering and maintaining these qualities is of paramount importance for the long-term survival of any business.

Furthermore, the issue of customer satisfaction is also taken into consideration by marketing circles and top management as a means of ensuring customer retention (Salah & Abou-Shouk, 2019). A transition from a satisfaction-based

strategy to a loyalty-based strategy can markedly enhance customer retention and contribute to a reduction in marketing costs. This outcome is, of course, attributable to the interconnection between customer loyalty and customer attitude, repeat purchase and financial performance (Ngo & Nguyen, 2016).

The success or failure of a company in creating loyal customers is largely contingent upon its capacity to generate value and to sustainably enhance that value. The formation of a robust value component is contingent upon the implementation of regular customer loyalty assessments and the capacity of the organisation to enhance its capabilities. Lubis et al. (2020) posit that customer loyalty can be quantified by three key factors. The first of these is the act of recommending others to purchase the product in question. The second factor is the strength of the customer's resistance to the use of competing products. The third factor is the frequency of repeat purchases.

### **Approaches Related to Customer Loyalty**

The scientific study of customer loyalty can be traced back to the 1920s. However, early studies (until the late 1960s) treated customer loyalty as a purely behavioural phenomenon (Kanakaratne et al., 2020). However, over time, it was argued that behavioural attitude was insufficient to explain loyalty. Subsequently, it was suggested that true loyalty is a combination of positive behaviours and attitudes. At present, there are three distinct methodologies for measuring customer loyalty, which is a concept that is challenging to define with precision in the academic literature. These methodologies include the behavioural loyalty approach, the attitudinal loyalty approach, and the mixed loyalty approach.

#### ***The Behavioural Loyalty Approach***

For many years, marketing researchers have favoured behavioural approaches to assess customer loyalty, on the basis that purchase share ultimately represents the level of loyalty (Kim, 2011). The behavioural view of customer loyalty posits that it is the ratio of the proportion of repeat customers or the proportion of times a buyer chooses the same product or service in a particular category to the total number of purchases made by the buyer in that category (Tankovic & Benazic, 2018). In accordance with the aforementioned explanation, it can be posited that behavioural loyalty is defined as the desire to purchase a product or service again and to maintain a relationship with a supplier or service provider (Haghkhah et al., 2020).

Behavioural loyalty is defined as customers' purchase behaviour (such as intensity, frequency, rate), repurchase intentions and word-of-mouth recommendations (Gürlek et al., 2017; Rather & Sharma, 2017). This is a

representation of customer willingness in terms of monetary investment and continuation of the relationship and customer retention, which is positively linked to business profitability. This behavioural dimension of loyalty considers consistent and repetitive consumer buying behaviour towards a particular brand or service over time as an indicator of loyalty (Bowen & Chen, 2001; Kandampully & Suhartanto, 2000). That is, loyalty is a result of consistent repeat patronage/repeat purchase frequency of a single store/brand as well as positive attitude and is measured by behavioural loyalty, repurchase intentions, switching costs and purchase intentions (Mainardes et al., 2020).

### ***The Attitudinal Loyalty Approach***

The behavioural dimension considers the frequency of consistent repeat purchases, while the attitudinal dimension considers the psychological commitment of the consumer to the store or brand. This takes into account decision-making or evaluative characteristics (Han & Ryu, 2009). In other words, while the behavioural approach is concerned with the frequency of customer consumption, the attitudinal approach examines the psychological commitment of customers (Albayrak et al., 2020).

In the attitudinal approach, customers develop a psychological and emotional attachment to the products and services of a particular business, which results in emotional loyalty (Gürlek et al., 2017). In this context, the attitudinal approach posits that loyalty can be expressed as a personal attitude formed by a range of feelings of consumers' loyalty to a product, service or retailer (Cossío-Silva et al., 2016). From this perspective, it can be posited that attitudinal loyalty arises from psychological involvement, favouritism and a sense of goodwill towards certain products (Dharmesti & Nugroho, 2013). Furthermore, it can be argued that loyalty is a result of a positive attitude as well as consistent, repeated purchase frequency from a single store, brand (Han & Ryu, 2009). The attitudinal dimension also refers to the customer's repurchase and recommendation intention, which is a good indicator of a loyal customer (Haghighi et al., 2020; Hardjono & San, 2017; Saleem & Raja, 2014).

### ***The Mixed Loyalty Approach***

Many researchers have adopted the mixed loyalty approach, which is a synthesis of both approaches, on the grounds that the holistic or attitudinal approach is insufficient to express the concept of loyalty. The integrated approach, which is also known as the mixed loyalty approach, considers both behavioural and attitudinal approaches simultaneously (Albayrak et al., 2020, p. 55). Furthermore, the mixed approach is predicated on consumer product

preference, brand loyalty tendencies, the proportion of purchases, and the total and new purchase amounts. In the integrated approach, customer loyalty is also considered to be the re-preference of products and services by the same customer base and the recommendation of these products and services to their close environment (Gürlek et al., 2017).

## **Types of Customer Loyalty**

### ***Service Loyalty***

Service quality is defined as the difference between customer expectations and the service received from an organisation. Furthermore, it is defined as the customer's subjective evaluation of their experiences within an organisation (Dhisasmito & Kumar, 2020). The formation of service loyalty is contingent upon the customer's experience of a quality service and their expectations being met. This then leads to the customer being convinced to repeat the service request. This intention, which is the preference of the company where the experience is experienced compared to other companies offering the same service, is an indicator of the positive tendencies of customers (Ismail & Yunan, 2016).

At the same time, service loyalty is a multidimensional structure affected by satisfaction, replacement costs and mutual strong bond relationship and is an important factor in the formation of customer satisfaction and loyalty (Sönmez, 2021). Parasuraman and Grewal (2000) expressed the five general dimensions that customers use when evaluating service quality as follows (p. 169):

- *Reliability*: It is the ability to fulfil the promised service in a reliable and accurate manner.
- *Responsiveness*: Willingness to help customers and provide prompt service.
- *Assurance*: The ability of employees to inspire confidence and trust with their knowledge and courtesy.
- *Empathy*: It is the attentive and personalised attention offered to customers.
- *Tangible Assets*: The appearance of physical facilities, equipment, personnel and communication materials.

Setó-Pamies (2012) delineates the various facets of service loyalty distinct from brand loyalty as follows (p. 1258):

- Service suppliers are more adept than suppliers of tangible goods at fostering stronger customer loyalty.
- Loyalty is more or more common among service consumers than among goods consumers.

- Services offer more opportunities to develop loyalty through one-to-one interaction.
- Some service sectors can improve the quality of their services by changing suppliers when necessary to strengthen loyalty, but the brands of tangible goods do not change.

### ***Brand Loyalty***

The American Marketing Association defines a brand as "a name, term, sign, mark, emblem, design, or combination thereof intended to identify the goods or services of a seller or group of sellers and to distinguish them from competitors" (Khoironi et al., 2018, p. 52). As defined by Chaudhuri and Holbrook (2001), brand loyalty is a profound dedication to consistently repurchase or re-possess a preferred product or service, regardless of external influences and marketing efforts that may otherwise encourage switching behaviour. This definition of brand loyalty is a synthesis of behavioural and attitudinal approaches to brand loyalty. Brand loyalty, in other words, is a consumer's preference for buying a particular brand in a product category. This definition of brand loyalty is a synthesis of behavioural and attitudinal approaches to brand loyalty.

Brand loyalty, in other words, is a consumer's preference for buying a particular brand in a product category. Brand loyalty may be defined as a consumer's perception that the right product features, visuals or quality level are offered at the right price (Ishak & Ghani, 2013). The fact that the same preferred brand and brand set is liked by consumers contributes to the consistent repurchase of the product by the consumer. In this context, it can be posited that brand loyalty towards a product affects the decision to purchase the same product (Sasmita & Suki, 2015). Nevertheless, customers who are loyal to a particular brand have a positive relationship with the business in question. Furthermore, customers tend to trust suppliers to consistently provide quality products and services (Ranabhat, 2018). It can be argued that the cost of acquiring new customers is five times greater than that of retaining existing customers. Consequently, it can be stated that creating brand loyalty in the eyes of consumers is an extremely important issue (Eren & Eker, 2012).

### ***Store Loyalty***

Store loyalty is a biased behavioural response to a single store compared to a range of stores, expressed by decision-making units over time. It is a function of psychological decision-making and evaluation processes, resulting in brand loyalty (Bridson et al., 2008). The perception of store brand quality by consumers contributes to the differentiation of stores and the creation of high-quality store

brands increases consumer switching costs and retail loyalty levels (Martos-Partal & González-Benito, 2011). In addition to the aforementioned features and benefits, another point to be considered when conceptualising the issue of store loyalty is the distinction between revisit behaviour and store loyalty. The term "revisiting behaviour" refers to the repeated visit to a particular store. In contrast, "store loyalty" is defined as the continuous preference for a specific store for shopping purposes (Bloemer & Ruyter, 1998, p. 500).

### **Stages of Customer Loyalty**

The stages of customer loyalty, i.e. the development process, were systematically analysed in a meta-analysis by Pan et al. (2012) on the antecedents of customer loyalty. The results of this analysis indicate that the stages of customer loyalty comprise a purchase cycle comprising cognitive, affective, intentional and action loyalty stages (Ngo & Pavelková, 2017).

