

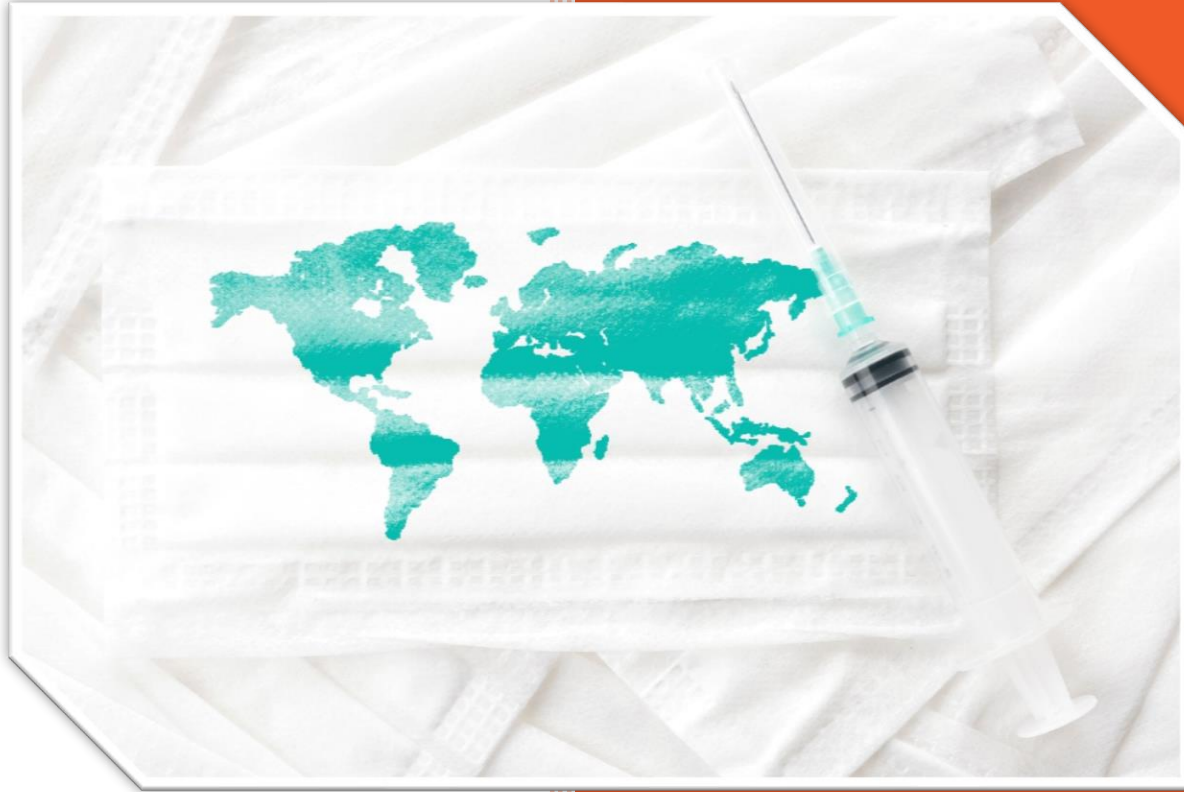
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Expectations from the World After the Pandemic



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EXPECTATIONS FROM THE WORLD AFTER THE PANDEMIC

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ABSTRACT

COVID-19 has profoundly affected the orderliness, priorities, and practices of individuals, societies, the public, and the international system. The working styles of individuals have changed, while home/remote working models have become widespread worldwide, especially for white-collar workers, and occupational health and safety issues have gained importance for individuals. The measures taken to protect the health of those living within societies brought up the dilemma of the balance between freedoms and the public interest, and changes in public administration were discussed. While the policies and practices that maintain domestic order in states and the priorities in their foreign policies have changed; thus, it has been observed that what is expected from states has increased during the pandemic. It seems inevitable that these expectations will bring a change in the practices of states both toward their citizens domestically and in their relations with other states abroad after the pandemic. It is expected from the post-pandemic world that security concerns will outweigh expectations of freedom, increase state intervention in individuals' social and business lives and public policies, and put more emphasis on the concept of state sovereignty. Of course, the pandemic has not only affected individuals and the internal and external working mechanisms of the state but has also deeply shaken the system in which the main international actors interact with each other. In this study, the effects of the pandemic at the level of the individual, the state, and the system, and the expectations for the future created by these effects are discussed.

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Introduction

Since March 11, 2020, when the World Health Organization declared COVID-19 as a pandemic, every aspect of individuals' lives has changed. States have had to implement decisions that deeply affect social and economic life, such as curfews, the closing of schools, shopping places, eating and drinking establishments, and hotels. While unemployment increased on the one hand, on the other hand, employees, especially white-collar workers switched to the remote working model; new legal regulations were needed on issues such as working hours and working conditions. Changes in the daily lives and working styles of individuals have inevitably brought about changes in public order. The pandemic era has been a period when the mobility of individuals was restricted, while at the same time control mechanisms were increased. Even if different applications are used, it has been possible to see digital control mechanisms under different names in each country, and the movements of individuals have been kept under increased control by the states. This, of course, has led to an increase in the freedom/security debates.

