

## A Content Analysis of the Speeches Delivered by the President of the Republic of Türkiye at the United Nations

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### Abstract

The United Nations (UN) provides a platform for political leaders to address national and international issues. On this platform, leaders are able to present their countries' policies, strategic communication activities, and diplomatic perspectives. From this perspective, the foregoing study aims to analyze, within the framework of political and diplomatic discourse, the speeches delivered by the President of the Republic of Türkiye, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, at the UN, with a focus on the primary themes of social equality, economic development, peace and security, and justice. Within this framework, the study seeks answers to two principal questions:

- Which themes and what kinds of discourses does the President of the Republic of Türkiye, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, employ in his speeches at UN sessions?
- How does the President Erdoğan, articulate national and international interests through sub-discourses?

In this context, while the population of the study consists of political leaders' speeches at the UN, the sample comprises the speeches delivered by the President of the Republic of Türkiye, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, at the UN. The study employed a qualitative method and applied thematic analysis and content analysis. The data were analyzed using the MAXQ-DA software. The data obtained from the analyses indicate that regional and global themes of concern to the international community are foregrounded in President Erdoğan's UN speeches. The study concludes that President Erdoğan's speeches frequently employ discourses that emphasize universal and humanitarian values.

**Keywords:** Political Discourse, Diplomatic Discourse, United Nations, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, MAXQ-DA.

**JEL Codes:** D83, F5, N4

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## 1. Introduction

Political discourse is an important element of political communication, not only in terms of influencing domestic audiences but also in shaping the perceptions of external audiences. Today, political leaders attach importance to diplomatic discourse, which is closely related to political discourse, as a means of generating influence in the international arena as much as in domestic election communication. In this respect, the speeches of political leaders often function as instruments pursued to achieve particular objectives.

The UN is an important international forum where diplomatic discourse is used within the broader frame of political discourse. Describing its mission as promoting social equality, economic development, peace and security, and justice worldwide, the UN represents a platform where speeches of global significance take place. In the literature, Najarzadegan et al. (2017) analyzed the UN speeches of President of the United States Barack Obama and Iranian President Hasan Ruhani demonstrated that semantic macro-strategies and lexical choices enable politicians to represent their ideologies. The researchers concluded that the strategies Obama used included polarization, self-praise, positive self-presentation, negative-other presentation, victimization, and lexicalization. In contrast, the study showed that Rouhani's prominent strategies comprised the use of metaphors, lexicalization, ambiguity, negative-other presentation, and national self-praise (Najarzadegan et al., 2017: 772). In their study where Sharififar and Rahimi (2015) analyzed the speeches of Obama and Rouhani, the researchers found that Obama employed everyday language composed of simple words and short sentences. By contrast, the study concluded that Rouhani used more complex vocabulary and that his language was harsher and more formal (Sharififar & Rahimi, 2015: 348). Alsemeiri et al. (2024) analyzed Netanyahu's 2024 United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) speeches from an "us versus them" perspective. Their examination of Netanyahu's rhetorical strategies demonstrated that the metaphors, word choices, and binary oppositions in his speeches framed Israel as the defender of peace, democracy, and civilization (Alsemeiri et al., 2024). Batool and Riaz (2025a) analyzed the most recent speeches delivered at sessions of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Using computational tools, they examined speeches delivered from 2020 to 2024 at the UNSC by representatives of Muslim-majority countries such as Pakistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia (Batool & Riaz, 2025a: 1366). In another study, the same researchers analyzed the framing of speeches delivered at the UNSC by various prominent Pakistani leaders (Batool & Riaz, 2025b).

The foregoing study seeks, within the framework of political and diplomatic discourse, to analyze the speeches of President Erdoğan at the UN along

the thematic axes of social equality, economic development, peace and security, and justice. In this context, while the population of the study consists of political leaders' speeches at the UN, the sample comprises the speeches delivered by President Erdoğan at the UN. A total of 20 speeches delivered by President Erdoğan at the UN were included in the analysis. The study used a qualitative method and performed thematic analysis and content analysis. The data obtained were analyzed with MAXQDA. Accordingly, the study demonstrates that President Erdoğan's speeches at the UN foreground themes that concern the international community. An analysis of President Erdoğan's speeches reveals that issues of global concern, such as climate and environmental policies, international cooperation which is gaining increasing importance in the global world, the ongoing regional and global humanitarian crisis, regional peace, international law, and international equality and justice, stand out. The analysis indicates that the speeches employ political and diplomatic discourses that emphasize universal and humanitarian values.

## 2. Political and Diplomatic Discourse

Politics and discourse, which are inseparably intertwined, are among the fundamental elements of sustainable leadership. Anthony Giddens (1984) emphasizes that political interaction requires linguistic structures, and that linguistic behavior necessarily involves structures of domination and legitimation. Studies on political discourse can be traced back to Aristotle (384–322 BC). Focusing on the structural features of political speech, Aristotle (2016) argued that political discourse should be interwoven with social experience and knowledge.

Discourse, as one of the essential components of political leadership, is a concept as difficult to define as notions such as language, interaction, culture, and society. Defined in a number of ways, discourse is a term related to the use of language, public speeches, or, more generally, forms of spoken language. Fairclough (1989) states that discourse refers to all processes of social interaction of which a text is a part. From these definitions, discourse encompasses the use of speech and writing for the purpose of producing meaning. Discourse that involves language represents a system of communication. As an expression of communicative events, discourse refers to a concept of language used by people to share their ideas, beliefs, and emotions. Van Dijk identifies three concepts corresponding to discourse: language use, communication, and interaction (Van Dijk, 1997: 1-2).

Foucault (1976), who offered significant analyses of discourse, asserted that discourse, and even simply the act of speaking and using words, is in itself a form of power. Discourse also produces influence in terms of power relations. In this sense, the creation of dis-

course generates power for its producer in every society, and each discourse creates its own strategies of power and resistance (Foucault, 1976). Biopolitics refers to the way in which characteristic phenomena specific to the life processes of a population (health, sanitation/hygiene, birth rate, life expectancy, race, etc.) are rationalized in modern societies (Foucault, 2008: 317). Foucault's concept, and the concept of biopower, offer a possibility for analyzing power in a multidimensional way. Foucault (2008) analyzes the processes of subjectification that individuals undergo through various discourses, forms of knowledge production and submission, and discursive and non-discursive practices. According to Foucault, the subject(s) are produced within different understandings, categories, institutions, sciences, discourses, and disciplines. These discourses and disciplines impose a form of knowledge/power on the subject. According to Foucault, there is no doubt that biopower is an indispensable element of the development of capitalism. From the mid-18th century onwards, the controlled integration of bodies into the production apparatus and the adjustment of demographic events (birth and death rates, gender, housing issues, health levels, living conditions/duration, and all factors that may influence them) according to economic processes have been indispensable elements of capitalist development. Power is everywhere; not because it encompasses everything, but because it comes from everywhere. Power is not merely an institution (in this sense, the state), a structure (economic relations); it is not a specific force possessed by some from the outset, but rather the name given to a complex strategic situation within a given society. Foucault states that three things should be understood by "government": a new idea of power based on the transfer, alienation, or representation of the will of individuals; a state apparatus established in the 18th century; and finally, "a general technique of governing people" that constitutes "the condition for the operation of these apparatuses, the other side of the political and legal structures of representation". To the historical and singular dimensions of the concept of governmentality, to its "event" nature, are added the limits of its field of application. He is not defining any power relationship, but rather the techniques of governance that nourish the formation of the modern state. In fact, what governmentality is to the state, so too are techniques of separation to psychiatry, techniques of discipline to the penal system, and medical institutions to biopolitics. (Foucault, 2008). Chomsky (1988) likewise discusses the close relationship between language acquisition, politics, and power. Highlighting speech as a tool of interaction and participation, Chomsky argues that in political and social contexts, speech is a powerful instrument for gaining influence.