### ***Cognitive Loyalty Stage***

This is the stage at which the consumer's "mindshare" is created, which is a crucial factor in differentiating the product or service from competitors. In this type of loyalty, the consumer demonstrates a preference for the product or service company that they have previously purchased, without necessarily considering other alternatives (Oliver, 1999). Tüketicilerin markanın performans özelliklerini dikkate alarak değerlendirme yaptığı bu aşamada tüketiciye sunulan marka nitelik bilgisi, bir markanın alternatiflerine göre tercih edilebilir olduğunu gösterir (Göksu, 2010).

In accordance with Gümüşbuğa (2016), in order for customer loyalty to occur in accordance with the cognitive loyalty dimension, the following six characteristics should be considered collectively (p. 84):

- The purchase is made consciously and not by chance,
- The act of purchase has been completed,
- The purchase must have been made within a specified temporal framework,
- The purchasing action is carried out by the same decision-making person or group,
- Choosing the product or service purchase among alternative brand alternatives,
- Purchasing behaviour must be evaluated as a function of a certain psychological evaluation process.

### ***Emotional Loyalty Stage***

In the second stage of loyalty development, a positive attitude towards the brand has been formed based on the cumulative satisfaction derived from the brand's use cases (Oliver, 1999, p. 35). This can also be expressed as an appreciation or a positive attitude towards the brand, developed on the basis of satisfactory use cases (Khuong & Dai, 2016). It is beneficial to acknowledge that the emotional loyalty stage, during which a positive attitude towards the brand is cultivated and emotional loyalty is established, is shaped by the repeated confirmation of customer expectations (Rai & Sirivastava, 2012).

### ***Intentional Loyalty Stage***

The subsequent stage of loyalty development is the conative stage, which is influenced by repeated episodes of positive brand influence. In this context, it can be posited that intentional loyalty is a state of loyalty that involves a commitment to purchase (Oliver, 1999, p. 35). However, this commitment is similar to the motivation for repurchase intention. Essentially, the consumer desires to repurchase, but this well-intentioned desire may be an expected but unrealised action.

### ***Action Loyalty Stage***

It is the stage where intentions motivated in the previous loyalty stages are transformed into actions (Khuong & Dai, 2016). At this stage, purchase intention is transformed into purchase action by customers, ignoring the effects of situational factors and alternative brand efforts. Furthermore, Oliver (1999) posits that at this juncture, customers' motivated intentions are accompanied by an additional desire to overcome the obstacles that hinder the purchase action. The consumer overcomes these difficulties and ultimately realizes the purchase action.

### **Levels of Customer Loyalty**

In their classification, Dick and Basu (1994, p.101) argue that as a result of the interaction between different levels of relative attitudes and repurchase behaviour, four different levels of loyalty forms emerge: true loyalty, hidden loyalty, false loyalty and disloyalty. Figure 1 presents the loyalty levels proposed by Dick and Basu (1994).

		Repeat Purchase	
		High Level	Low Level
Relative behavior	High Level	<b>Real Loyalty</b>	<b>Hidden Loyalty</b>
	Low Level	<b>False loyalty</b>	<b>Infidelity</b>

**Figure 1.** Loyalty Levels  
**Reference Source:** Dick and Basu 1994, p.101

### ***Real Loyalty***

Consumers with true loyalty are proud of discovering the brand and being a user of the brand (Türker & Türker, 2013). Customers who have a high level of loyalty and repeatedly purchase products and services are known as premium loyalty customers. Not only are these customers proud to have discovered and used the brand, they are also known as vocal advocates of products and services, encouraging others (family, friends and relatives) to use the product (Griffin & Herres, 2002).

### ***Hidden Loyalty***

In the latent loyalty type, repurchase is determined by situational rather than attitudinal influences (Griffin & Herres, 2002). Reasons such as unsuitable store location, stock status are among the situational factors affecting consumer loyalty (Sarı & Kulualp, 2019). Conversely, an individual may exhibit a relatively high level of enthusiasm for a particular restaurant, yet their attitude may vary depending on the changing preferences of their dining companions. Nevertheless, in certain instances, the creation of a high relative attitude may entail a covert commitment that is both costly and unlikely to be altered (Dick and Basu, 1994). Therefore, the organisation is expected to understand the situational factors that contribute to secrecy and develop a strategy to combat them (Griffin & Herres, 2002).



### ***False Loyalty***

A low relative attitude accompanied by high repetitive patronage is an example of false loyalty, which is characterised by non-attitudinal influences on behaviour (e.g. subjective norms or situational influences) (Dick and Basu, 1994). In circumstances where a multitude of options are available, this form of loyalty, which lacks genuine commitment from the customer despite their purchasing behaviour, can potentially evolve from a transient to a lasting form of loyalty through the implementation of strategies such as customer loyalty (Sarı & Kulualp, 2019). False loyalty may also be attributed to the habitual and inertial purchase of any brand. Despite the low level of attitude, there is a high level of repurchase behaviour (Türker & Türker, 2013).

### ***Infidelity***

Customers who are not loyal to a product, service or company are called disloyal customers. These customers have poor behaviour and attitudes towards a particular seller (Ranabhat, 2018, p. 6). This weak attitude may be caused by reasons such as the fact that the new brand entering the market does not carry out effective promotion activities and that similar brands have to compete in the same market (Çatı & Koçoğlu, 2008).

### **Factors Affecting Customer Loyalty**

In the literature it is stated that customer loyalty is a multifaceted variable and accordingly it consists of different variables that are expressed as determinants of customer loyalty, also known as antecedents. The main variables that significantly affect customer loyalty are explained below.

#### ***Trust***

Trust is the willingness to remain defenceless based on the fact that the parties involved in the relationship do not have bad intentions (lack of goodwill) (Polat & Celep, 2008, p. 310). Trust is the key variable that influences customer loyalty in a successful relationship exchange and is the belief in the honesty and willingness to rely on the honesty of the exchange partner with whom one communicates and trusts. Therefore, trust is an important determinant of relationship commitment (Singh et al., 2017).

Trust can be conceptualised as trust between individuals (interpersonal trust), between organisations (organisational trust) or between individuals and organisations (inter-organisational or inter-institutional trust) (Gremler et al., 2001, p. 50). Trust, a key variable affecting customer loyalty in relational exchanges, is an important determinant of relationship bonds and exists when

there is confidence in the reliability and integrity of the partner (Singh et al., 2017).

Attitudinal confidence is the level of certainty associated with an attitude or evaluation (Dick & Basu, 1994). Trust is also an integrated structure based on technical capability and expertise, which includes customer satisfaction, meeting needs and delivering on promises to the consumer. This quality also includes a good faith approach to protecting the rights of consumers and compensating them for damages in the event of an encounter (Türker & Türker, 2013). In this respect, it can be said that in addition to the characteristics of responding to consumer needs with an honest approach, it is possible to strengthen the positive feelings and attitudes of the customer towards the company by reducing the negative elements (Geyskens et al., 1996). According to Minta (2018), the elements of reliability, honesty and favour should be together in order to form a real trust in the customer towards the company. These elements can be expressed as follows (p. 27):

- *Reliability*: The degree to which the customer believes that the company has the capacity and expertise to fulfil its mission effectively and efficiently.
- *Honesty*: The company's ability to keep its promises.
- *Benevolence*: A belief that the parties in the service relationship are sincerely motivated by the pursuit of mutual benefit.

### ***Indispensability***

The indispensability factor is the fact that there is no alternative to the company's products and services that meet the consumer's needs, or that there is such a perception in the eyes of the consumer. The customer is loyal to the product and service offered by the business and is reluctant to purchase from a different business (Akkuş & Çakıcı, 2020).

Although the factors affecting the indispensability factor are mainly related to sales and marketing, these factors occur at different rates in different sectors (Gümüşbuğa, 2016). Nevertheless, this feature may also be referred to as cross-selling, as the customer has access to other factors that are marketed together with the product and service. For instance, a customer who utilises the bank's diverse range of transactions, including cards, investment accounts, and payment systems, is less likely to terminate their relationship with the bank than a customer who conducts transactions solely for short-term interest income.

### ***Caring***

The care and concern of companies that provide products and services can be defined as the perception of employees who are genuinely concerned about the well-being of customers (Gremier et al., 2001, p. 49). One factor that should not be forgotten is the fact that in interpersonal relationships, individuals care about those who help them. This approach, which elucidates the degree of care observed in the customer-employee context, can also be explained by the principle of equity theory. The fact that the employee demonstrates a concern for their relationship with the customer, is willing to address their concerns, and feels a sense of obligation to enhance the customer's satisfaction is indicative of a prevailing norm of reciprocity in service relations (Gremier et al., 2001).

### ***Rewarding***

The provision of gifts to customers subsequent to the conclusion of a purchase transaction. The implementation of these practices by certain programmes ensures that customers will continue to demonstrate loyalty even in the absence of other factors, as they believe they have received a benefit (Akkuş & Çakıcı, 2020). Banks offer their credit card customers the opportunity to load points to their cards as a gift in return for their shopping. Airlines also offer frequent flyer programmes, which provide customers with gifts in the form of miles. These are just two examples of the ways in which companies reward their customers (Gümüşbuğa, 2016).

### ***Service Quality***

In general, service quality can be defined as the customers' overall impression of the relative superiority and unfavourable characteristics of a service provider and its services. It is considered to be the general attitude of customers towards the company (Prakash & Mohanty, 2013). The service quality factor, which is widely acknowledged to be a significant determinant of customer behaviour, plays a pivotal role in the formation of both customer loyalty and customer satisfaction. It is therefore incumbent upon companies to gain an understanding of their customers' requirements and to ensure that the quality of their products and services meets those needs. According to Rizan et al. (2020), customer perception of service quality for goods and services is the ability of the product to fulfil its functions covering valuable features such as durability, ease of use, product repair, after-sales support, etc.