Supply chains, which deteriorated with the pandemic, affected all areas of trade and the economy, and as a result of disruptions in its sector, food could not be supplied to many parts of the world, meaning that unbalanced nutrition, nutritional disorders, and even hunger were observed. While the border gates that the

states closed to protect themselves threaten human security on a global level, they have both increased and made more visible the economic and social gap between developed and developing countries. The rate of unemployment in undeclared workers and other vulnerable groups — immigrants, women, and the young — which is higher in developing countries than in developed countries, has become more chronic, while vulnerability has increased in areas considered within the framework of human security such as health and social rights. In this context, international organizations have repeatedly underlined those issues such as decent work, occupational health and safety, and food safety should be brought to the fore, and strategic planning in these areas should be made at a global level.¹ In particular, the achievements in SDG 1: End Poverty and SDG 2: End Hunger goals, where the most progress has been seen in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), have been lost. Financial resources were used for urgent needs to the detriment of the Sustainable Development Goals. With the decrease in political support for the Sustainable Development Goals, the increase in protectionist policies that prioritize the state, control, and security, aiming to save the day, instead of the social and economic policies that shape the future with a human focus, and mechanisms to increase cooperation at the global level have also been disrupted.

The pandemic not only affected individuals and the internal working mechanisms of the state but also deeply shook the system in which the main actors on the international stage interact with each other. As of March

¹ *Impact of COVID-19 on People's Livelihoods, Their Health and Our Food Systems-Joint Statement by ILO, FAO, IFAD and WHO*, World Health Organization, 13 October 2020, [https://www.who.int/news/item/13-10-2020-impact-of-COVID-](https://www.who.int/news/item/13-10-2020-impact-of-COVID-19-on-people's-livelihoods-their-health-and-our-food-systems)

[19-on-people's-livelihoods-their-health-and-our-food-systems](https://www.who.int/news/item/13-10-2020-impact-of-COVID-19-on-people's-livelihoods-their-health-and-our-food-systems) (Accessed 23 August 2021).

2020, the world has transformed from the world we knew, and both the main players in international relations and the defining features of the system have entered a process of change. During this period, international organizations could not fulfill what was expected of them, and states turned inward on themselves instead of seeking international cooperation. In addition to these, issues such as the securitization of COVID-19 at the international level, and the system allowing authoritarianism to ensure health security, along with the closure of solidarity channels, have emerged as issues that have been discussed in the international arena and will continue to be discussed for a long period of time. Despite the uncertainties as to when the pandemic will end and its aftermath, this article includes some preliminary assessments of how the world can be shaped at three levels - individual, state/public, and the international system - with the clues already conveyed to us by the pandemic.

Social and Economic Effects of the Pandemic on Individuals

Studies conducted by organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Labor Organization (ILO) show that poverty, women's unemployment and the burden on women have increased,

while the number of students deprived of education has increased, and 55% of the world's population have been deprived of social protection mechanisms. They show that the economic, social, and health security of immigrants and more than one billion people living in shanty-style settlements have been severely affected.² In the same studies, 1.6 billion unregistered workers lost their jobs,³ a 20% decrease in remittances sent home by diaspora workers,⁴ severe decreases in commodity prices, an increase in food insecurity, and negative effects on tourism were pointed out. According to the October 2020 *World Economic Outlook* published by the IMF, the world economy contracted by 3.5%.⁵ For the first time since the Great Depression, there has been a simultaneous decrease in the Gross Domestic Product per capita of countries at the global level. In these shrinking economies, it has become very important for states to reach a maximum level of information about their citizens, in order to be able to distribute the support expected from states quickly and effectively. However, it has also been understood how necessary the level of digitalization and real-time data tracking is in order for the social support mechanisms of the states to be strong.⁶ Studies indicate that governments in developing or low-income countries faced great difficulties even before the pandemic, that they lacked the mechanisms

² Brief #2: Putting the UN Framework for Socio-Economic Response to COVID-19 into Action: Insights, United Nations, June 2020, p. 3, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Brief2-COVID-19-final-June2020.pdf> (Accessed 23 August 2021).

³ ILO: As Job Losses Escalate, Nearly Half of Global Workforce at Risk of Losing Livelihoods, ILO, 29 April 2020, https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_743036/lang--en/index.htm (Accessed 23 August 2021).

⁴ World Bank Predicts Sharpest Decline of Remittances in Recent History, World Bank, 22 April 2020,

<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2020/04/22/world-bank-predicts-sharpest-decline-of-remittances-in-recent-history> (Accessed 23 August 2021).

⁵ *World Economic Outlook, October 2020: A Long and Difficult Ascent*, IMF, October 2020, <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/Issues/2020/09/30/world-economic-outlook-october-2020> (Accessed 23 August 2021).