Diplomatic discourse constitutes a type of discourse associated with political discourse. The language used by UN members and experts represents a dip-

lomatic language of communication (Arakelyan & Avetyan, 2017: 3). The diplomatic language employed by diplomats and politicians for communication is not limited to verbal expressions. It also includes a range of nonverbal signs that diplomats and government representatives use to convey messages to their foreign counterparts (Carvalho, 2011: 37). Persuasion forms the cornerstone of diplomatic language, both in treaties and in negotiations (Kappeler, 2013).

Diplomatic discourse is a structure developed within the practice of diplomacy through the historical evolution of diplomacy itself (Carvalho, 2011: 46). Diplomatic discourse and practice presuppose that leaders or diplomats act to defend the interests of the governments they represent (Carvalho, 2011: 42). Diplomatic language, which encompasses diplomatic speech, is also political discourse (Srouf, 2024). Pimentel and Panke identify three fundamental components of diplomatic discourse: determination, persuasion, and deception. This form of discourse contributes to shaping public opinion while also enabling and structuring political negotiations. Diplomatic discourse, used to construct a political and diplomatic narrative, incorporates certain linguistic features and tactics manifested through argumentative and persuasive styles and rhetorical devices (Pimentel & Panke, 2020, as cited in Srouf, 2024: 22-24). The shared functions and objectives of political and diplomatic discourses are listed in the literature as follows: communication, negotiation, and agreement (Arakelyan & Avetyan, 2017: 5). Considering these three elements, communication represents the most fundamental form of diplomatic representation and political discourse.

The UN, as an international organization, is a platform where political and diplomatic language comes to the forefront. Established in 1945, the UN has assumed the mission of facilitating communication and cooperation worldwide. The UN is committed to providing a forum where all states can come together to discuss common problems, which will benefit all of humanity (UN, n.d.). The UN has expressed its initial goals as "maintaining peace, protecting human rights, establishing the framework of international justice, and promoting economic and social progress" (UN, n.d.) and continues to pursue these aims. Underscoring the necessity of democratizing global governance, the UN states that the realization of this goal requires more comprehensive participation of non-state actors in international relations. The UN's objectives of security and development, which are centered on global democracy, are directly related to this aim (Thérien & Dumontier, 2009: 362-363). The discourses of states at the UN should therefore contribute to these objectives and aims. In this regard, it is important that the discourses of political leaders proceed along the axes of peace and security, justice, and economic and social development.

### 3. Research Methodology

#### 3.1. Purpose and Method

This study aims to analyze the speeches delivered by the President of the Republic of Türkiye, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, at the United Nations along the axes of peace, justice, security, and economic and social development. In this context, it seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Which themes and what kinds of discourses does the President of the Republic of Türkiye, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan employ in his speeches at UN sessions?
2. How does the President Erdoğan, articulate national and international interests through sub-discourses?

While the population of the study consists of political leaders' speeches at the UN, the sample comprises the speeches delivered by President Erdoğan. Accordingly, the speeches delivered by President Erdoğan at the UN since he assumed the presidency in 2014 were included in the study. Beginning in 2014 and continuing through 2025, a total of 20 speeches delivered by President Erdoğan at the UN were reviewed as part of the analysis. Due to the size of the study dataset, it is chronologically limited to President Erdoğan's UN speeches during his presidency, a period in which he became more open to the global arena. The study used a qualitative method and performed thematic analysis and content analysis. Thematic analysis is a research technique that enables the identification, analysis, and reporting of themes derived from the data. This technique allows data to be organized and described at their smallest units (Boyatzis, 1998, pp. 100-103). Content analysis, on the other hand, is a technique involving the systematic, objective, and, where possible, quantitative examination of the content of various documents (Robert & Bouillaget, 1995, cited in Bilgin, 2006: 11). The main purpose of content analysis is to

reach concepts and relationships that help explain the data collected (Karataş, 2015: 72-73).

#### 3.2. Methods Used in Data Analysis

In qualitative research, data analysis involves preparing and organizing the data, coding them, reducing the codes into themes, and then presenting the data in the form of figures, tables, or discussions (Creswell, 2018: 51-52). In the foregoing study, the data obtained were examined within the framework of thematic analysis and content analysis using MAXQDA. Compared with manual analysis, the MAXQDA program enables a more systematic interpretation of data (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2019: 8-9). For the purposes of the study, the speeches related to the UN published in the "Speeches" section of the official website of the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye (TCCB) were transferred to the MAXQDA 2024 software. The speeches, originally in Turkish, have been translated into English. An inductive approach was adopted in the analysis of the data transferred into MAXQDA 2024. The data were read repeatedly, and initial codes were created. The codes were organized around the themes of social equality, economic development, peace and security, and justice, which also constitute the UN's core arguments. Interrelated codes were grouped under these themes and named accordingly. Subsequently, the resulting themes were explained in a language accessible to readers.

### 4. Findings and Discussion

To clarify the research questions, the findings obtained from President Erdoğan's UN speeches are presented under this heading. As shown in Figure 1, the study is structured around four themes. These themes reflect the priority areas of the UN, namely social equality, economic development, peace and security, and justice.



Figure 1. Main Themes Used in the Analysis of President Erdoğan's UN Speeches

#### 4.1. Social Equality

Among the themes addressed in the study is “social equality,” for which 15 codes were created. These are: admission of refugees and humanitarian aid, combating racism and discrimination, emphasis on humanitarian values, refugee and migration flows, international inaction, financial burden, Islamophobia, pandemic and poverty, access to health services, equal opportunities in education/quality education, migration management, obstruction of aid/refugee acceptance, violence against women and children, reactions toward those opposing war/violence, and gender equality. With these statements,

President Erdoğan presents a critical perspective on the unjust world order, highlighting Türkiye’s development of resistance strategies against this global order. The discourse developed within the sub-themes of social equality aligns with Foucault’s understanding of power and resistance strategies. In these discourses, the actors developing power strategies are portrayed as countries supporting inequality, while Türkiye is depicted as developing resistance strategies. President Erdoğan’s rhetoric constructs the unequal, unjust, and dysfunctional global order as one that must be changed. Figure 2 shows the hierarchical code–sub-code representation for the theme of social equality.

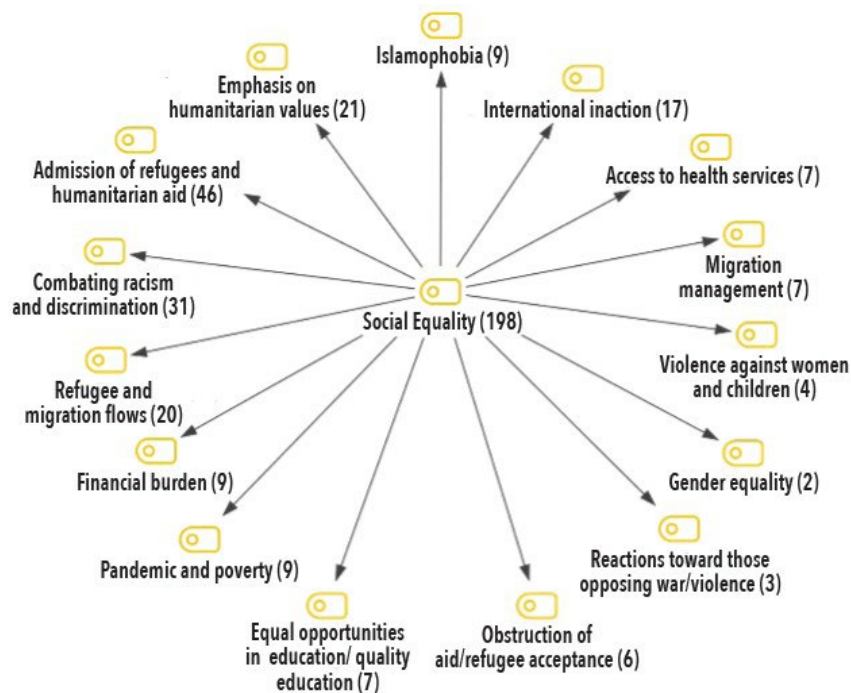


Figure 2. Hierarchical Code–Sub-code Representation for the Theme of Social Equality