In their 2020 publication, Dhisasmito and Kumar define service quality as the discrepancy between customer expectations and the actual experience of an organisation. It can also be interpreted as the customer's feelings when evaluating

their experience of an organisation. Service quality is also a measure of how well the level of service provided matches customer expectations. In other words, providing quality service means meeting customer expectations consistently (Parasuraman et al., 1985). In the study by Khoironi et al. (2018), the concept of service quality is defined as the ability of a product or service to meet customer needs by being specified, offered, or manufactured (Khoironi et al., 2018). It is widely acknowledged that service quality plays a pivotal role in predicting and explaining customer behaviour. Consequently, it is of paramount importance that all personnel employed by a given company adopt and sustain a commitment to service quality. Should the service provided to customers be found to be below the desired standard, the customer will be disappointed and will cease their relationship with the company. If customer expectations exceed the firm's performance, the perceived quality is deemed unsatisfactory, which may result in customer dissatisfaction (Surahman et al., 2020).

### **Building Customer Loyalty**

The importance of customer loyalty and the necessity of maintaining lasting customer relationships has been a topic of significant interest since the 1950s. However, it was not until 1978 that this concept was first recognised, with loyalty programmes becoming operational in 1981 following the implementation of different practices by American airlines (Duffy, 1998; Rahim, 2012). In the contemporary business environment, customer loyalty programmes are designed with the objective of establishing a stable customer base, fostering brand loyalty, and contributing to the long-term sustainability of the enterprise by enhancing the profit margin (Sarı & Kulualp, 2019).

### ***Customer Loyalty Building Programmes***

The formal introduction of customer loyalty programmes in customer relationship management has become an extremely important issue in the last two decades, as many firms have adopted a customer-oriented approach (Uncles et al., 2003). As outlined by Vesel and Zabkar (2009), a customer loyalty programme is a mechanism designed to identify and reward loyal customers by awarding points based on the amount spent. Loyalty programmes are designed to enhance customer satisfaction and loyalty, which represents a crucial objective of marketing (Zakaria et al., 2014). Furthermore, these programmes are offered by both retailers and manufacturers with the intention of encouraging continued patronage among consumers. This is achieved through the provision of discounts, cash, free goods or special services. An example of a special service is the

provision of free magazines on topics of interest to loyalty programme members (Berman, 2006).

Customer loyalty programmes are divided into two groups: limited loyalty programmes and open loyalty programmes. In contrast to more expansive loyalty programmes, those of a limited nature typically require a membership fee to be paid upon completion of an application form. Furthermore, they tend to focus their membership on specific target groups. Conversely, open loyalty programmes do not necessitate the fulfilment of entry requirements, thereby rendering membership more alluring and accessible to a greater number of individuals (Vesel & Zabkar, 2009).

A discount offered through a loyalty programme is a reduction in price granted by a vendor to a purchaser as a form of compensation for a particular action that is deemed favourable by the vendor. In a study conducted by Khairawati (2020) on customers who purchased online tickets at discounted prices, it was found that the discounted price variable has a significant effect on customer satisfaction. The findings of this research indicate that customers tend to seek out firms that offer discounts. Furthermore, the discounted price variable is a feature that customers tend to prefer.

The main purpose of loyalty programmes, whose characteristics and purposes differ according to different sectors, is to strengthen the position of businesses in the market, to win new customers and to win existing customers (Akkuş & Çakıcı, 2020). The key points to be considered when implementing loyalty programmes, which are highly effective tools in creating customer loyalty, are as follows, according to Butscher (2002):

- Care should be taken to establish an emotional relationship with customers.
- Customers should be included in the programme and taken care of.
- Loyal customers should be rewarded.
- It should be tried to create a company brand with loyalty programmes.
- It is recommended that communication expenditure be reallocated to more effective areas.
- Data should be collected on customers' demands and perceptions of products and services.
- Different company departments should be supported.
- Ultimately, the objective is to foster a sense of loyalty among the target audience.

Indeed, as the published reports show, the growth rate of loyalty programmes implemented almost everywhere in the world is 11% per year and this rate is expected to increase every year (Evanschitzky, 2012).

## **CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, customer loyalty is a multifaceted construct that encompasses cognitive, emotional, and behavioral dimensions, often referred to as head, heart, and hand loyalty. The complexity of loyalty is further highlighted by the need for diverse strategies tailored to different cultural contexts, as evidenced by the varied pathways to loyalty in different countries. The shift from traditional to customer-oriented marketing underscores the importance of emotional loyalty and the need for systematic approaches to manage it effectively. Loyalty marketing, especially through loyalty programs and co-branded credit cards, has become a critical tool for businesses to differentiate themselves and ensure customer retention. In this respect, organisations should strive to understand and exceed customer expectations in order to maintain long-term relationships, especially in competitive markets offering similar goods and services. Finally, the interplay between salesperson loyalty and store loyalty in retail contexts underscores the importance of relationship marketing in driving store-level outcomes such as share of purchases and competitive resistance. Thus, a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of customer loyalty is indispensable for businesses aiming to thrive in today's competitive landscape.

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## **Chapter 5**

### **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in The Light Of Archetype Theory**

**Aylin TALU<sup>1</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Maltepe Üniversitesi, İletişim Fakültesi, Halkla İlişkiler ve Tanıtım, İstanbul, Türkiye.  
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6427-2767, [aylinalu@maltepe.edu.tr](mailto:aylinalu@maltepe.edu.tr)

## ÖZET

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurucusu ve ilk Cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Kemal Atatürk büyük bir devlet adamı olmakla birlikte, çağdaş, ileri görüşlü, gerçekçi, kararlı ve mücadeleci bir karakterdir. Aldığı ekonomik, siyasal ve kültürel kararları başarı ile uygulamış ve takdir kazanmış üstün bir liderdir. Güçlü karakteri ile tüm dünyanın dikkatini çeken Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, gerçekleştirdiği yenilikleri, milli mücadelenin ilk başladığı andan Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşuna değin uyguladığı akılcı yönetim ve organizasyon çatısı altında oluşturan sıradışı bir kişiliktir. O, devlet adamı olmasının yanında iyi bir siyaset bilimci, iktisatçı, yazar, düşünür, ilk halkla ilişkiler uzmanı, başkomutan ve başöğretmandir. Sahip olduğu tüm bu nitelikler, ona sorunları değişik bakış açıları ile ele alarak değerlendirme olanağı sağlamıştır. Bu çalışmada yer alan tüm nitelikler örnekler verilerek desteklenmiştir.

Bu bağlamda, çalışma, büyük bir lider olan Atatürk'ün kişisel ve zihinsel becerileri dikkate alınarak Gustav Jung'un arketip kuramı temelinde incelenmiştir. Arketipler kültür ve deneyimde gerçekte akılda hep var olan, ortak birçok ögeyi içeren ve ortak bilince anlam veren sembollerdir. Bu semboller arasında, "arketip" kavramı kolektif bilinçaltının yarattığı duygular da yerini alır. Derin anlamlar taşıyarak insanlara evrensel bir dilde iletişim kurma yeteneği sunan arketipler bir hikâye anlatımında veya eserin yaratılmasında da önemli bir rol oynarlar. Bu doğrultuda, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün kişiliğini anlamlandırmada analitik psikolojinin kurucusu Carl Gustav Jung'un geliştirmiş olduğu on iki temel arketip modeline olan uygunluğu, hangi kişisel özelliğinin hangi arketiplerle özdeşleştiğinin analizi yapılmıştır. Böylelikle, psikoloji ve edebiyat alanının birleştiği en önemli ortak noktanın insan olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bu amaçla, çalışmada, ATATÜRK'ü sahip olduğu farklı nitelikleri ile değerlendiren tarihsel kaynaklardan, bilimsel çalışmalardan ve Türkçe olarak yayınlanmış üç kitaptan yararlanılmıştır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Atatürk, Arketip Kavramı, On iki Arketip, Gustav Jung

## ABSTRACT

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder, and first President of the Republic of Turkey, was not only a great statesman but also a modern, farsighted, realistic, determined, and combative character. He was an outstanding leader who successfully implemented the economic, political, and cultural decisions he took and earned appreciation. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who attracted the attention of the whole world with his strong character, is an extraordinary personality who created the innovations he realized under the roof of rational management and organization that he applied from the beginning of the national struggle until the

establishment of the Republic. In addition to being a statesman, he was a good political scientist, economist, writer, thinker, the first public relations expert, commander-in-chief, and head teacher. All these qualities have enabled him to evaluate problems from different perspectives. All the qualities in this study are supported with examples.

In this context, the study was analyzed based on Gustav Jung's archetype theory, taking into account the personal and mental skills of Atatürk, a great leader. Archetypes are symbols that exist in the mind in culture and experience, contain many common elements, and give meaning to common consciousness. Among these symbols, the concept of "archetype" takes its place in the emotions created by the collective unconscious. Archetypes, laden with profound significance and facilitating communication in a universal language, also hold a pivotal role in narrative construction or artistic creation. In this regard, to make sense of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's personality, his compliance with the twelve basic archetype models developed by Carl Gustav Jung, the founder of analytical psychology, and which personal characteristics are identified with which archetypes are analyzed. Thus, it has been observed that the most important common point where the fields of psychology and literature converge is the human being. For this purpose, the study utilized historical sources, scientific studies, and three books published in Turkish while evaluating ATATÜRK with his different qualities.

**Key Words:** Atatürk, Archetype Concept, The Twelve Basic Archetypes, Gustav Jung



## INTRODUCTION

The notion of archetype is a versatile concept that spans various fields, serving as a framework for character traits or themes. It involves shaping a fresh perspective through the lens of the collective unconscious theory.