⁶ Eduardo Levy Yeyati and Federico Filippini, "Social and Economic Impact of COVID-19", *Brooking Global Working Paper*, 158, June 2021 p. 14 <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Social-and-economic-impact-COVID.pdf> (Accessed 23 August 2021).

to respond to the crises that came with the pandemic, and that producing the necessary amount of vaccines may not happen until the middle of 2022⁷, show us how deep the gap between developed and developing countries is. At the same time, extreme poverty has been seen to increase for the first time in the last 20 years, and it is estimated that 150 million people will be considered extremely poor in 2021.⁸

One of the greatest effects of the pandemic on individuals has been in the field of education. Although different policies have been observed in different states, the education of children and young people has been disrupted with the closure of schools. In the field of education, the difference between countries with strong social policies and countries with weak social policies has been clearly visible. The disruption of education not only means the disruption of learning activities. At the same time, it has caused the children of low-income families to be deprived of the nutritional opportunities that they benefit from when at school. In addition, the inability of children to be sent to schools and nurseries has increased women's labor in the home, and it has increased the burden of childcare, education and elderly care being undertaken mostly by women. In addition to all these, the curfews and lockdown policies implemented during the pandemic have increased

domestic violence, and the physical, emotional, and sexual harassment of women and children has been more common during this period. Long periods of time in quarantine have meant that vulnerable people stay under the same roof with the abuser longer, suffer more abuse; and access to help mechanisms has become more difficult.⁹

Young people, especially young women, were more likely to be unemployed during the pandemic and could not find new jobs. According to the studies conducted in EU-27 countries, fewer than 170,000 new jobs were found by women within this period, while this number reached 440,000 for men. Looking at immigrant women with low education levels, it was seen that the rate of finding a job decreased even more.¹⁰ In Turkey, studies carried out by the ILO have shown that women have been more affected by unemployment. In the second wave of COVID-19, while women faced a 38.5% decrease in working hours, this rate stood at 32.5% for men.¹¹ Similar results to the EU-27 data were obtained in data on immigrants. It has been observed that immigrants, young people, and unemployed people who are not included in the education system constitute disadvantaged socio-economic groups, and the education level of women is an important factor in their employability.¹²

⁷ Anna Josephson et. al., "Socioeconomic Impacts of COVID-19 in Low-income Countries", *Nature Human Behaviour*, Volume 5, May 2021, p. 562.

⁸ *World Bank Group's Operational Response to COVID-19 (Coronavirus)-Projects List*, World Bank, 1 July 2021, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/about/what-we-do/brief/world-bank-group-operational-response-COVID-19-coronavirus-projects-list> (Accessed 23 August 2021).

⁹ Maria Nicola et. al., "The Socio-economic Implications of the Coronavirus Pandemic (COVID-19): A Review", *International Journal of Surgery*, Volume 78, 2020, p. 190.

¹⁰ *Gender Equality and the Socio-economic Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic*, European Institute for Gender Equality, 26 May 2021, <https://eige.europa.eu/publications/gender-equality-and-socio-economic-impact-COVID-19-pandemic> (Accessed 23 August 2021).

¹¹ *Impact of Second Wave COVID-19 Measures on Employment in Turkey*, ILO Turkey, March 2021, https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---ilo-ankara/documents/publication/wcms_775756.pdf (Accessed 23 August 2021).

¹² *Youth and COVID-19: Access to Decent Jobs Amid the Pandemic*, ILO, 2021,

Another issue in employment has been an increase in the practice of working from home. In particular, white-collar employees have started to work remotely with the implementation of curfews. In EU countries, 24% of those who had never worked from home before, and 56% of those who had worked from home occasionally before have started working remotely.¹³ While the practice of working from home/remote was more attractive to people before the pandemic, many problems such as the increase in working hours, the inability to maintain the balance between home and work life, increasing expenses in the home, the inconvenience of home life for conducting business, and the excess number of people living at home have all brought great difficulties for the employees. For example, when meetings that cannot be held outside of working hours are held online, they began to be held in the evening hours or very early in the morning, causing employees to be unable to move away from their computers. In addition, it is a known fact that some workplaces cut salaries when instituting remote working, and they aggravated their employees with practices such as unpaid leave. With the declaration of the pandemic, the ILO prepared a guide for companies that were trying to adapt to remote working practices in an unprepared and somewhat heedless way, drawing attention to the importance of focusing on issues such as occupational health and safety, communication, digitalization in education, performance management, and the regulation of working hours and work

organization.¹⁴ It is of great importance in this process to ensure that employees who cannot switch to remote or working from home models are not victimized and to ensure social and income justice. It has been agreed that states should take such issues into account when evaluating their social policies after the pandemic and that their public policies should be restructured within this framework.

Impact of the Pandemic on Public Order

With the declaration of the pandemic, expectations placed on both central and local governments have changed. In addition to the healthcare system and policies to prevent the spread of the disease, it has been observed that expectations regarding social assistance and solidarity have increased. The pressure on the health system and the measures taken to prevent the spread of the disease among people have inflamed discussions on the freedom/security dilemma. Although the applications that are used to control human mobility differ from country to country, there has been much debate about how much information the states should have about the movements of their citizens in each country and the negative effects of these practices on people's freedoms.