Under social equality theme, President Erdoğan placed strong emphasis on admission of refugees and provision of humanitarian assistance. He stressed that Türkiye had opened its doors to refugees and asylum-seekers. Under the theme of social equality, another sub-theme President Erdoğan addressed was combating racism and discrimination. He emphasized that discriminatory tendencies pose a serious threat to global peace and social cohesion. Another code President Erdoğan addressed under social equality was the refugee and migration wave. Another code President Erdoğan highlighted under the theme of social equality was Islamophobia. He stressed the need to combat Islamophobia and hate crimes targeting Muslims worldwide. President Erdoğan also addressed the impact of the pandemic and poverty as one of the codes. Another issue President Erdoğan addressed as a code under the theme of social equality was access to health care. He highlighted inequalities people face when accessing

health care services, the humanitarian aid provided during the pandemic. President Erdoğan also highlighted violence against women and children. In the context of this code, the President Erdoğan spoke of the killing and injury of women and children in conflict zone. President Erdoğan also addressed gender equality as a code under the theme of social equality. He emphasized the empowerment of girls through education and the global discussions surrounding gender roles and ideologies. Another code President Erdoğan addressed under the theme of social equality concerned the treatment of people who stand against war and violence. The discussions reveal a discourse constructed from the 18th century onwards regarding the production of biopower by subject(s) within different understandings, categories, institutions, sciences, discourses, and disciplines, and the subsequent disregard of this construct of the “other”. In the discourse, there is an emphasis on Foucault’s disciplinary techniques for the pe-



nal system in state governance and the application of biopolitical institutions, similar to the exclusionary system in psychiatry, by UN member states. When these themes are evaluated through Foucault's concept of biopower and biopolitics, emphasis is placed on the controlled integration of bodies into the production apparatus, living conditions/duration, and the resistance strategies produced by Türkiye against the humanitarian crisis created by war as a factor that can affect these conditions. President Erdoğan made the following remarks:

"Humanitarian crisis in Syria has nearly reached its 6th year. Because of this war, 600 thousand of people have reportedly lost their lives, 12 million people have left their country and 5 million of them have taken refuge in other countries. Of these, 2.7 million are in my country alone. We are hosting the Syrians who were forced to leave their homeland as guests in our own home." (71st Session of the UN General Assembly – 2016).

"Especially in developed and united countries, racism, xenophobia, and Islamophobia have reached intolerable levels, spreading like a virus. The hate speech, polarization, and discrimination inflicted on innocent people leave no conscience untouched anywhere in the world. Unfortunately, in many countries, populist politicians continue to fuel these dangerous currents, playing with fire." (UN General Assembly – 2023).

"In a period when millions have lost their lives and tens of millions are struggling against the virus, the persistence of extreme nationalism in various forms is shameful for humanity. It is crystal clear that only through international cooperation and solidarity can we overcome this global catastrophe. No country can safely continue its life alone until all countries have overcome this pandemic." (76th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2021).

"Guided by the belief that if you keep people alive, the state will survive, we have tried from the very beginning to share the means at our disposal with our friends and brothers. While providing our citizens with the best health care services, we have also sent medical aid to 159 countries and 12 international organizations. I would like to take this occasion to announce that we will soon make our domestically produced vaccine, Turkovac, available not only to our nation but also to all humanity" (73rd Session of the UN General Assembly – 2021).

"From Iraq to Syria, Palestine to Yemen, Egypt to Libya, and Afghanistan to Ukraine, vast regions are mired in deep crises, producing scenes that wound the conscience of humanity. Asto-

nishingly, in the 21st century, people are still losing their lives to hunger and epidemic diseases. Children and women are brutally killed in wars. While wealthy nations live in prosperity, poorer countries struggle with hunger, malnutrition, disease outbreaks, and lack of education." 69th Session of the UN General Assembly - 2014).

"The mindset that tolerates attacks on the Qur'an in Europe under the guise of freedom of expression is, in fact, jeopardizing its own future. Türkiye will continue to support initiatives to combat Islamophobia across all platforms, including the UN, OSCE, and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. I also call on all friends, regardless of faith, who reject attacks on sacred values to join us in this struggle" (UN General Assembly, 2023).

Under the social equality theme, President Erdoğan also stressed the importance of humanitarian values as a code. In the context of this code, the President underscored the need to uphold human dignity, conscience, justice, and solidarity in the face of international crises. President Erdoğan also addressed international inaction as a code under the theme of social equality. He criticized the international community for remaining indifferent and unresponsive, failing to fulfill its obligations in the face of global challenges. From Foucault's perspective, when this theme is considered, the UN, where the will of individuals is conveyed, is constructed as a structure that constitutes the necessary political and legal representation for the functioning of the power apparatus in which individuals and countries are alienated. The UN is considered as a general technique of governing the global world through the understanding of power. Türkiye, on the other hand, is constructed as the subject that develops a system against this order. Addressing these issues, he stated:

"Unfortunately, the international community has failed a very serious test of humanitarian and moral responsibility. In a world where babies, women, and civilians are being killed, no one can remain innocent. Every passing day, every hour, we witness this humanitarian and moral devastation intensifying. We must act immediately, decisively, and resolutely to stop crises that we are already far too late in addressing." (UN Refugee Summit – 2016)

"Throughout this process, the international community has failed the test of humanitarian values and conscience. To date, Türkiye has spent 12.5 billion dollars... And, how much have we received from the rest of the world? The support the United Nations, under whose roof we are right now, has provided us so far is 525 million dollars. Anything else? Nothing. And from the Europe-

an Union? Unfortunately, the EU has also failed to fulfill its promises. They have sent 178 million dollars to UNICEF, that's all." (71st Session of the UN General Assembly – 2016)

Under the social equality theme, President Erdoğan also referred to financial burden as a code. President Erdoğan highlighted that Türkiye bears a substantial financial burden while hosting millions of refugees, spending billions of dollars yet receiving insufficient support from the international community. Under the social equality theme, President Erdoğan also referred to migration management as one of the codes. President Erdoğan outlined Türkiye's responsibilities in this area, its efforts to prevent irregular migration, facilitate safe returns, and the urgent need for international cooperation. Another key issue President Erdoğan highlighted as a code under the theme of social equality was obstruction of humanitarian aid and the refusal to admit refugees. President Erdoğan also addressed equal opportunities and quality education as another code under theme of social equality. From Foucault's perspective, who argues that power is everywhere, these themes highlight a complex strategic understanding of power in relation to economic development and the construction of a global order. While Türkiye positions itself as a subject fulfilling its role in these matters, Western countries, positioned as capitalist powers, are positioned as the capitalist state apparatus that Foucault says emerged as the modern state in the 18th century. President Erdoğan stated:

"Moreover, today Türkiye is the world's top provider of humanitarian aid relative to national income. We host five million refugees fleeing conflict, hunger, and oppression... Over the past eight years, we have spent 40 billion dollars for refugees. Has Türkiye received anything in return? Let me clarify: support from the EU so far, delivered not through our national budget but via international organizations to AFAD and the Turkish Red Crescent, amounts to only three billion euros." (74th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2019).

"Thanks to our initiative, the issue of Syrian refugees was addressed for the first time at last year's United Nations General Assembly. The inclusion of migration and terrorism on the G-20 agenda also resulted from our efforts. We are working closely with the European Union to manage the refugee crisis. To prevent fatalities in the Aegean

Sea, we have reduced irregular migration from 7,000 daily arrivals in October 2015 to as few as 50 in recent months" (71st Session of the UN General Assembly – 2016).