Archetypes are abstract information that cannot be directly perceived by the individual, that is, they are unconscious. Archetypes create legends, religions, and philosophies that reveal and characterize entire nations and ages of history (Jung, 1969). In other words, archetypes embody the fundamental nature of human existence through representation. Thus, the primary aim of this study will be to determine in which personality archetypes the great leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk stands out.

### Archetypes

The concept of the archetype, attributed to Gustav Jung, refers to a fundamental thought pattern that is considered a universal framework inherited across cultures, based on deep emotions, and is often referred to as the "archaic type" or "master model".

The notion of "archetype" has very ancient roots and closely overlaps with Plato's concept of "idea" (Jung, 1969).

Jung proposed that the soul undergoes transformation and growth over time through archetypal pathways to individuation. He identified two attitudes and four functions of the human soul. His research encompassed various cultures, philosophies, and the quest for universal truths, linking them to his concept of the collective unconscious.

Although he was criticized by many, Jung's lasting influence extended well beyond his time and made him one of the most important philosophers of the twentieth century. Jung suggested that the subconscious mind serves a constructive purpose. Within this framework, it facilitates obtaining more satisfaction from life by directing the conscious mind to eliminate unrest and unhappiness (Yılmaz, 2018).

In other words, the wealth of knowledge that humanity has accumulated through centuries of experience becomes hereditary and is biologically transmitted to people's collective subconscious via genes. The innate instinctual ability of a newborn baby to suck its mother or the unconscious fear of a snake in someone who has never encountered one before serves as illustrations of how the collective unconscious reflects on human behavior.

Archetypes manifest not just in mythology, fairy tales, and belief systems but also in the messages conveyed through primitive art. These archetypes find their origin in our collective unconscious, the earliest facet of the mind to evolve. This

collective unconscious serves as the vital connection through which humanity establishes its link to an ancestral past. Through the collective unconscious, humanity gains access to inherited patterns and experiences from ancestors, enabling the generalization of these aspects across every individual within the species (Quoted by Yakın and Yay: Iaccino, 1998, XI).

These archetypes, which are encoded in the form of vague images in the collective subconscious, manifest themselves as soon as they find answers in the individual's real-life experiences and affect the individuals' perceptions and actions towards what they experience. Jung proposed that archetypes correspond to numerous elements found in our experiences, encompassing a wide range of concepts. These archetypes, as outlined by Jung, encompass images representing pivotal life stages like birth, death, and rebirth, along with symbolic figures such as the hero, child, trickster, old wise man, and representations from nature including trees, the sun, moon, wind, rivers, fire, and various animals. Additionally, human-made objects like rings and weapons are also included among these archetypes (Quoted by Başfıncı, 186, and Geçtan, 2010, p, 166).

Archetypes function as a universal language, representing forces that individuals unconsciously and consciously seek to experience and recreate. They are viewed as pathways toward achieving both pleasure and success (Woodside et al., 2008).

Archetypes are also very effective in the interpretation of narratives. Archetype theory not only creates the conceptual framework but also provides an understanding of story elements. Given that human memory revolves around narratives, this tendency simplifies comprehension and learning processes.

In the archetype theory used today, archetypes with five basic features are as follows:

- They embody story characters who serve as significant figures in narratives, often reflecting characteristics of familiar and interconnected individuals or elements. Archetypes are represented as generic characters known as “a mother,” “a criminal,” or “a healer” acting directly within a specific story arc. In all mediums, the basic function of the archetype remains consistent: to convey meaning or contribute to storytelling.
- Archetypes are mental constructs that, when brought to light, evoke strong emotional reactions in those exposed to them. It draws on an individual's previous emotional encounters and interactions with similar characters or concepts.
- Another aspect of archetype theory is that archetypes operate automatically. The handling of certain mental models often remains

dormant, and its unconscious nature can help individuals develop and support models of themselves and others.

- In essence, archetypes frequently emerge as acquired conceptualizations rather than being amenable to evolutionary history. The ease of acquisition is combined with the symbolic and emotional significance of these story characters, which owes in part to their enduring existence in the cultural history of literature, folklore, and art (Faber and Mayer, 2009).

### **The Four Major Archetypes**

Carl G. Jung used the concepts of soul (psyche) and spiritual (psychic) when discussing the composition of the mind.

Jung perceived archetypes as universal patterns that exist in all humans, existing since the outset, and shaping our perception, imagination, and thought processes. These profoundly influence behavior by structuring how psychic cognition works (Matthews, 2002). Jung refers to the motifs, images, and associations that appear in the dreams and visions of contemporary individuals as 'archetypal ideas'. The intensity of the emotions evoked by these images and connections determines the depth and vividness of the impact on individuals (Quoted by: Nalbantoğlu, 2017, p.505; Jung, 2006, p.403).

Apart from the twelve archetypes, Gustav Jung identified four major archetypes **persona**, **shadow**, **anima** and **animus**, and the **self**.

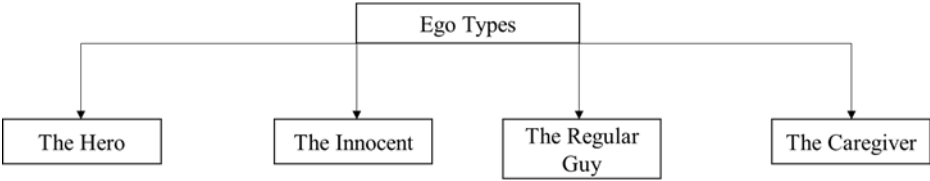
**The persona**, derived from the Latin word for "mask," is an archetype shaped gradually through our inclination to conform to societal roles and expectations. It represents the external face that we offer to the world that is often shaped by our interactions in society, which is usually aligned with our public image or social identity.

**Animus** represents masculine characteristics that may include qualities such as supplies in women. On the contrary, **the anima** embodies the feminine qualities within males, such as compassion and care. A balanced personality covers both masculine and feminine characteristics. Neglecting to accept and harmonize these different aspects within itself can lead to a prejudiced attitude towards individuals of the opposite sex.

The **shadow** symbolizes the hidden and more primal facets of the psyche, encompassing instinctual and impulsive features often concealed from public view and embedded within the unconscious mind.

The **self** creates the direction of the character that tends to integrate all other dimensions. The evolution of self as an archetype reflects the permanent desire of humanity throughout generations to maintain integrity and harmony (Carducci, 2009).

Therefore, the persona functions as the social mask we present, while the shadow embodies hidden or repressed aspects of ourselves. While anima/animus symbolizes the feminine/masculine elements within our soul, the self represents the original, harmonious, and unified self. (Quoted by: Bozdağ &Acar,2017, p.3357: Jung, 2014).



Yet, within the scope of this study, I examined the characteristic features of the Great Leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk through the lens of only 12 basic archetypes.

**The Twelve Jungian Archetypes**

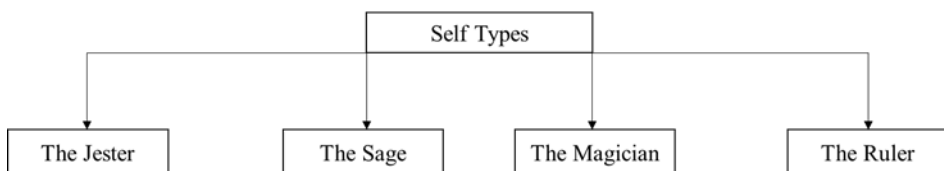
Jung examined 12 archetypes in three groups ego, soul, and self-archetypes. Each archetype has its value, meaning, and personality characteristics. In his piece titled "12 Basic Archetypes", Carl Golden stated that while numerous archetypes exist within the personality structures of individuals, they may not appear in everyone. Moreover, he argued that typically one archetype tends to predominate the personality (2016). In this context, observing the archetypes present within individuals can offer valuable insight into their behaviors and motivations on a personal level.

Ego Types: The Innocent, the Regular Guy, the Hero, the Caregiver

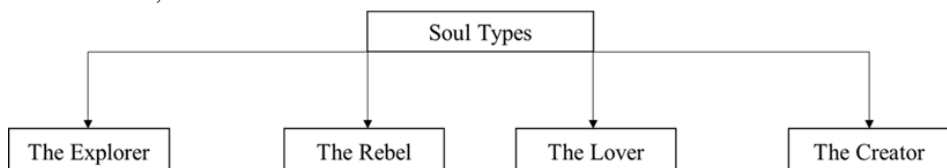
Soul Types: The Explorer, the Rebel, the Lover, the Creator

Self-Types: The Jester, the Sage, the Magician, the Ruler

- The Hero is known as a warrior, superhero, savior, soldier, and winner.
- The Innocent is known as innocent, traditionalist, pure, mystic, saint, romantic, and dreamer.
- The Regular Guy is known as the realistic, good, reliable person, the laborer, and the silent majority.



- The Caregiver is known as self-sacrificing, helpful, parent, and supporter.
- The Explorer is known as a wanderer, individualist, and traveler.
- The Rebel is also known as the rebel, revolutionary, wild man, misfit, or iconoclast.
- The Lover is known as a partner, friend, intimate, enthusiast, sensualist, spouse, and team-builder.
- The Creator is also known as the artist, inventor, innovator, musician, writer, or dreamer.