Health security, which is considered within the realms of human security, also includes access to basic health services and treatment, in order to protect people from diseases.¹⁵ In this context, states have started to implement policies restricting people's movements,

https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---ilo-ankara/documents/publication/wcms_771425.pdf (Accessed 23 August 2021).

¹³ *Remote Working Practice Guidelines in and After the COVID-19 Environment*, ILO, July 2020, p. 3 https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---ilo-ankara/documents/publication/wcms_759299.pdf (Accessed 23 August 2021).

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Yahya Alameşe, "COVID 19 Pandemic and Human Security", *Istanbul Kent University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Volume 2, No 1, 2021 p. 38.

brought in by both central and local governments, and they have immediately taken measures such as curfews. What should be the legal basis for the implementation of the curfews, who can penalize those who do not comply with the curfews, or whether they can be penalized at all have been the most talked about issues in this period. For example, after a citizen who was sentenced to an administrative fine for not complying with the curfew in Adana in February 2021 applied to the court, the court decided to quash the administrative fine because the prohibitions were not determined by law.¹⁶ While questioning the measures taken by governments based on the principle that the rights and freedoms of individuals can only be restricted by laws, the question of whether fundamental rights and freedoms such as the right to public health and preventing the spread of contagious disease can be waived for the public benefit will continue to be discussed after the pandemic as well.

In addition, increases in surveillance mechanisms have been observed with the curfews. For example, the codes that are required to be submitted while using public transportation and entering public institutions and shopping centers are likely to ensure the continuation of surveillance mechanisms, even after the curfews are lifted. While the aim is to protect the health of individuals, on the one hand, it is now widely and fiercely debated that the persistence of such practices will restrict the freedoms of individuals. For example, the

reports published by *Freedom House* in 2020 underline the fact that internet access is now indispensable for education, health, trade, politics, and socialization, while freedoms are restricted worldwide due to the pandemic. In these reports, it is stated that biometric surveillance is increased by using the data collected through digitalization and that the data collected is used by governments and private companies in a way that affects the economic, political, and cultural rights of individuals.¹⁷

States have also taken a more interventionist attitude to the economy, and it has emerged as an undeniable fact that the presence of the state is more visible in areas previously left to the private sector. At the end of the period of long-term curfews and lockdowns, both small and medium-sized enterprises and large companies needed state support, which highlighted a systemic balance that shifted from the market to the state in the economic order. In order to cover the financial support expected from the states, it is necessary to increase their revenues. In this framework, for example, the G7 countries have agreed to increase taxes, especially corporate taxes paid by large multinational companies.¹⁸

As mentioned above, vulnerable groups have been most economically affected in the pandemic, and income inequality and social inequality have been very evident in societies. Growth in unemployment and poverty with the pandemic has increased the need for social protection.¹⁹

¹⁶ T.R. Adana 5th Criminal Court of Peace, Amended Job No: 2021/1183 D.

¹⁷ Adrian Shahbaz and Allie Funk, "Freedom on the Net 2020: The Pandemic's Digital Shadow", *Freedom House*, 2020, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-net/2020/pandemics-digital-shadow> (Accessed 23 August 2021).

¹⁸ "G7 Countries Agree to Pay at least 15% Tax for Multinational Companies", *Independent Turkish*, 7 June 2021,

<https://www.indyturk.com/node/370216/ekonomi%CC%87/g7-%C3%BClkeleri-%C3%A7ok-uluslu-%C5%9Firketlerin-en-az-y%C3%BCzde-15-vergi-%C3%B6demesinde-anla%C5%9Ft%C4%B1> (Accessed 23 August 2021).

¹⁹ Ergün Demir, "Social Security and Health Financing in the Pandemic", *Istanbul Medical Chamber*, February 2021 <https://www.istabip.org.tr/6430-pandemi-surecinde-sosyal->

In this context, it is obvious that states should attach more importance to social policies and direct their investments at both central and local levels to support social policies. However, with the pandemic, financial discrepancies within the public have deteriorated, economies have shrunk, tax revenues have decreased due to the postponement of public receivables, there has been a decrease in both economic activity and consumption expenditures.²⁰ Therefore, what has emerged as an important problem is where to obtain the necessary financing for individuals and society to provide for the social policies expected from the states. In this context, increasing corporate taxation has been a very important step for the states, and an agreement was reached on the implementation of a minimum tax rate at the 2021 G20 meeting in Rome. However, the opposition of countries such as Ireland, which kept corporate taxes low and increased foreign direct investments within their borders and thus managed to create employment, made this decision difficult.