"In our country, there are approximately 835,000 school-age Syrian children. Through public resources and civil society organizations, we have successfully ensured access to school for 310,000 of them. Our goal is that not a single child should be denied the opportunity to go to school and receive education. I call upon all countries and relevant civil society actors to contribute to our national efforts" (UN Refugee Summit, 2016).

## 4.2. Economic Development

Within the scope of the research, 27 sub-codes were identified under the theme of economic development. These include: international aid, climate and environmental policies, the impacts of climate change, sustainable development, multilateral diplomacy, institutional reform, regional development objectives, food security, technological and scientific advancements, national policies, energy policy, local-level action, disaster management, institutional capacity, global health impacts, global inequalities in welfare, education policy, historical responsibility, infrastructure projects, financial support, regional action plans, transportation policy, social development, capacity building, human capital, sectoral development, and educational reform. When President Erdoğan's discourse on economic development is evaluated from a Foucaultian perspective, it is directly related to governance. In this discourse, Türkiye is positioned not only as an economic actor but also as a subject that serves as a model for the world. Türkiye is portrayed as an actor that provides aid, makes investments, and develops infrastructure wherever needed, both domestically and globally. In contrast to the unjust, colonialist understanding of the West, Türkiye is positioned as a sharing subject that centers on justice, thus creating a contrast. The attitude of Western countries can be explained by Foucault's biopolitics. Especially in places experiencing humanitarian crises, people left to starve and die through policies of ignoring are managed and regulated through population, body, and life policies. Figure 3 illustrates the hierarchical structure of the codes and sub-codes under the economic development theme.

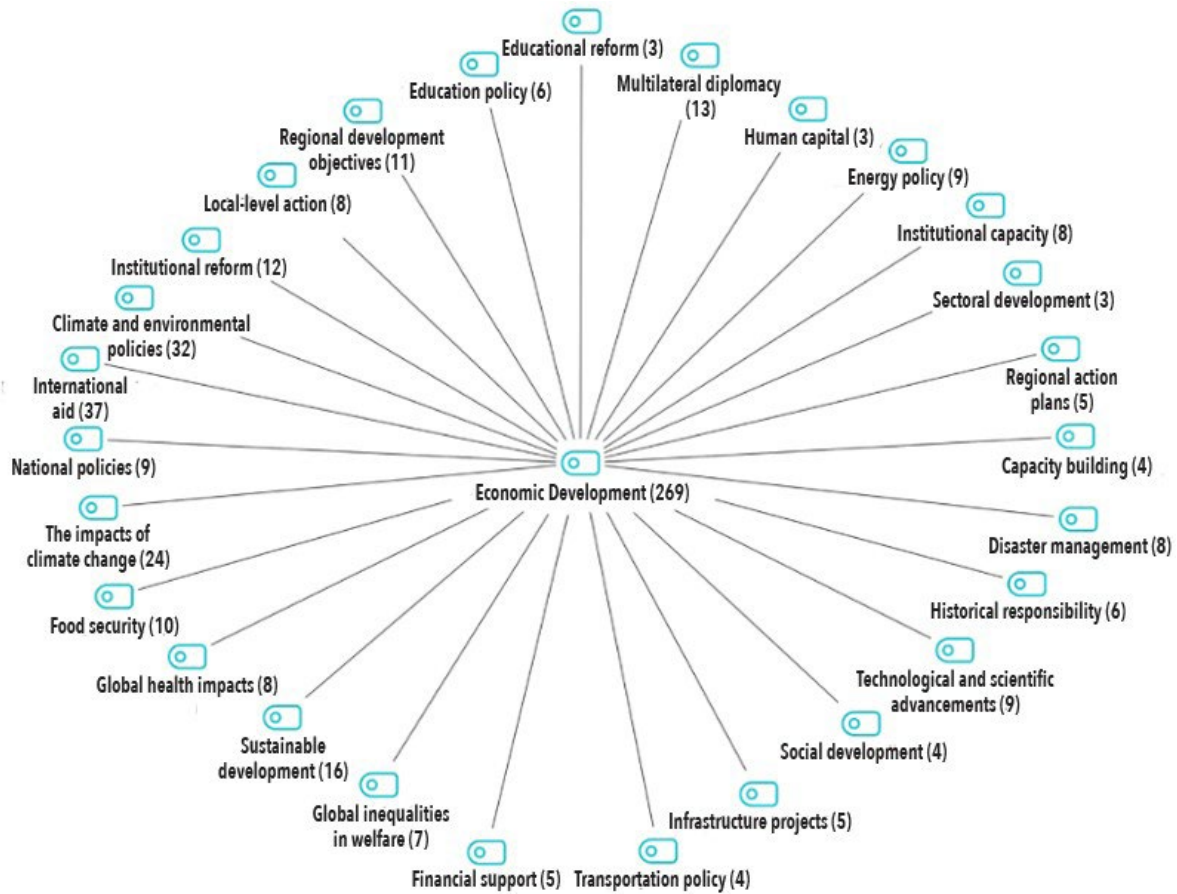


Figure 3. Hierarchical Code-Sub-code Representation for the Theme of Economic Development

Under the theme of economic development, President Erdoğan most frequently addressed the issue of international aid. President Erdoğan also addressed food security as a code under the theme of economic development. In the context of this code, he drew attention Türkiye's contributions at both national and international levels in combating hunger. Another code President Erdoğan highlighted under the theme of economic development was multilateral diplomacy. President Erdoğan addressed under the theme of economic development was regional development goals. In the context of this code, the President Erdoğan emphasized Türkiye's commitment to regional peace, prosperity, development, and cooperation. President Erdoğan also referred to national policies as one of the codes. Another code President Erdoğan addressed under the theme of economic development was institutional capacity. In the context of this code, the President spoke about strengthening Türkiye's institutional capacity in areas such as humanitarian aid, migration management, health care. President Erdoğan did not limit his remarks to the code of institutional reform and underscored that the United Nations –particularly the Security Council– lacked fairness, transparency, and inclusiveness. Another code President Erdoğan addressed under the theme of economic development was global inequality in welfare. President Erdoğan also focused on local-level action as a code under

the theme of economic development. In the context of this code, he emphasized implementing climate, education, and environmental policies at the local level. President Erdoğan also addressed global health impact as a code under the theme of economic development. President Erdoğan highlighted under the theme of economic development was historical responsibility. President Erdoğan also talked about financial support as a code under the theme of economic development. In Foucault's understanding of power, the state apparatus, which expresses a general understanding of governing people, is considered "a general technique for governing people." In President Erdoğan's discourse, there is an emphasis on the historical and singular dimensions of the concept of state governance for global economic development. President Erdoğan constructs a narrative in his discourse that Türkiye, both singularly and historically, is a subject striving for global development. In this context, Türkiye is positioned as an actor that promotes global cooperation. President Erdoğan remarked:

"According to confirmed OECD statistics, with a 6-billion-dollar humanitarian development assistance in 2016, our country ranked second in the world in absolute figures and first in proportion to national income. Yet Türkiye is the world's 17th largest economy. With humanitarian development assistance reaching 0.8 percent of its



national income, Türkiye became one of only six countries to meet the United Nations targets in this field" (72nd Session of the UN General Assembly – 2017).

"We have entered a period in which we must act on a shared agenda to address challenges that affect our common destiny. As Türkiye, we have demonstrated this resolve not only in dealing with the pandemic and climate change, but also in confronting the shocks caused by the Russia–Ukraine war... Today, we continue to stress the pivotal role of dialogue and diplomacy in addressing the crisis" (77th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2022).

"Türkiye is a country that conducts humanitarian and development assistance worldwide. We not only welcome refugees arriving in our country, but through institutions such as TİKA, AFAD, and the Red Crescent, along with NGOs, we provide aid to those in need wherever they are." (72nd Session of the UN General Assembly – 2017).