- The Jester is known as the fool, trickster, joker, practical joker, or comedian.
- The Sage is known as the expert, scholar, detective, advisor, thinker, philosopher, academic, researcher, philosopher, planner, professional, mentor, teacher, and contemplative.
- The Magician is known as the visionary, catalyst, inventor, charismatic leader, shaman, healer, medicine man.
- The Ruler is known as the boss, leader, aristocrat, king, queen, politician, role model, manager, or administrator (Golden, 2016).

## MATERIALS AND METHOD

My work draws upon the foundations laid by İlber Ortaylı's "Gazi Mustafa Kemal ATATÜRK" and Fabio L. Grassi's "ATATÜRK." These works provided the basis for my study, aligning the perspectives of both authors with Gustav Jung's archetype theory. Moreover, "Memories and Documents About ATATÜRK" penned by Afet İnan was a pivotal resource that complemented my research.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In these books I have explored, the qualities attributed to the Great Leader Atatürk—his determination, visionary outlook, patriotism, heroism, and leadership—are extensively deliberated upon. These works also frequently highlight his political strategies, endeavors in modernization, and progressive initiatives in restructuring the nation, often supported by documented evidence. His pivotal role in shaping Turkey's modern identity strongly suggests that Atatürk embodies numerous archetypal traits outlined by Jung.

### Personal Characteristics of Atatürk

İlber Ortaylı portrays Atatürk as a charismatic and trustworthy leader, someone deemed unlikely to err.

- Mustafa Kemal arrived in Sofia and lodged at the Splendid Palace Hotel for a seven-month duration. His refined attire, striking appearance, and exceptional intelligence rendered him a highly sought-after figure within the community (95). (**regular guy**)

- Mustafa Kemal emerges as a figure shaped by extraordinary achievements and sacrifices that surpass the obligations bestowed upon him. His voluntary participation in the Tripoli War stands as a clear testament to his commitment and dedication (120). (**hero and caregiver**)

- Despite his commendable military service and the triumphs, he achieved, he found himself in a position that did not align with the Unionist faction and openly opposed them (159). (**rebel**)

- Atatürk's bestowal of surnames upon his comrades reflected a profound connection to the battles they engaged in and the triumphs they attained. For instance, the surname Ariburnu was granted to the family of the courageous martyr celebrated for their actions at Ariburnu. Additionally, his choice of surname for İsmet İnönü exemplified Atatürk's **creative** and **innovative** mindset, evident within the parameters of the surname law (399).

- Atatürk held country trips in high regard, emphasizing the unveiling of archaeological sites, and openings of schools and factories. These excursions showcased his managerial curiosity about the country's evolution, reflecting an **explorer's** mindset within a leader (414).

- Atatürk possessed inherent leadership qualities and visionary nature, perceiving things beyond the ordinary, which earned him the descriptor of charismatic.

- Precisely gauging and swaying the masses is a challenging task. Atatürk, through his entrepreneurial spirit, genius, and resolute will, adeptly persuaded diverse groups—a testament to his leadership (**ruler**). Atatürk is a universal man

as well as a nationalist. (**ruler**) He embodies pacifism, wielding an equal skill in making peace as in combat. His assertion, "War is murder unless it is necessary" (424), underscores his **heroism**.

- Following the liberation of Izmir, he displayed remarkable chivalry by encountering the Greek flag placed on the steps of the government building. Asked to trample it as a response to the Turkish flag being desecrated during the invasion, he firmly stated, "The flag represents honor; it should never be disrespected." This act underscores his intellectual depth and principles (424). (**ruler**)

- Accounts from those in his close circle—cooks, aides, drivers, and waiters—consistently depict Mustafa Kemal as notably modest, well-mannered, and kind (425), embodying the essence of a **regular guy**.

- Mustafa Kemal held education in high esteem and staunchly opposed ignorance. Even amid the most precarious phases of the War of Independence, he convened the Education Congress, underscoring his commitment to learning. Despite the country's limited resources reliant on agricultural exports, efforts were made to send students abroad for education (427). (**sage**)

- Atatürk held education and culture in high esteem, emphasizing the importance of learning foreign languages. His proficiency in French and capability in English allowed him to excel in writing letters and translations. A dedicated reader, he immersed himself in books even amidst the frontlines, drawing lessons from every piece he encountered. This deep involvement with literature significantly shaped his sagacious character (429). (**sage**)

- Every nation has had leaders who altered the course of history and averted significant perils. Across centuries, Turks have witnessed exceptional marshals and statesmen. Yet, Atatürk stands as an indispensable leader, a visionary whose genius is a rarity in world history (448). (**ruler & hero**)

Fabio Grassi offers an external viewpoint, delving into Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's military and political battles, while highlighting his transformation into a peaceful statesman and a courageous revolutionary:

- Assigned to the 5th Army stationed in Damascus, he, alongside his friend Mustafa (Cantekin), established a clandestine group named *Vatan ve Hürriyet*. During his breaks from political engagements, he'd often venture out incognito in civilian attire, displaying a keen sense of curiosity by attending gatherings of Italian workers in the evenings (51). (**explorer**)

- Grassi suggests that Mustafa Kemal's ties with the society (Committee of Union) during that period remain uncertain. Nevertheless, there's a presumption that he could navigate more freely within an organization where he held a leadership position (53). (**ruler**)

- In July 1908, Mustafa Kemal resided in Thessaloniki, dedicated to the responsibility entrusted to him by the Committee of Union and Progress: establishing a connection between Thessaloniki and Istanbul along the railway line. While this task didn't inherently embody a "heroic" role, he exhibited adept negotiation skills, effectively fulfilling his duties. While his heroic essence was associated with him from the outset, he remained conscious of the need for prudence in fulfilling his responsibilities (71). (**sage**)

- By September 1908, he successfully mediated with the influential Arabs in Tripoli, demonstrating a careful and reconciliatory attitude towards the local factions. During his encounter with Juan Alvarez, the honorary consul of England, Mustafa Kemal left a profound impression. Alvarez was deeply struck by Mustafa Kemal's dynamic and resolute demeanor, coupled with a calm and earnest disposition evident in private settings (75). (**ruler**)

- During his time as the military attaché in Sofia, he made a memorable appearance at a ball, donning an attention-grabbing Janissary outfit. Mustafa Kemal, drawing considerable notice, saw this as an opportunity to evoke the Ottoman Empire's illustrious victories in those territories. Yet, according to Grassi, this bold, **creative**, and **imaginative** choice was indicative of a Turk's self-assurance (98). (**creator**)

- On May 16, Mustafa Kemal embarked on an unprecedented political journey, setting sail for Samsun aboard the Bandırma ferry—a historic moment marking the start of a significant chapter in the twentieth century. (163) (**ruler-rebel**)

- Mustafa Kemal had no difficulty in establishing diplomatic relations with Italy, as he did with many countries. These relationships reveal his power (Grassi,188). (**ruler**)

- Mustafa Kemal embodied exceptional organizational skills, leadership prowess, and progressive ideologies, and displayed astute statesmanship (246). This combination aligns with the traits of a ruler-hero archetype. (**ruler-hero**)

- Viewing children as the cornerstone of the future, Atatürk placed utmost importance on his affection for them. Sabiha, whom he adopted, underwent military pilot training and was sent to Russia for further instruction, receiving the surname Gökçen in 1934. Subsequently, he adopted Afet, a remarkably bright individual who excelled as a teacher, granting her the surname İnan. In 1935, he adopted Ülkü, forming a profound devotion to her (312) (**caregiver**)

- Atatürk aimed for simplicity in Turkish pronunciation and was instrumental in both pioneering and creating the new alphabet for Turkish letters.

As a result, Mustafa Kemal assumed the role of the primary educator for his nation, initiating lectures to educate communities about the new alphabet. These



instructional sessions commenced in Dolmabahçe and extended to various cities in the west. The image of him at the blackboard stands out as one of the most significant, symbolizing his inherent commitment to teaching and education, reflecting the essence of his role as a **creator** and **explorer** (324).

In contrast to the focus of the two books under study, Afet İnan, who closely follows the last thirteen years of the esteemed leader's life, offers readers a first-hand narrative by reinforcing her memories and perspectives of that period.

- Mustafa Kemal adeptly led the forces at Anafartalar, effectively halting the enemy's advance and establishing a resilient front of resistance. Throughout these conflicts, his command abilities and personal bravery proved invaluable (11). **(ruler)**

- Atatürk earned sincere recognition from foreigners, taking his place in Turkish history as a victorious military commander and a statesman renowned for both his military prowess and his adeptness in fostering peaceful relations with every nation. He adds: "Collective safety and security stands as a fundamental principle of happiness that every nation in the world should aspire to achieve" (39). **(sage)**

- Mustafa Kemal's civil and political journey commences at the Erzurum and Sivas congresses. His **heroic** endeavors span from fighting against the Italians in Tripoli to defending Edirne during the Balkan War. In World War I, he thwarted enemy invasion routes and commanded forces on both the eastern and southern fronts (140)

- Despite his stern demeanor, Atatürk carried a cheerful spirit. He infused those around him with a sense of joy, courage, and self-assurance. Regarding Atatürk, a man of the people, İnönü said the following: Seeing Atatürk in a public meeting is a real pleasure, a privileged opportunity. In an instant, all the stagnation among the people disappears. The exuberance of fresh, vibrant air manifests on their faces (143). **(jester)**

- The nation has acquired a productive asset dedicated to its service: the Nazilli Factory. It is a work carried out in the First Five-Year Industrial Program of the Republic government. It aimed to empower the people to utilize their labor in producing goods from their land, ensuring self-sufficiency. Among the valuable products derived from Turkish cotton was the chintz fabric. Atatürk was steadily moving forward, each stride a testament to his determination, atop the monumental achievements he had accomplished for his nation (230-231). **(creator)**

In this compilation of Afet İnan's recollections, it would be more accurate to express the construction of the alphabet revolution from a different perspective than Fabio Grassi's narrative.