In this period, it was observed that discussions on universal basic income also increased. Although basic income is a subject that has been studied for many years, the pandemic has made the need for this subject even more visible. When it comes to universal basic income,

what is meant is that payments are made to individuals and are in equal amounts for everyone, that the payments are not based on any conditions and that they are regular, that they are non-retractable, and non-refundable.²¹ Thus, it is argued that social justice can be achieved and inequalities will be eliminated.²² In addition, it is thought that such an application will improve income distribution and enable society to better evaluate the potential of acquiring knowledge and skills.²³ Of course, there are those who oppose such payments because they consider that they will push people into laziness, encourage unemployment, are too costly, and will harm the economy.²⁴

Another controversial issue is the systems by which citizens are "scored". These systems, which are based on the fact that citizens have a citizenship score based on the behaviors and attitudes they display, and that they can benefit from the opportunities offered by the state according to these scores,²⁵ bring about a high level of surveillance and give weight to security in the freedom/security equation. This scoring system, which was started to be implemented in China, has generated debate around the world, along with the discussions on who should benefit from the limited opportunities during the pandemic. An example of applying points to citizens

guvenlik-ve-sagligin-finansmani-ergun-demir.html (Accessed 23 August 2021).

²⁰ Numan Emre Ergin, "Pandemic, fiscal policy and tax peace", *Dünya Gazetesi*, 6 July 2020, <https://www.dunya.com/kose-yazisi/pandemi-maliye-politikasi-ve-vergi-barisi/474398> (Accessed 23 August 2021).

²¹ Hikmet Gülçin Beken, "(Universal) Basic Income Debates in the 21st Century", *Marmara Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi*, Volume 42, No 2, December 2020, p. 182.

²² Philippe Van Parijs, "A Basic Income for All", *Boston Review*, October/November 2000, <https://www.bostonreview.net/forum/ubi-van-parijs> (Accessed 23 August 2021).

²³ M. Mustafa Erdoğan and Sevdâ Akar, "Unconditional Basic Income in the Framework of the Fourth Industrial Revolution: An Evaluation for Turkey", *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi İİBF Dergisi*, Volume 15, No 3, 2020, p. 918.

²⁴ Ezgi Şeçkiner Bingöl, "The Post-COVID-19 Pandemic Universal Basic Income Debate: Is It Time?" *TESEV Evaluation Notes*, No 5, 2020 https://www.tesev.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/TESEV_Degerlendirme_Notlari_2020_05_Ezgi_Seckiner_Bingol.pdf (Accessed 23 August 2021).

²⁵ Neslihan Topçu, "Is Orwell's 1984 Real in China? Past, Present and Future of the Social Credit System", *İnsan ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Volume 3, No 2, 2020, p. 686.

using different applications, and enabling them to benefit from local or central government services has been seen in Turkey. A project initiated by Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality in 2021 encourages citizens to participate in local electronic voting, express their demands and wishes electronically, and participate in surveys. Citizens who are included in this system are awarded points and they are able to use these points while benefiting from different services.²⁶ Although it is argued that such applications increase digitalization and bring local government and the citizens closer, there are question marks over the data to be obtained via mobile phones with this application. Contactless processes and digitalization in the relations of states with their citizens have increased with the pandemic, and are expected to continue after the pandemic. Although this is important in terms of enabling public institutions and citizens to meet more easily by removing bureaucratic obstacles, questions that fundamentally affect the rights and freedoms of individuals, such as how to ensure the security of the data collected through electronic government applications, with whom this data will be shared, and by which institutions and for what purposes, still remain unanswered.

Effects of the Pandemic on the International System

The pandemic has had a transformative effect on the international system at the global level, similar to the global security crisis that came about with the September 11 attacks, and the economic crisis in 2008.

Along with the COVID-19 crisis, various trends that determine the relations between the main actors on the international stage at the system level, as well as being reflected at the individual and state levels, have emerged or become dominant.

Among the determining trends within the international system after the pandemic, we see that first of all, health insecurity has become the main global problem. Although threats to the liberal economic structure and problems such as climate change continue to dominate on a global level, our worldwide desperation in the face of COVID-19 has enabled us to use dramatic and problem-prioritizing security language against this threat. As of October 2021, almost two hundred and fifty million people worldwide have been infected with COVID-19, and five million have died. It has been seen that the nation-states fighting this virus have taken the problem out of the normal political sphere, making it a security issue, and securitizing COVID-19 at the macro level, while struggling with the contagion capacity of the pandemic.

The pandemic has been securitized by the rhetoric of 'war'. The virus has been described as the 'enemy', and the medics as the 'heroes' fighting this enemy. For example, French President Macron declared on March 16, 2020, "We are at war, it is definitely a health war. ... We are not fighting against an army or any other country, but the enemy is there, invisible, elusive, and advancing," as he laid the groundwork for extraordinary measures to be

²⁶ "Smart City Cooperation between Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality and Koç Sistem", *Anadolu Agency* 14 April 2021 <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/gaziantep-buyuksehir-belediyesi-ile-kocsistemden-akilli-sehir-is-birligi/2208727>

(Accessed 23 August 2021).

taken.²⁷ Similarly, Italian Foreign Minister Luigi Di Maio also stated that Italy is at war.²⁸ Ultimately, reactions to COVID-19 indicate that the traditional issues on the security agenda can never be prioritized, viruses can create systemic security problems that can threaten the existence of all humanity, and ultimately, as stated in the preamble of the World Health Organization Constitution, “the health of all people is essential for ensuring peace and security”. The virus has given us a substantial lesson about our helplessness in the face of these problems.