"We want the Security Council to have a democratic, transparent, fair, and effective structure. Our proposal is to transform it into a body of 20 members, all with equal rights and powers, with 10 members renewed each year for two-year terms. In this way, all countries of the world will, in due course, have a voice in this important institution" (72nd Session of the UN General Assembly – 2017).

"Türkiye is making concerted efforts to establish peace and prosperity in our region. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of any country. We respect the territorial integrity of every country in our region and defend it firmly." (69th Session of the UN General Assembly -2014).

"Since the onset of instability in Syria, Türkiye has repeatedly warned the international community about this threat. The international community's persistent inertia in the face of the regime's violent policies created a vacuum, allowing Al-Qaeda to regain strength under the ISIS identity with the regime's support." (UN Session on Foreign Terrorist Fighters – 2014).

"As a result of Türkiye's leadership, the World Health Organization declared 2021 the International Year of Health and Care Workers. In September, the World Health Organization Geographically Dispersed Office for Preparedness for Humanitarian and Health Emergencies was inaugurated in İstanbul. This office, reflecting Türkiye's strong support for the WHO's work, will bolster efforts to combat the pandemic." (UN General Assembly on Covid-19 – 2020).

Another issue President Erdoğan raised under this theme was climate and environmental policies. He drew attention to the global threats posed by climate change, national and international efforts to con-

serve nature and the environment. President Erdoğan also referred to the impacts of climate change as one of the codes. President Erdoğan also addressed sustainable development as a code under the theme of economic development. Under the economic development theme, another code President Erdoğan highlighted was disaster management. When the themes President Erdoğan uses regarding climate change in his economic development framework are evaluated from a Foucaultian perspective, they are directly related to the historicity of power. In these discourses, Türkiye is positioned as a subject fulfilling its historical responsibility in the global arena. On this issue, President Erdoğan made the following remarks:

"In line with our vision for net zero emissions by 2053 and green development; we are transforming our key sectors... Ahead of COP-29, we submitted our two-year transparency report and long-term climate strategy to the secretariat. We have launched climate change mitigation and adaptation action plans covering the period 2024–2030. We increased the share of renewables in total installed capacity to 59 percent, placing us fifth in Europe and eleventh worldwide. Our key priorities for achieving net zero emissions by 2053 are renewable energy, energy efficiency, and nuclear energy" (UN Climate Summit, 2024).

"As is well known, the adverse effects of global warming are being felt in different ways across every region of the world. In recent years, the number and frequency of natural disasters caused by meteorological events have risen sharply. In this respect, there is a need for a new regime to combat climate change in the post-2020 period... The new system must be transparent, inclusive, fair, and equitable, while also taking into account the core principles of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change" (UN Climate Summit, 2014).

"We were among the first countries to sign the Paris Climate Agreement... From this podium of the United Nations General Assembly, I would like to announce to the entire world: we plan to submit the Paris Agreement to our Parliament for approval next month, in line with constructive steps to be taken and within the framework of our national contribution declaration. Before the upcoming United Nations Climate Change Conference in Glasgow, we aim to complete the ratification process for this carbon-neutral target" (76th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2021).

Another code the President Erdoğan addressed under the theme of economic development was technological and scientific advancements. In the context of this code, he highlighted the pivotal role of scien-

ce and technology in addressing global challenges. Another code President Erdoğan addressed under the theme of economic development was social development. Another code President Erdoğan highlighted under the theme of economic development was energy policy. President Erdoğan also addressed education policy as a code. Under the theme of economic development, another area highlighted by President Erdoğan was education reform. Under the theme of economic development, In the context of this code, he spoke about Türkiye's commitment to providing free and quality education. President Erdoğan also addressed infrastructure projects as a code under the theme of economic development. In the context of this code, he emphasized domestic and international investments and projects in social, transport, and housing infrastructure. President Erdoğan also addressed transportation policy as a code under the theme of economic development. President Erdoğan also addressed capacity building as a code under the theme of economic development. Another code President Erdoğan highlighted under the theme of economic development was human capital. Under the theme of economic development, President Erdoğan also addressed sectoral development as one of the codes. In these themes, Türkiye is positioned not only as an economic actor but also as a subject that produces policies for the world. In the discourses, Türkiye is positioned as a power that creates its own truth in relation to Western countries. He stated:

"To eliminate global inequities, we must collaborate... Türkiye, as one of the leading countries in aid relative to national income, contributes directly to the Sustainable Development Goals... We believe that the transformative power of breakthrough technologies, including artificial intelligence, must benefit all nations equally. The UN Technology Bank for Least Developed Countries, hosted by Türkiye, is a concrete expression of our commitment." (UN General Assembly – 2024).

"The foundation that sustains nations, drives change, and allows them to add value to the world is education. A strong society and a strong nation can only be achieved by effectively utilizing human capital through a quality education system." (UN Transforming Education Summit – 2023).

"During the global COVID-19 pandemic, we launched digital platforms providing students with access to a wide range of electronic content, along with free learning materials and summer school programs. We have also been implementing measures to address literacy, numeracy, and skill gaps at each stage of student development." (UN Transforming Education Summit – 2023).

"Our country provides completely free education at all levels, from preschool to university. Over the past 20 years, we have taken historic steps to expand education, improve quality, and ensure equal opportunities for all." (UN Transforming Education Summit – 2023)

"We are also sincerely fulfilling our responsibilities to create the necessary conditions for our Syrian brothers and sisters to return to their country voluntarily, safely, and with dignity. In various regions of Syria, we are building 100,000 brick homes to ensure civilians fleeing the war can live under humane conditions." (77th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2022).

"The Marmaray project, which connects the continents of Asia and Europe via a rail system under the Bosphorus, is among our projects that serve as a global example. We also prioritize green port and green airport practices and continue efforts to expand public transport and construct new rail systems within cities." (UN Combating Desertification Conference – 2015).

"Our strong agriculture, food, and manufacturing industries, city hospitals, dedicated and experienced health care personnel, and inclusive social security system have been our country's greatest advantages during this period." (UN General Assembly on Covid-19 – 2020).

"We identified 46 main actions and 324 sub-actions to be implemented by the end of 2023, including the creation of a digital value chain from seed to table, the establishment of infrastructure to address food loss and waste, and the enactment of a water law. Our national roadmap focuses on a broad spectrum of priorities, ranging from ensuring universal access to safe, nutritious, and affordable food, to reducing food loss and waste, promoting sustainability in agriculture, livestock, and fisheries, and safeguarding food security in the face of emergencies and crises." (UN Food Systems Summit – 2021).

### 4.3. Peace and Security

Within the scope of this research, 25 categories were identified under the theme of "peace and security." These include: international cooperation, regional conflicts, commitment to counter-terrorism, regional peace efforts, ongoing humanitarian crises/terrorism, regional stability, global issues, defense of territorial integrity, calls for partnership in the cause of peace, political objectives/solutions, the UN's inadequacy/inaction, solution-oriented approaches, lack of peace and prosperity, voluntary returns, calls for a two-state solution, demand for a stronger UN role in peace, national measures/ preventive actions, national security, distrust toward the UN, failure to honor commitments, the need to take steps toward

the future, failed ceasefires, disarmament, rejection of linking terrorism to religion, and civil resistance. From a Foucaultian perspective, discourses that prioritize ending global and regional conflicts and achieving stability view peace as a phenomenon related to governance. In these discussions, peace is treated as a universal ideal, considered a natural consequence of justice, security, and stability. The inclusion of elements such as counter-terrorism, border security, and military intervention in the discourse emphasizes the need for a governing approach that regulates the global arena and produces global security policies. Narratives are constructed suggesting that the global order operates not with an anti-violence approach, but with one that regulates violence, and that Türkiye embraces negotiation and

diplomacy in the face of this power. In the discourse, Türkiye is positioned as a mediator, facilitator, and human-centered actor. This is symbolized in the discourse as resistance against the global system that ignores violence. Against the West's double standards, Security Council vetoes, and the "silent" international community, President Erdoğan's approach, which positions the discourse of peace through women and children, gains meaning through Foucault's understanding of biopolitics. President Erdoğan produces a discourse that opposes this understanding of controlling the population and determining who is valuable and who is worthless. Figure 4 shows the hierarchical code-sub-code representation for the theme of peace and security.