- Before initiating the alphabet revolution, Atatürk engaged in widespread discussions, encouraging dialogue among all involved parties. He highlighted the limitations of the old alphabet and sought the insights of intellectuals. This thorough preparation spanned several years, culminating in unanimous agreement before the commencement of implementing their collective vision (368). (**sage-creator**)

- During his educational journey, Mustafa Kemal harbored a keen interest in poetry, and literature, and honed his oratory skills during his schooling. He delved into writing pieces centered around military service. One such creation was "Zabit ve Kumandan ile Hasbıhal". Additionally, he translated General Litzman's "Sefer Mevcudunda Takım, Bölük ve Taburun Muharebe Talimleri". The other two works translated by Mustafa Kemal were "Takımın Muharebe Talimi" and "Bölüğün Muharebe Talimi".

- These studies facilitated Mustafa Kemal's professional development and cultivated his keen sense of observation and critique. This particular trait aligns with the **creator** archetype within soul types, shaping his characteristics (414).

- Atatürk also displayed a keen interest in sociology and economics, engaging in extensive reading on these subjects. During his final years, Atatürk dedicated significant attention to issues concerning language. His objective was to make the Turkish language and enhance its academic standing by enriching it. As in every nation, Atatürk aimed to establish a "Turkish Language Academy" with a scientific identity. To fulfill this goal, he established the "Turkish Language Society" (423). (**sage-creator**)

- Two key factors contributed to Atatürk's **leadership** and success: his profound commitment to the concept of homeland and his deep-seated **love** for the nation (425). Mustafa Kemal engaged in numerous battles across various fronts, witnessing countless young individuals sacrifice their lives to defend their homeland. Through these experiences, Atatürk's conception of homeland was profoundly influenced. His statement, "*Homeland! May everything be sacrificed for you,*" epitomized the sanctity with which he regarded the homeland. As a result, Atatürk attained success through his unhesitating love for the nation thriving within the sacred bounds of the homeland (427). Inspired by the profound love for the nation, the Great Leader, who proclaimed that there is no greater love than love for the nation, infused this sentiment into every innovation he introduced. (**creator-lover-explorer**)

- Atatürk held success as a core principle, attributing it to two fundamental principles: knowledge and science, alongside a profound love for his homeland and its people. He deeply valued those who possessed knowledge and demonstrated strong judgment. According to him, while intelligence might secure

temporary victories, the success attained through the strength of reason and knowledge would endure permanently (435). (sage)

Atatürk's legacy was defined by his remarkable creative mindset. He confronted challenges directly, relentlessly seeking solutions and instilling an unwavering belief in the Turkish people that success was always within reach, even in moments of despair. His adeptness at navigating circumstances and orchestrating effective strategies made him a leader who could steer events and processes with remarkable skill.

Atatürk's approach when initiating or pursuing a task involved convincing those around him first. He had a methodical way of identifying obstacles within a task, systematically removing each one, and ultimately reaching his objectives. In essence, he wasn't merely a dreamer; he was a pragmatic achiever.

Additionally, Mustafa Kemal embodies both a soldier and a warrior, yet he comprehends that fighting is essential to concluding conflicts and defending peace and civilization. Thus, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk emerges as a remarkable peacemaker who imbued wars with a deeper significance. Mustafa Kemal embodies the spirit of an explorer. Innovative individuals, akin to explorers, engage in observation, creation, and the unveiling of their creative traits. Love holds great significance for Mustafa Kemal. His love for nature, children, and people stands as a primary value. This deep affection distinctly mirrors the lover archetype within him. He exudes charismatic leadership, possessing a remarkable foresight that carries the potency to effect significant change wherever it's applied. This blend of visionary leadership and transformative power resonates strongly with the magician archetype.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, renowned for his ability to connect with individuals of all ages, attentively listened to everyone he encountered, earning him the reputation of being a man of the people. He resonates strongly with the archetype Regular Guy, as with other archetypes.

Finally, Atatürk's legacy and actions often align with multiple archetypal patterns outlined in Jung's theory. His leadership qualities, visionary stance, and transformative impact on Turkish society reflect archetypal figures such as the hero, the wise leader, the creator, the caregiver, and sometimes even the jester. Atatürk's ability to embody these archetypes contributed to his resonance as a unifying figure and emblem of national identity. Although not explicitly discussed in Jungian terms, Atatürk's influence, and legacy, as well as his characteristics, parallel the archetypal patterns outlined by Jung in understanding history and society.

## CONCLUSION

Numerous studies, commentaries, and books have extensively explored Atatürk. I, however, undertook an examination of the Great Leader's personality traits from an alternative viewpoint using these three books referenced above. Almost every archetype, the Innocent, the Regular Guy, the Hero, the Caregiver, the Explorer, the Rebel, the Lover, the Creator, the Jester, the Sage, even the Magician, and the Ruler formulated by Gustav Jung finds resonance within the figure of the esteemed leader, Atatürk.

Thus, all these archetypes are examined concerning examples from Atatürk's life and events.

The study found that Atatürk's character traits do not overlap with those typically associated with the archetype of the magician. However, it would be accurate to assert that the Great Leader's strategy, rooted in change, can be assessed within the framework of this archetype in terms of his visionary perspective, and practical, active, and dynamic nature.

Atatürk firmly advocated for the advancement of the Turkish nation into a civilized existence. His approach centered on urging every member of the nation to embrace diligence and accountability in their endeavors, aiming to elevate Turkey to a superior standing.

Atatürk's creativity and innovation stem from being a formidable revolutionary with exceptional foresight, adept at making precise decisions and navigating even the most intricate challenges. He led extensive reforms aimed at establishing a modern educational system, making significant strides in pioneering innovative educational practices. By advocating for public institutions, he sped up industrialization and prioritized infrastructure development projects. Integrating his wealth of knowledge, cultural insights, and life experiences with pragmatism, ATATÜRK possessed a patriotic, realistic, and idealistic persona. He had a visionary and peace-driven outlook, displaying a keen understanding of international relations, societal evolution, and contemporary advancements. All this was intricately woven with a deep consideration of our historical past and insights from historical sciences. Countless studies, research endeavors, and books dedicated to him encapsulate Atatürk with a solitary word: he was exceptionally genius.

Atatürk's life may have concluded within the initial years of our Republic's history, yet his ideas and ideals continue to illuminate the advancing global civilization, offering us guidance from the past.

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## **Chapter 6**

### **The European Security Policy: Focus on the Concept of Terrorism, the European Counterterrorism Measures, and its Limitations**

**Zeyyat BANDEOĞLU<sup>1</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Öğretim Görevlisi Dokuz Eylül University

## **Abstract**

Although the European Union has adopted numerous policies as the European agenda on the security of 2015 and 2022 planning measures against terrorism financing, the travels of foreign fighters, radicalization, and extremist propaganda, member states remain unwilling to fully cooperate and use these instruments. Hence terrorism and security-related issues are topics at the core of state sovereignty meaning that states often refuse to delegate their authority to supranational institutions. In this paper, the European Counter-Terrorism Policy was analyzed by first explaining the concept of terrorism and the challenges it poses, then outlining the policy measures and the extent of its strategic autonomy, and lastly by highlighting the limits and the gaps of this security policy.

**Keywords:** Europe, Security Terrorism

## **Avrupa Güvenlik Politikası: Terrörizm Kavramı, Avrupa'nın Terörizmle Mücadelesi ve Bu Mücadeleın Sınırları**

### **Öz**

Avrupa Birlięi 2015 ile 2022 yılları arasında terörizmin finansmanı, yabancı savaşıların seyahatleri, radikalleşme ve aşırıcılık propogandası gibi konularda çeşitli politikalar benimsenmesine rağmen, üye ülkeler bu politika araçlarını kullanmaya ve işbirlięi yapmaya pek yanaşmamaktadırlar. Bu bağlamda, terörizm ve güvenlik ile ilgili konular üye devletlerin egemenliğinde kalmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, üye devletler bu konularda ulus-üstü kurumlara yetki vermekten kaçınmaktadırlar. Bu sorunsal kapsamında bu makale Avrupa'nın Terörle Mücadele Politikasını incelemektedir. İlk olarak, terörizmin tanımı farklı açılardan bakılmakta ve bu tanımın beraberinde getirdięi sıkıntılar tartışılmakta, akabinde ise bu konudaki politika araçları ile stratejik otonominin sınırları değerlendirilmekte ve son olarak da bu güvenlik poltikasının sınırları ve boşlukları analiz edilmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Avrupa, Güvenlik, Terörizm

## **Introduction**

Since the attacks of 9/11 on the World Trade Center in the United States terrorism has become a primary concern. Over the past decade, terrorists have taken the lives of 21,000 people on average per year, but attacks remain very geographically focused with 95% of deaths in 2017 occurring in the Middle East, Africa, or South Asia (Terrorism, 2019) Despite that the bombings in Madrid, London, and Paris have created a public fear of terrorism among the population and decision-makers have developed numerous policies at both the national and European level to address it. The recent rise of the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq (ISIS) has intensified the threat of terrorism with the emergence of a new pattern, the lone wolves that radicalize themselves through social media propaganda.