As a result of the securitization of the pandemic at the macro level, the authoritarianism of states by instrumentalizing the pandemic has been added to the main orientations of the international system after the pandemic. This authoritarianism, whose effect was emphasized at the individual level in the previous section, and the tendency to use military elements in the face of civil problems, has the capacity to affect relations between states and global policies.

Along with the COVID-19 epidemic, there have been developments that we have all witnessed, in which extraordinary measures taken by securitization in the field of health have been legitimized almost all over the world. First of all, the assignment of armies worldwide to combat the ‘COVID-19 threat’ was an extraordinary measure taken as a result of the security discourses.

Across the world, from Germany to Malaysia, armies have been deployed in cities to carry out actions beyond their traditional duties, monitor quarantine practices, and provide people with essential supplies. For example, photographs of soldiers patrolling the empty streets of Paris during the first months of the quarantine, to monitor the implementation of the measures, were widely covered in the media. In April 2020, a 1000-strong military unit was deployed to New York, and this unit especially supported the transformation of the Javits Center into a 3000-bed health center.²⁹ In addition, US President Trump, in response to a request from the Governor of New York State, approved the use of two naval ships as hospitals.³⁰ As a result of the securitization of the pandemic, when military elements assumed different roles, especially in the fields of medical support and logistics, it was observed that NATO carried out different tasks in the fight against the pandemic, especially in Europe. For example, Spain and Italy’s request for assistance by applying to NATO’s Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Center received an immediate response from other member states due to the solidarity within the Alliance.

As a second example of the extraordinary measures taken as a result of the COVID-19 security discourse, the empowerment of authoritarian regimes with

²⁷ “Coronavirus: ‘We are at War’ - Macron”, *BBC*, 16 March 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/51917380/coronavirus-we-are-at-war-macron> (Accessed 25 December 2020).

²⁸ Orlandi, Giorgia and Mark Armstrong, “COVID-19 Crisis is an ‘Enormous Responsibility’ for the EU, Italy’s Luigi Di Maio Tells Euronews”, *Euronews*, 30 March 2020, <https://www.euronews.com/2020/03/27/italy-is-at-war-with-a-virus-the-country-s-health-minister-tells-uronews> (Accessed 25 December 2020).

²⁹ Newburger, Emma, “Trump Says 1,000 Military Personnel Deploying to New York City, Warns Coming Week Toughest yet

in Coronavirus Fight”, *CNBC*, 4 April 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/04/04/trump-says-1000-military-personnel-are-deploying-to-new-york-city-to-fight-coronavirus.html> (Accessed 25 December 2020).

³⁰ Vasquez, Maegan, Ryan Browne and Paul LeBlanc, “Trump Approves New York Request to Treat Coronavirus Patients on Navy Hospital Ship”, *CNN*, 6 April 2020, <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/04/06/politics/navy-hospital-ship-comfort-coronavirus-patients/index.html>. (Accessed 25 December 2020).

extraordinary powers can be offered. For example, the Hungarian Parliament's authorization of Prime Minister Viktor Orban to rule the country with decrees during the epidemic, the declaration of a 'state of emergency in many parts of the world, or the closure of borders showed us how the state can use its powers over the nation. This situation once again reminded us of Carl Schmitt's thoughts on sovereignty, and that the sovereign is the figure who establishes authority and decides on exceptional situations.³¹ The fact that the people who want to defeat the pandemic had to give consent to this dominant figure, appeared as a natural outcome of this macro-securitization.³²

In parallel with their authoritarian tendencies, states closed their borders and turned inwards. As a result of states' resorting to self-help, the basic realist principle of International Relations, that is, taking care of yourself, the damage to the basic working mechanisms of the global interdependence and liberal order has emerged as a third systemic trend that will affect the future. In March 2020, especially with the designation of COVID-19 as a pandemic, restrictions on international trade, economic activities, and global mobility, in general, give us important signals about the post-pandemic international system. For example, in an article published in The

Lancet, it was stated that more than 80 countries started to apply export restrictions on April 24, 2020, which caused a decrease in product supply, firstly in China and then in many other countries. Importing countries, for example, hindered trade by imposing customs duties on medical equipment and masks. Especially countries such as Armenia, Brazil, and Colombia, which are dependent on imports of health products, have been severely affected by this situation.³³ Within the framework of this and similar data, the Director-General of the World Trade Organization (WTO) Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala called for a reduction in trade barriers, especially the unhindered circulation of medical supplies and vaccines, at the United Nations Forum in June 2021.³⁴

According to a report published by the WTO in March 2021, the number of tourists decreased by 74% in 2020 compared to 2019, while global passenger traffic in the aviation sector decreased by 60%.³⁵ According to the World Trade Statistical Review 2021 data published by the WTO, the total world trade in goods and services, calculated as \$22 trillion in 2020, declined by 12% compared to 2019.³⁶ A similar level was observed only after the 2008 financial crisis. Although the WTO predicts that the volume of world trade will increase by 10.8% in 2021 and 4.7% in 2022,³⁷ developments in the

³¹ Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology. Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1985, p. 5.