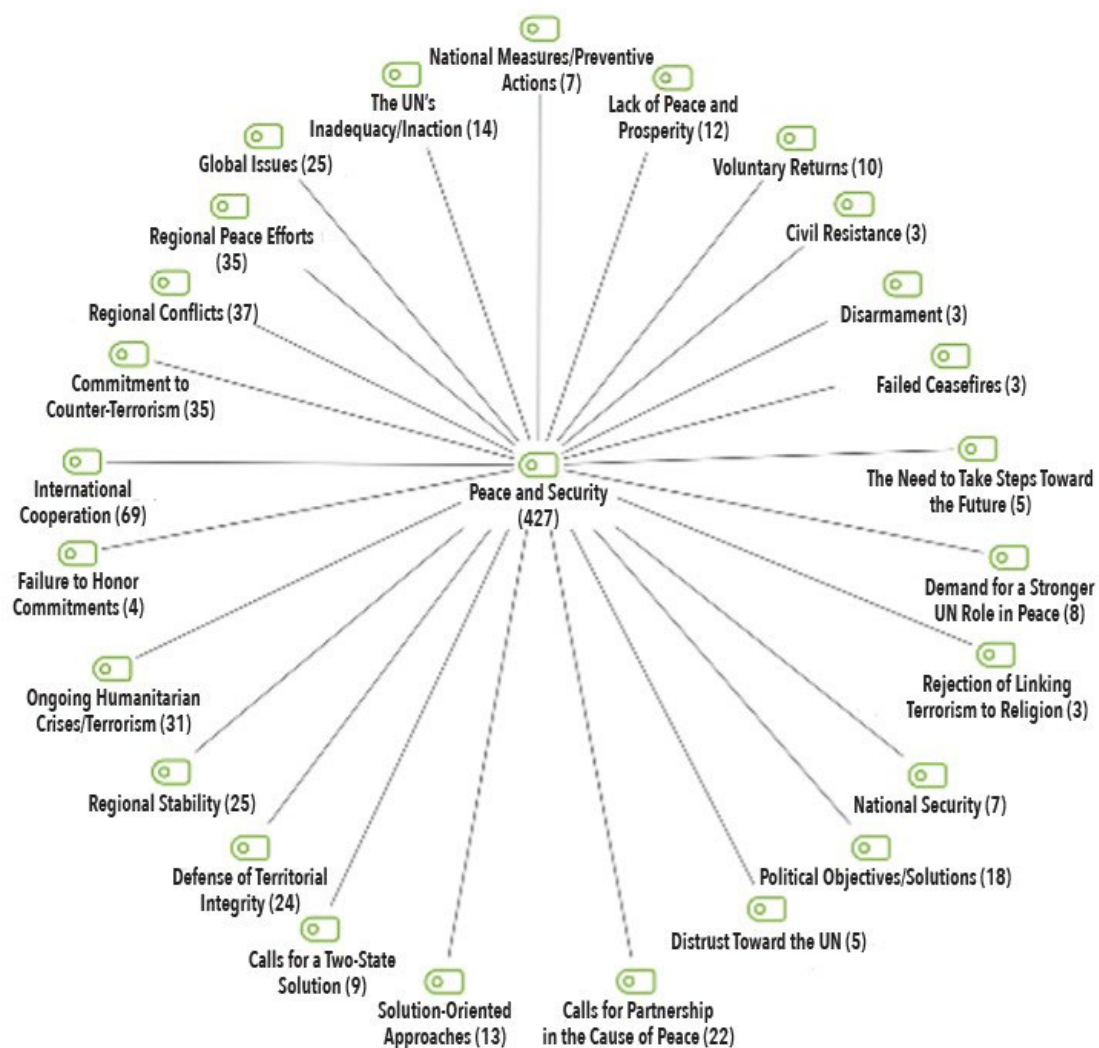


Figure 4. Hierarchical Code-Sub-code Representation for the Theme of Peace and Security

Under the theme of peace and security, President Erdoğan frequently expressed his views on international cooperation. In the context of this code, he highlighted the importance of achieving peace, security, and solutions to global crises through international cooperation. Another code President

Erdoğan highlighted under the peace and security theme was regional peace efforts. In the context of this code, he described Türkiye's efforts to ensure peace, security, and stability in the region through diplomacy. Under the peace and security theme, President Erdoğan also referred to regional stability

as a code. He addressed Türkiye's diplomatic, humanitarian, and security-driven efforts, aimed at establishing and preserving regional stability. Another code President Erdoğan explored under the peace and security theme was the call for partnership in the cause of peace. In the context of this code, he urged the establishment of partnerships among countries to achieve peace, and stability. Under the theme of peace and security, President Erdoğan also highlighted the code of political objectives/solutions. From a Foucaultian perspective, discourses on ending global and regional conflicts and ensuring stability emphasize global governance. Through these discourses, Türkiye is positioned as a subject fulfilling its responsibility in global governance, as a country that ensures global peace, security, and stability. On this issue President Erdoğan said:

"With recent developments, the world has begun to drift away from the Sustainable Development Goals, which aim to achieve zero hunger by 2030. The only way to illuminate this dark picture facing humanity with the light of hope is to strengthen international cooperation and solidarity through a fair and just approach." (77th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2022).

"We are currently hosting more than 3 million Syrian and over 200,000 Iraqi asylum seekers in our country. To secure a lasting ceasefire and achieve peace in Syria, we launched the Astana talks together with Russia and Iran, with the participation of all relevant parties." (72nd Session of the UN General Assembly – 2017).

"Within the framework of these ideals, we share a common path with every country, and we stand ready to join forces. Indeed, this is the very partnership to which humanity aspires today." (69th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2014).

"Addressing all these challenges, each of which I have briefly highlighted, is a responsibility we share collectively. We can only fulfill this responsibility through effective cooperation, solidarity, and an unwavering commitment to humanitarian values." (UN – General Assembly – 2023).

"In Libya, which is another critical region of the Mediterranean, we have been striving to establish security and stability through the formation of a democratic government that is underpinned by the free will of the people. We believe that Libya's political and economic empowerment will bring relief both to North Africa and Europe. We are convinced that the solution in this country lies in respecting the choices of the Libyan people." (74th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2019).

Another code President Erdoğan emphasized under the peace and security theme was regional conflicts.