Although the European Union has adopted numerous policies as the European agendas on the security of 2015 and 2022 planning measures against terrorism financing, the travels of foreign fighters, radicalization, and extremist propaganda, member states remain unwilling to fully cooperate and use these instruments. Hence terrorism and security-related issues are topics at the core of state sovereignty meaning that states often refuse to delegate their authority to supranational institutions. This raises a debate about the potential strategic autonomy of the European Union and its ability to both effectively counter homegrown terrorism and launch a successful foreign policy combating terrorist organizations abroad. Scholars have highlighted the limitations of the European counterterrorism policy by looking at the lack of cooperation among intelligence and law enforcement agencies as well as the democratic deficit of the measures put in place. Moreover, the focus on security and a crisis-driven dynamic is often pointed out when talking about the limits of European integration in this domain. Lastly, the lack of prevention policies and a general understanding of the process of radicalization worsens the situation.

In this paper, we will analyze the European Counter-Terrorism Policy by first explaining the concept of terrorism and the challenges it poses, then outlining the policy measures and the extent of its strategic autonomy, and lastly by highlighting the limits and the gaps of this security policy.

### **1. What is terrorism?**

#### *a) Definition and impacts.*

The United States (US) Federal Bureau of Investigation defines terrorism as the unlawful

use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof in furtherance of



political and social objectives. In the analysis of the cost of terrorism in the fight against terrorism, the European Parliament identified four impacts of terrorism. First on physical capital in terms of death and injuries, the total cost of terrorism in the European Union (EU) since 2004 is estimated to be about 4.7€ billion with poverty damage of around 898€ million (van Ballegoij, 2018). Second terror attacks convey feelings of fear and uncertainty affecting people's behavior and health. In terms of economic consequences terrorism has cost the Union about 185€ billion in lost GDP since 2004 while harming trade, Foreign Direct Investment, and tourism. Lastly, it impacts fundamental human rights as the main goal of terrorism is to question the rule of law and the established order.

*b) Trends and patterns*

There have been a total of 1010 failed attacks in European territory between 2009 and 2013 (Ortega, 2020). Most of the recent attacks since the 9/11 tragedy in the United States share three common patterns, the preference for indiscriminate assassinations, attacks on authority figures, and targeting European lifestyle symbols. A decrease in the sophistication, preparation, and execution of the attacks has been observed as well as the rise of the lone wolf phenomena. Lone wolves can be defined as "operators isolated from any organized terrorist networks and pushed to violence without assistance, who may identify or sympathize with extremist movements or terrorist organizations" (Abdelsamad, 2018). This type of attack is often perpetrated by "weak and desperate young men transfixed by ultra-violence and the promise of ultra-violence that have led them to mix personal frustrations with extremist ideologies and externally blame their own problems on others" (Abdelsamad, 2018). This new pattern of terrorism can be related to the rise of extremist propaganda on the internet as lone wolves no longer need to be recruited by charismatic leaders sent by large-scale organizations. This shows that the internet and social media have transformed terrorism from a top-down to a bottom-up process.

When explaining the concept of terrorism, it is crucial to talk about the causes of radicalization. Radicalization is the phenomenon under which people adhere to opinions, points of view, and ideas that may lead them to commit terrorist acts (Ortega, 2020). First political insecurity and the monopolization of the power by one group leads to intercommunal tensions, marginalization, alienation, or discrimination which may incite the targeted individuals to embrace violent extremism as a vehicle to advance their goals (Abdelsamad, 2018). This has been seen in chaotic conflicts such as Yemen, Syria, Libya, or

Somalia providing terrorist organizations like the Islamic State, Al Qaeda, or Al Shabab opportunities for recruitment and logistics. When it comes to homegrown terrorism it often originates from either the lack of socio-economic opportunities and poor education or the rise of islamophobia. Hence the surge of populism and Islamophobic discourses in Europe provides jihadis with opportunities to justify their acts as a legitimate response to the “western war on Islam”.

*c) An overestimated threat?*

66% of Austrians expressed terrorism as one of their major fears (Die Presse, 2016), 71% of Germans listed it among their top concerns (Die Zeite 2017) while the EU median is 79% of individuals somewhat to very concerned about extremism in the name of Islam (Abdelsamad, 2018). This contrasts with the reality that most attacks in the west cause few to no fatalities with roughly 1% resulting in substantial casualties (approx. 25 deaths) (Abdelsamad, 2018). Indeed, large-scale attacks occur mostly in the Middle East and Africa but the public still fears more terrorism than violent crimes or hospitalization. It can be advanced that the main reason is politics. Hence politicians tend to overestimate the threat of terrorism as a danger that the public needs to be protected from to project strength and leadership. This was the case with George W. Bush and the war on terror who saw its approval rating increasing from 51% to 86% after the 9/11 attacks (Abdelsamad, 2018).

Although terrorism remains a pressing issue for Europe, its effect tends to be more psychological than physical. Hence the end goal of an attack is to have people watching and to use it as a means of communication and propaganda. “The immediate victim is merely instrumental, the skin on a drum beaten to achieve a calculated impact on a wider audience” (Schmid, 2012). Terror often leads to people exaggerating the strength of these organizations and the threats that they pose. It is essential to distinguish between acknowledging the existence and magnifying the threat (Abdelsamad, 2018). Hence living in constant fear and making it the front cover of every newspaper won't prevent terrorism but rather satisfy the end goals of organizations such as the Islamic State that aim at spreading fear and destabilizing democracy.

Now that we explained the phenomena of terrorism, its trends, and how it is sometimes overestimated we will look at the European Counter-terrorism Policy.

## **2. The EU counterterrorism policy**

### *a) Existing measures*

The European Agenda on Security adopted in 2015 outlines how the Union can bring added value to support the member states in ensuring their security. This agenda focuses on terrorism, organized crime, and cybercrime with four guidelines. First, it promotes better cooperation between member states based on five key principles: full compliance with fundamental rights, the insurance of transparency, accountability and democratic control, better implementation and application of existing EU legal instruments, an inter-agency and cross-sectoral approach, and the reunion of internal and external dimensions of security (European Commission, 2015). Second, it aims at strengthening the pillars of the EU action to facilitate better information sharing with instruments such as the Schengen information system (SIS) the Prun Framework, and the Passenger name record system (PNR).

Third, the Agenda on security emphasizes the need to increase operational cooperation within the EU policy cycle. Hence Member states' agencies need to coordinate their actions and follow the same priorities to ensure European internal security. Agencies like Frontex and Europol are meant to be revised to allow synergies between their data. Moreover, there is great potential for judicial cooperation in the Union with the European Arrest Warrant for the freezing and confiscation of criminal assets and the Eurojust system. Fourth the Agenda outlines the anti-radicalization program with the establishment of the European Counter-terrorism center. Europol's focal point on the travels of foreign fighters, the EU/US Terrorist Financing Tracking Programme (TFTP), and Internet Referral Units are meant to prevent radicalization as well as the planning and execution of attacks by blocking internet propaganda and illegal financing. Lastly, the agenda outlines how the 2008 Framework Decision on Terrorism was reviewed in 2016 to intensify cooperation with third parties regarding foreign fighters.

In 2017 the Directive on Combating Terrorism was adopted to intensify the legal framework regarding the criminalization of conduct such as training and traveling for terrorist activities. The harmonization of the legal framework was essential to enhance the cooperation between member states and allow them to share intelligence based on the same definition of terrorism (European Commission, 2017).

### *b) The new agenda*

In December 2020 the Commission adopted a counter-terrorism agenda setting out the goals and actions of its strategy for the next five years based on

four pillars, Anticipate, Prevent, Protect and Respond at local, national, EU, and international levels. First, the anticipation program aims at enhancing the strategic intelligence sharing at the European level through threat and risk assessment, the reinforcement of early detection capacities, and the involvement of new technologies. It builds upon the EU Intelligence and Situation Centre (EU INTCEN) and the EU security research while improving the performance of detection technologies regarding chemical or bio-security and armed drones. The Anticipation pillar further proposes new maritime risk assessments, the deployment of EU protective security advisors, and the integration of foresight in the policy cycle. Second, the Prevention pillar uses previously established instruments such as the radicalisation Awareness Network, the Internet Forum with industry, or the Civil Society Empowerment Program to address radicalization and terrorism content online while integrating local communities in the process. It aims at enhancing EU rules on terrorist content online, extending EU-level crimes to all forms of hate crime and speech, and implementing a new strategy focused on integration and inclusion. Furthermore, it proposes guidelines on content moderation and risk assessments on radicalization in prisons as well as assistance for member states regarding returning foreign fighters.

Third, the protection pillar is based on the Forum on the protection of public spaces and the Schengen Information System. It aims at developing a new information system for border management, fully implementing the PNR, and improving the rules concerning firearms and explosives. This policy proposes an innovative urban design for public spaces, better protection of critical infrastructures, especially places of worship, and the revision of the Advance Passenger Information. Lastly, the Response pillar focuses on the post-attack environment by using the Europe Counter-Terrorism Center, the TFTP, and the ATLAS law enforcement network. It targets the improvement of the Crisis Protocol to ensure a rapid response to the diffusion of terrorist attack imagery on the internet, better prosecution of returning foreign fighters, and the introduction of an EU's strategy on victim's rights. It offers the revision of the Prun system, and other existing institutions such as Europol as well as a new EU police cooperation code (European Commission, 2020).

### *c) Debate around strategic autonomy and sovereignty*

Now that we outlined the European agenda concerning counterterrorism and the different instruments, we will look at how strategic autonomy relates to the current debate on security. Strategic autonomy can be defined as the “capacity of an international actor to pursue its own interests without restrictions of other

actors" (Perez, 2020). We will focus mainly on the promotion of European interests. The Union is struggling to establish a common policy as member states are often reluctant to delegate sovereignty to European institutions regarding matters of defense and security.