³² The above sections on the securitization of the epidemic and authoritarianism are taken from: Sinem Akgül-Açıkmeşe, "COVID-19 and Securitization", Zeynep Alemdar and Burcu Özdemir Sarıgil (eds.), *Women, World Politics and Turkey in 2020*, Women in Foreign Policy, December 2020, <http://wfp14.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/DPK-2020-Almanak-1.pdf> (Accessed 27 October 2021).

³³ Pepita Barlow, et al., "COVID-19 and the Collapse of Global Trade: Building An Effective Public Health Response", *The Lancet*, Volume 5, No 2, 2021, p. e102-e103.

³⁴ "WTO Head Says Pandemic Related Trade Barriers are Rising", Reuters, 14 June 2021,

<https://www.reuters.com/business/healthcare-pharmaceuticals/wto-head-hopes-deal-by-july-vaccine-sharing-2021-06-14/> (Accessed 28 October 2021).

³⁵ *How COVID-19 is Changing the World: A Statistical Perspective: Volume III*, World Trade Organization, 2021, https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/COVID19_e/ccsa_publication_vol3_e.pdf (Accessed 27 October 2021).

³⁶ *World Trade Statistical Review 2021*, World Trade Organization, 2021, https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/wts2021_e/wts2021chapter02_e.pdf (Accessed: 27 October 2021).

³⁷ Ibid.

service industry will be limited due to quarantine/trade restrictions, and the purchasing capacities of the less developed countries are required to reach pre-pandemic levels of world trade. It is clear that global inequalities will become more evident in the near future due to another trend caused by the pandemic.

When we look at the issue in terms of inequalities of access to vaccines, we see that the pandemic has a long way to go, considering that only 3.07% of people in underdeveloped countries compared to 60.18% of people living in developed countries were vaccinated as of September 15, 2021, according to Global Dashboard for Vaccine Equity data. Examples of vaccination rates in low-income countries are 0.09% single-dose vaccination in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 1.15% in Papua New Guinea, and 20.45% in Venezuela.³⁸ According to data released by UNICEF on October 27, 2021, G-20 members received 15 times more COVID-19 vaccines than sub-Saharan African countries.³⁹ In other words, the pandemic has clearly exposed the rich North-fragile South divide. Although aid consisting of 1.3 billion additional doses is committed to underdeveloped countries under the Covax⁴⁰ mechanism, the allocation of only 356 million doses to Covax⁴¹ as of October 2021 is

an indication that international cooperation and even global governance mechanisms are insufficient.⁴²

As a result of states' introversion and taking care of themselves, the decrease in belief in the potential of global cooperation, and the failure of international organizations has been another trend we have observed at the system level, during the pandemic. As intergovernmental organizations have produced late and inadequate policies in the face of the pandemic, the majority of member states have started to take their own territorial measures on health governance issues such as vaccine and medical equipment procurement and quarantine policies.⁴³

For example, the short-sightedness and helplessness of the World Health Organization (WHO), which has been struggling with the Ebola epidemic for years, has been one of the most important lessons we have learned in the pandemic. Before the pandemic, calls were made for administrative reform of the WHO, which had only supervisory and advisory functions, and it was recommended to appeal for higher financial contributions from member countries to this organization, whose budget has been on the decline since 1980.⁴⁴ The weakness of the United Nations, which

38 *COVID vaccines: Widening Inequality and Millions Vulnerable*, United Nations, 19 September 2021, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/09/1100192> (Accessed 28 October 2021).

39 G20 Members Have Received 15 Times More COVID-19 Vaccine Doses Per Capita Than Sub-Saharan African Countries, UNICEF, 27 October 2021, <https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/g20-members-have-received-15-times-more-COVID-19-vaccine-doses-capita-sub-saharan> (Accessed 28 October 2021).

40 Global plan for fair sharing of COVID-19 vaccines.

41 Ibid.

42 Covax is an international cooperation platform supported by the World Health Organization, which was established to ensure

access to vaccines, especially in underdeveloped countries, right after the pandemic.

43 For a general assessment and detailed information about the policies of international organizations against the pandemic, see. Dilaver Arıkan Açar, "Global Governance and the COVID-19 Pandemic", *Global Academy Policy Notes*, 2020, http://www.uikglobalacademy.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/AACAR_UluslararasıYonetisim_v.1.pdf (Accessed 27 October 2021).