In the context of this code, he addressed wars, humanitarian disasters, terrorist organizations, and regional instability in the Middle East, Balkans, Caucasus. President Erdoğan also referred to commitment to counter-terrorism as a code under the peace and security theme. In the context of this code, he talked about Türkiye's determination in counter-terrorism efforts. Another code President Erdoğan emphasized under the peace and security theme was global issues. In the context of this code, he addressed major global challenges affecting humanity, including war, terrorism etc. President Erdoğan also referred to the ongoing humanitarian crises/terrorism as a code under the peace and security theme. In the context of this code, he addressed the ongoing humanitarian crises in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, and other regions, and Türkiye's humanitarian assistance and security efforts in response. Under the peace and security theme, another code discussed by President Erdoğan was failure to honor commitments. Another code President Erdoğan discussed under the theme of peace and security was disarmament. In the context of this code, he drew attention to the threat posed to global peace by weapons of mass destruction. President Erdoğan also addressed defense of territorial integrity as a code under the theme of peace and security. In the context of this code, he emphasized the efforts undertaken by Türkiye's and relevant countries across the region to preserve territorial integrity. Under the theme of peace and security, President Erdoğan also referred to national measures / preventive actions as a code. In the context of this code, he emphasized Türkiye's determination to protect its security and to take preventive measures against terrorism. Under the peace and security theme, another code addressed by President Erdoğan was the rejection of linking terrorism to religion. He stressed that terrorism cannot be associated with any religion or Islam. Under the theme of peace and security, President Erdoğan also discussed failed ceasefires as a code. In the context of this code, he talked about the collapse of ceasefire efforts in different regions, and the responsibilities of the international community. When the themes of counter-terrorism, border security, and state security are evaluated from Foucault's perspective, Türkiye is positioned as a counterforce against terrorism that seeks to seize power. President Erdoğan's rhetoric emphasizes the necessity of protecting the territorial integrity of countries and the need for a global struggle against terrorism. Each country is positioned as a subject in these discourses, and the necessity of protecting their own sovereignty is emphasized. On this issue, he said:

"Today we need the values represented by the motto 'The world is bigger than five' more than ever. We are witnessing that international pea-



ce and security are far too important to be left to the whims of five privileged countries. The most dramatic example of this is the massacre that has been going on in Gaza for the past 353 days." (UN – General Assembly – 2024).

"We have adopted an active stance in response to developments in Syria, which has become a place where many countries export their radical groups. Through both our support for the Geneva and Astana processes and the safe zones we continue to establish on the ground, we are working to ensure that Syria once again becomes a peaceful country. By clearing the Jarablus and al-Rai areas of DAESH, and the Afrin region of the PKK, PYD, and YPG terrorist organizations, we have transformed a 4,000-square-kilometer area into a safe and peaceful zone for millions of Syrians." (73rd Session of the UN General Assembly – 2018).

"The war on Europe's eastern borders, in addition to the humanitarian tragedy it has caused, has brought about serious challenges in every field, from the economy to security, energy and food security. In Syria, North Africa, and the Sahel, terrorism, which has been weaponized as a tool of proxy wars, is inflicting irreparable damage on an already fragile international security environment." (UN – General Assembly – 2023).

"The increasingly complex regional and global challenges make it more urgent than ever to advance Türkiye-European Union relations on a sound footing. Our expectation of the European Union is that it promptly begins to fulfill the obligations it has long neglected toward our country. Particularly, the ambivalence in dealing with Türkiye must come to an end." (UN – General Assembly – 2023).

"This year marks the 75th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Disarmament is of vital importance for ensuring global peace and security, yet in recent years the architecture of arms control has suffered significant damage. The international community must advance on the basis of equality and justice toward the complete elimination of weapons of mass destruction." (UN General Assembly – 2020).

"We worked tirelessly to make the ceasefire effective, but unfortunately it did not hold. As you can see, the ceasefire has collapsed, and just yesterday a United Nations convoy was attacked by the regime. The Syrian regime is blocking the delivery of United Nations-supervised aid to the people of Aleppo, who are in urgent need of humanitarian assistance, and is even attacking aid convoys. How much longer will the UN and Security Council tolerate the regime's 'submit

or die' policy that condemns people to starvation?" 71st Session of the UN General Assembly – 2016).

"We always say and have always said: terrorism, terrorists, and terrorist organizations have no religion, origin, region, or culture. No faith, religion, culture, or conscience condones targeting innocent lives. Above all, Islam, whose very name means 'peace,' is a religion of peace... Let me say this here in particular, because it directly concerns many in this hall: can there be any logic where the victim cries 'Allahu akbar' and the killer also cries 'Allahu akbar'? This has nothing to do with our religion. No civilization is immune from this threat." (UN Alliance of Civilizations – 2016).

Under the theme of peace and security, President Erdoğan also referred to the lack of peace and prosperity as a code. President Erdoğan also addressed solution-oriented approaches as a code under the theme of peace and security. In the context of this code, he underlined the importance of formulating lasting solutions to international crises. Another code President Erdoğan highlighted under the peace and security theme was voluntary returns. He stressed the importance of ensuring that populations affected by war and conflict can return to their homes safely. President Erdoğan also addressed the calls for a two-state solution as a code under the theme of peace and security. In the context of this code, the President Erdoğan argued for a just, lasting and sustainable settlement between peoples. Another code President Erdoğan discussed under the peace and security theme was national security. Another code President Erdoğan highlighted under the peace and security theme was the UN's inadequacy/inaction. He emphasized that the United Nations has remained ineffective and unresponsive in the face of global crises. President Erdoğan highlighted also addressed distrust toward the UN as a code under the theme of peace and security. In the context of this code, he underlined the growing lack of confidence stemming from the UN's failure to ensure effectiveness and fairness. Another code addressed by President Erdoğan under the peace and security theme was the demand for a stronger UN role in peace. Another code President Erdoğan highlighted under the peace and security theme was the need to take steps toward the future. Another code President Erdoğan emphasized under the peace and security theme was civil resistance. In the context of this code, he praised the courageous, determined, and legitimate resistance of peoples and individuals defending their freedom. These themes, underlying President Erdoğan's code of peace and security, emphasize how the UN and its member states, as spheres of power, produce different understandings, categories, institutions, sciences, discour-

ses, and disciplines, as Foucault pointed out. This structure imposes a form of knowledge/power on the subject. In these discourses, Türkiye's resistance to the West's double standards, Security Council vetoes, and the "silent" international community, and the truth it constructs, are built. President Erdoğan stated:

"Nearly 40 years of continuous occupation, conflict and terrorist activity in Afghanistan have caused problems with global repercussions. The time has now come for this ancient land to regain peace and security. As the international community, we must collectively assume responsibility and use our best efforts." (74th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2019).

"Türkiye's foreign policy vision has always been centered on peace. Starting from our region, we have been working tirelessly to ensure that peace and stability prevail worldwide. Through our Mediation for Peace Initiative within the United Nations, we strive to resolve conflicts. From Europe to Latin America and Africa, we take on constructive roles—acting as mediators when necessary, and facilitators when needed—in resolving disputes in various regions" (77th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2022).

"It was no longer an option for Türkiye to remain idle, and in cooperation with moderate opposition groups, we intervened. First, it was Jarablus; we cleared Jarablus off of DAESH. Then al-Rai; DAESH was removed there as well. As a result, people returned to their own towns: Jarablusis to Jarablus, al-Rai residents to al-Rai. Today the area from Azaz to the Euphrates is no longer a terrorist corridor but a corridor of peace." (71st Session of the UN General Assembly – 2016).

"The Syrian issue has likewise begun to spill across borders. The half-century-long problem in Palestine is indeed the root cause of many issues across the region. The immediate implementation of a two-state solution in Palestine, the lifting of the blockade on Gaza, and the establishment alongside Israel of an independent, sustainable Palestinian State are political, humanitarian and moral necessities." (69th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2014).

"Currently, the United Nations fails to take effective action in response to the uncontrolled situation, terrorism, and migration waves in Iraq. It is clear that this state of silence, helplessness, and inaction cannot continue. Faster and more effective decision-making mechanisms must be established to address global and regional

problems, and the United Nations must act with far greater courage in defending what is right" (69th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2014)

"The time for action is now; mere words are no longer enough. In an environment where hundreds, even thousands of people can be killed in a single day, the fact that we are still only talking raises serious questions about the UN's sense of responsibility. Without further delay, and before more innocent people perish and the world's conscience is more deeply wounded, the United Nations must assume its weighty responsibilities." (69th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2014).

"If I am standing before you today, it is thanks to the brave and noble stance of our nation. Let it be remembered that the coup attempt in Türkiye was also an assault on world democracy. On that night, while our people gave a historic lesson to the coup plotters, they also became a source of inspiration for all peoples who believe in democracy. This new generation terrorist organization poses not only a national security threat to Türkiye but also to all 170 countries in which it operates." 71st Session of the UN General Assembly – 2016).