The Union's added value to counterterrorism efforts is based on strengthening national intelligence capacities, facilitating the exchange of best practices, and increasing police and judicial cooperation by developing collective mechanisms such as Europol and Eurojust (Tucek, Warnes, 2017). But in order to do that, there needs to be a common strategic culture to enable the Union to act as a single actor to overcome these challenges. Strategic cultures are successful when they regard post-Westphalian variants where states decide to use multilateralism to satisfy their interest. But when they target Westphalian topics such as security, states prefer bi-lateral cooperation with trusted partners which entails not going through the Union (Tucek, Warnes, 2017).

Moreover, even if these common strategic cultures manage to be established there is an unequal perception of threats within the Union (Perez, 2020). This complicates the definition of a collective project on defense issues as states don't share the same security needs. The main division concerns the threat of Russia against the threat of terrorism. The first goal would be to preserve the European security regime with a collective defense of the territory against Russia while the second aims at stabilizing the Mediterranean region and the Middle East through peacebuilding operations in countries such as Syria, Libya, or Iraq. As eastern states don't see the threat of terrorism as pressing as western states, establishing common security priorities is highly complicated.

Furthermore, there are two differences in threat perceptions and transatlantic cooperation between the two pillars of European cooperation, Germany and France. First, Germany prioritizes territorial defense with political action and the development of cooperation to neutralize internal threats whereas France emphasizes the projection of force and military operations. For the latter, it is essential to neutralize jihadist threats and other problems coming from destabilized countries to solve the terrorism issue. Second when it comes to the future role that the United States should play in European defense the two leading states disagree. France sees the US as a key ally but wants to enhance European strategic autonomy to be less dependent on American defense capacities whereas Germany and many eastern states believe that Washington remains an essential element of their security.

### **3. The limits of the European Counter-terrorism policy**

#### *a) Lack of cooperation and democratic legitimacy*

The Counter-Terrorism policy is included in the Common Foreign and Security Policy

(CFSP). Although the system of qualified majority voting is used for most policy areas the CFSP is an exception. Member states have refused to delegate authority to supranational institutions, making it an intergovernmental instrument where the Parliament has no co-decision powers but only the right to be informed and give its opinion (Newsome, Riddervold, 2020). The administrative work of the CFSP is managed by the European External Action Service (EEAS) responsible for foreign policy and diplomatic relations. The absence of supranational competencies regarding foreign and security policy matches with the assumption that the European Union is focused on economic areas rather than core topics of state sovereignty.

Indeed, member states are reluctant to cooperate based on European interests rather than national preferences. Even though instruments are implemented and reinforced, states prefer bilateral cooperation and are hesitant to share their intelligence with fellow member states. In 2016 only three member states, France, Germany, and Italy placed ½ of the total number of alerts on the Schengen Information System, leading to a negative perception of countries making use of data shared by others while contributing the minimal amount (van Ballegooij, 2018). This is exaggerated by the gaps of collaboration among national agencies, the difference in scope to which information sharing is allowed by national legal systems, and the lack of knowledge about European instruments.

Furthermore, the Counterterrorism policy is limited in democratic legitimacy and accountability. Measures have been criticized for providing limited opportunities for consultation in policy-making (van Ballegooij, 2018). The Directive on Combating Terrorism encompasses many proposals without efficient impact assessments and only 3 out of 88 legislative initiatives since 2002 have been submitted to the public for consultation (van Ballegooij, 2018). Many European agencies responsible for democratic oversight and accountability such as the Parliament and the Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) can't influence the implementation and the formation of counterterrorism policies or even access information, often classified for national security reasons. This raises a debate about whether security and fundamental human rights are elements to be balanced against or rather two complementary and mutually reinforcing factors.

b) *Crisis-driven policy and the unwillingness to use European influence against regional allies.*

The European Counter-Terrorism policy is often criticized for being mainly crisis-driven meaning that it is a “patchwork of measures and mechanisms often elaborated in great haste and lacking overall design” (Abdelsamad, 2018). We can distinguish four waves of terrorist attack, the 9/11 attacks in 2001, the Madrid and London bombings in 2004 and 2005, the rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) resulting from the Syrian civil war with the associated lone wolf attacks in the west in 2014, and lastly the Nice and Berlin attacks in 2016. After each wave, the EU re-evaluated its policy and implemented new measures without necessarily addressing core issues. This also questions the ability of the European decision-makers to design a policy based on a scientific understanding of Islamic extremism and homegrown terrorism rather than on political motives. The Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute (DOC) report outlines that although a new agenda has been implemented in December 2020, the policy dynamic remains crisis-driven and doesn't significantly differ from previous strategies.

Furthermore, the European Council on Foreign Relations highlights the problem associated with regional allies and the refusal to de-escalate conflict in its 2016 Scorecard. Foreign policy focuses on military intervention rather than implementing the necessary political steps to address the core structural problems at the root of conflicts especially when Europe's allies in the Middle East are implicated. Hence by emphasizing only the security side, the Union fails to dedicate the required resources to the political dynamics behind the emergence of armed groups and terrorist organizations. There is no potential resolution to the rise of ISIS without resolving the civil war in Syria or the chaos in Libya. The EU needs to take a tougher stand towards its allies that are involved either directly in these conflicts or indirectly through proxy wars. Challenging regional allies by asking them to respect international agreements and questioning their doubtful methods are two requirements if the EU wants to address terrorism efficiently (ECFR, 2016). For instance, in Libya, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt have been fighting a proxy war through their local champion and ignoring the international weapon embargo. In Syria, Russia has been the major ally of the Bashar al Assad regime despite its use of chemical weapons against the civilian population, and in Yemen, the Saudi-led coalition has been bombing the country including schools and hospitals to counter the Houthis, themselves the proxy instrument of Iran. The unwillingness of member states to use European influence to de-escalate conflict by stopping this regional

meddling has allowed terrorist organizations like Al Qaeda, ISIS, and Al Shabab to expand, recruit and train more fighters.

*c) Focusing more on combating than preventing terrorism and the rise of Islamophobia*

One of the biggest failures of the EU Counter-Terrorism strategy has been the general prevention of terrorism. Hence the policy focuses more on combating terrorism than preventing it. As explained in the DOC report, “while European authorities have developed strong legal tools to stop those men identified as threats before they act, there have been few concerted efforts to prevent such men from becoming threats in the first place”. EU institutions and decision-makers have failed to understand the complexity of the process of radicalization as they only consider terrorism as a crime and not the product of “complex personal, societal, psychological, economic and ideological factors” (Abdelsamad, 2018). Hence the Union is criticized for only addressing the symptoms rather than looking at the causes. Given the inability and unwillingness of states to cooperate combined with a policy mostly crisis-driven, the short-sighted declarations and measures following every attack will not be efficient in countering terrorism.

To understand the extent of how terrorism can be a complex issue to target with policies we will describe the comparison that the DOC report does between drug trafficking and terrorism. Thus combatting drug trafficking is focused on one tangible thing, the drugs, whereas terrorism is based on ideas, which cannot be fought with arms and borders. Focusing on the security aspect, the financing factor, and the travels of foreign fighters can help us track the terrorists before they commit crimes, but only after they are radicalized. Moreover, drug users are not the subject of propaganda, brainwashing, and manipulation like radicalized individuals are. Their “ideas cannot be detected and certainly not confiscated” like drugs can be (Abdelsamad, 2018). The Union needs to focus less on military counterterrorism and more on building public awareness to respond to the threat of home-grown terrorism.

Lastly, the European Union is currently the subject of a vicious circle between terrorism, islamophobia, populism, and radicalization. Since the eruption of conflicts in the Middle East and the emergence of chaos facilitating the growth of terrorist organizations, there has been an amalgam between the rise of immigration and terrorist attacks used by far-right parties to gain followers. The rise of extreme-right discourses as an unjustified response to immigration raises questions about the future of democracy in Europe and how populism and the often-subsequent islamophobia can lead to radicalization.



Political parties such as “Rassemblement Populaire” in France or “Alternative Für Deutschland” in Germany are characterized by xenophobic, anti-European, anti-immigration, and openly fascist programs that incite hate speech. Since 2015 there has been a 41% increase in crimes relating to religious and racial motives in Europe with the rejection of Muslim communities in most European countries especially in Hungary with a rate of 72% (Ortega, 2020). The rise of islamophobia and the unjustified rejection of Muslim communities based on prejudices and false accusations lead to more radicalization as marginalized individuals may be incited to “embrace violent extremism as a vehicle for advancing their goals” as stated previously in this essay (Abdelsamad, 2018).

## **Conclusion**

In this essay, we analyze the power of the European Union when it comes to the threat of terrorism. Hence, we explained the concept of terrorism, the patterns, and trends of attacks such as the emergence of lone wolves and the threat of internet propaganda. We then outlined the measures that have already been taken with the European Agenda on Security in 2015 and the new action plan based on the four pillars, Anticipate, Prevent, Protect and Respond for the next five years. Hence tackling terrorism is difficult as it needs to encompass all aspects of extremism and illegal activities, ranging from financing, border control, arms trade, control over social media, and the radicalization threat in European societies. Although many instruments and measures have been created at the European level, member states remain unwilling to fully cooperate on these issues due to mistrust and national sovereignty. The limitations in democratic legitimacy, effectiveness, and the refusal to act against regional allies worsen the condition and prevent the EU from implementing a long-term strategy able to address both the symptoms and the root causes of terrorism. The focus put on security issues and military resources hinder European policy as it lacks the means needed to counter the home-grown radicalization that has been happening since the emergence of ISIS as an international leader in terrorism.

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