44 Charles Kenny, "Want to Prevent the Next pandemic? We'll need a More Powerful World Health Organization", *Los Angeles Times*, 2 May 2021, <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2021-05-02/world-health-organization-next-pandemic> (Accessed 27 October 2021).

includes the WHO in its general mechanism, against the pandemic has once again revealed how dysfunctional this organization is in the event of a global macro-level crisis. The UN Security Council resolution stating that the pandemic was a security crisis and announcing a global ceasefire was made only on 1 July 2020.⁴⁵ Similarly, the European Union was caught unprepared for this crisis, and this organization, which claimed to be integrated, could not respond to the medical assistance request of its member Italy, and could not operate the principle of solidarity declared in the founding treaty in the first place. Countless meetings held during the pandemic, insufficient funding mechanisms, and campaigns for Covax have been seen as a drop in the ocean. In fact, the EU, which generally opposes the WTO's proposals for the abolition of intellectual property rights on vaccines, could have paved the way for large-scale vaccine production around the world but allowed this important opportunity for humanity to be missed.⁴⁶ As a result, this new crisis of the multilateral structure experienced at the global level has confronted international organizations with the question of legitimacy.⁴⁷

Conclusion

The pandemic has turned everything we know and the order we are used to at the level of the individual, the state, and the system upside down. After the world almost came to a standstill in March 2020, we should expect to experience differences in the post-pandemic period, even as we slowly start to return to our old habits

at all levels. The prolongation of the pandemic and the inability to predict when it will end causes us to think even more about the uncertainties of the post-pandemic world. In this article, we have discussed what has happened at three different levels - the individual, public/state, and international system - and gathered under the same three main headings from the individual to the systemic what can be expected about the future from the clues we have.

With COVID-19, the main focus of individuals, the public, and the international system have been the issue of freedom/security. We have passed through a period that has fundamentally shaken the working lives of individuals. Above all, the unemployment of informal workers, and the issue of social and health security among registered workers have been widely discussed, while national and international non-governmental organizations and international organizations have tried to keep them on the agenda and find solutions. The effects of such issues on the social and economic status of individuals, as well as their psychological and sociological effects, have been noted.

The disruption of the liberal market economy, the inability of individuals to find jobs in the private sector, the closure of workplaces in the event of insufficient support, the difficulties experienced in the realization of all kinds of economic activities, and the increasing needs have amplified what is expected from the states both at the local and central level. This has inflamed the debate

⁴⁵ Açar, "Global Governance and the COVID-19 Pandemic".

⁴⁶ *It's Time EU Leaders Ensure COVID-19 Vaccine Equality*, EURACTIV, 27 October 2021, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/health-consumers/opinion/its-time-eu-leaders-ensure-covid-19-vaccine-equity/> (Accessed 26 October 2021).

⁴⁷ Steven Van Hecke, Harald Fuhr and Wouter Wolfs, "The Politics of Crisis Management by Regional and International Organizations in Fighting against a Global Pandemic: the Member States at a Crossroads", *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Volume 87, No 3, 2021, p. 672-690.

on the social state. In particular, the differences between the social services that developed countries can offer and those of developing countries have shown how large the gap between countries is. In addition to the problems in working life and increasing unemployment, disadvantaged and vulnerable groups in the field of education have suffered more. In addition to the disruption to education, the fact is that it is not possible for every student to access online education, and even the nutrition needs of students have been disturbed. Since schools in developing countries function as institutions that provide regular meals for many students, these opportunities have disappeared with the closure of schools. Issues such as a decrease in the schooling rate, the marriage of girls at a young age, and the increase in child labor have come to the fore as issues that should not be overlooked. The increase in domestic violence, the allocation of health budgets to COVID-19, and the reduction in budgets that allow vulnerable groups such as immigrants and women to benefit from the health system, have brought about an inability to prevent unwanted pregnancies and the disappearance of early diagnosis opportunities. All these issues were discussed in this paper, and it was acknowledged that states should take an active role in these issues.

As expectations from the states grew, their intervention in the social and economic lives of individuals at the local and central levels also increased. Although these interventions were deemed necessary under pandemic conditions and were accepted by the people, in the freedom/security dilemma, there are fears that security-oriented policies are to persist after the pandemic. Especially with the increase in digitalization, states giving special codes to each individual to prevent the

spread of the virus, and the possibility of monitoring the movements of individuals even after the pandemic, thanks to these codes, will be very restrictive for the freedom of individuals.

When we think at the system level, the second systemic shock in the 21st century has been faced, with the pandemic crisis following the global terrorism crisis created by the September 11 attacks. In the light of all the indicators, it is possible to say that the role of these events in the system will be questioned more and the need for reform will be emphasized more heavily in the coming period, as international organizations, which are among the main actors of the system, could not take responsibility and became dysfunctional during the pandemic. On the other hand, there are intense discussions that state that is considered the main actors on the international stage and that "shut themselves in their castles" during the pandemic will be more protective, introverted, and authoritarian. The opposing argument is that in the face of complex security problems such as global climate change, financial crises, and pandemics, states cannot ensure their survival alone and that at the end of the day, they will have to open the gates of their castles. Despite this dilemma, the globalized liberal order and the principles of interdependence have been wounded in the pandemic, and it is obvious that these wounds will not be healed in a short time. Although it cannot be seen clearly in this process what this means for global inequalities and the North-South divide, which the pandemic has revealed more clearly, the pandemic has underlined that our first security priority at the system level is to survive, and health security has once again become the main issue of humanity.



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