#### 4.4. Justice

Within the scope of the foregoing research, 13 codes were identified under the theme of "justice." These are: international equality and justice, human rights, international law, moral responsibility, "the world is bigger than five," criticism of international double standards, the rights of other communities/minorities, the injustice of UN decision-making mechanisms, violations of children's rights, democratization, complicity through silence, the breakdown of the circle of justice, and the lack of press freedom. When President Erdoğan's discourse on justice is evaluated through the lens of Foucault's understanding of discourse, UN decision-making mechanisms are positioned as structures where power is concentrated, and therefore their legitimacy should be questioned. The discourses shaped around the understanding that "the world is bigger than five" place a new understanding of truth against global truth. Developing a discourse against the existing order, President Erdoğan criticizes the way existing global structures produce truth and puts forward discourses advocating for the necessity of a regulatory structure. Figure 5 shows the hierarchical code-sub-code representation for the theme of justice.

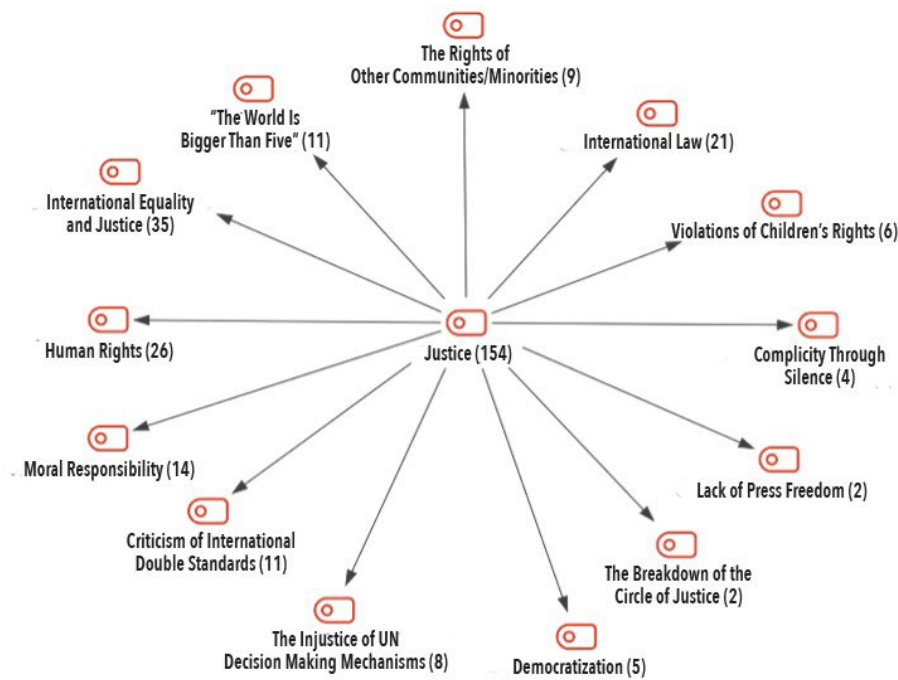


Figure 5. Hierarchical Code-Sub-code Representation for the Theme of Justice

Under the theme of justice, President Erdoğan has most frequently addressed international equality and justice. In the context of this theme, he emphasized the need to ensure equality and justice at the international level. President Erdoğan also addressed human rights as a code under the theme of justice. In the context of this code, he drew attention to wars, refugee crises, and violations of human rights around the world. President Erdoğan strives to reveal a truth against the inequality and injustice created by the global system's discourses, knowledge production, and forms of submission. He produces discourses that establish the necessity of human rights for everyone. On these matters, President Erdoğan made the following remarks:

"Today, our world is confronted with numerous problems and grievances by global injustices. The great scholar of our civilization, Mevlana (Rumi), defined justice as giving everyone their due by distributing rights and duties appropriately. Yet it is clear that today neither rights nor responsibilities are being shared as they should. Injustice, in turn, breeds instability, power struggles, crises, and wastefulness. And yet, the very institution we are in right now was founded after the Second World War to eliminate such injustice. Unfortunately, today the international community is increasingly losing its ability to produce lasting solutions to problems threatening our future, such as terrorism, hunger, poverty, and climate change." (74th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2019).

"I am asking human rights organizations! Are the people in Gaza and the West Bank not human? Don't the children in Palestine have the right to

go to school, to live, to play in the streets? I am asking the international media! Are the journalists killed on live broadcast or whose offices were raided by Israel not your colleagues? I am asking the United Nations Security Council, what more are you waiting for to stop the genocide in Gaza, to put an end to this cruelty, this barbarity?" (UN – General Assembly – 2024).

Another code President Erdoğan highlighted as a code under the theme of justice was international law. In the context of this code, he underlined the importance of upholding states' rights and obligations within the framework of international law. As another code he addressed under the theme of justice, President Erdoğan criticized international double standards. Under the theme of justice, President Erdoğan also addressed the injustice of UN decision-making mechanisms as a code. In the context of this code, the President criticized the injustice in UN decision-making processes. Another code President Erdoğan highlighted under the theme of justice was "the world is bigger than five." In the context of this code, the President criticized the inequities and dysfunctions of the UN Security Council. President Erdoğan is exhibiting a strategy of resistance against global power. He is presenting a narrative that counters the processes of subjectification produced by the global system through discursive and non-discursive practices. The narrative emphasizes the need for the world to move beyond a central point and acknowledge the existence of the periphery. President Erdoğan made the following remarks:

"We support resolving issues related to Iran's nuclear program through diplomacy and dialogue, in accordance with international law. We re-

iterate our call for all parties to fulfill their commitments under the comprehensive action plan, which contributes significantly to regional and global security." (UN General Assembly, 2020).

"Let me be very clear: those who watch in silence as children are killed, innocent women brutally murdered, and governments elected by the people toppled through arms and tanks in coups are openly complicit in these crimes against humanity. Even more importantly, the double standards maintained by the modern world create deep mistrust among vast segments of the global population." (69th Session of the UN General Assembly -2014).

"That is why, we stress at every opportunity the need for comprehensive reform in the structure and functioning of the United Nations, especially the Security Council. And when we say 'the world is bigger than five,' we speak as the voice of humanity's shared conscience." (73rd Session of the UN General Assembly -2018).

Under the theme of justice, another code discussed by President Erdoğan was democratization. President Erdoğan also addressed the breakdown of the "circle of justice" as a code under the theme of justice. In the context of this code, the President Erdoğan underlined that justice has been undermined at both societal and international levels. He highlighted the importance of protecting democratic rights, and supporting democratic governance. Under the theme of Justice, President Erdoğan also discussed moral responsibility as one of the codes. President Erdoğan also addressed the "unfree" press as a code under the justice theme. He focused on the lack of press freedom. President Erdoğan talked about the rights of other communities and minorities as another code under the theme of justice. In the context of this code, he stressed the importance of protecting the rights of different communities and minorities. When viewed through Foucault's lens, these themes can be evaluated from the perspective of state governance. The discourses emphasize that justice and democracy exhibit an exclusionary nature towards certain segments of society. In these discourses, which construct the necessity of changing this form of governance—an extension of a disciplinary understanding of power—Türkiye is positioned as a country that develops a discourse against injustice. On these matters, he said:

"When the democratically elected President in Egypt was removed by a coup, and thousands of innocent people who sought accountability for their votes were massacred, both the United Nations and democratic countries merely stood by, effectively legitimizing the coup. If we are truly committed to democracy, we must respect the ballot box. Otherwise, if we are to defend those who seize power through coups instead,

then I wonder, 'Why does the United Nations even exist?'" (69th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2014).

"In our civilization, there is a circle we refer to as the circle of justice, which ensures the proper functioning of the relationship among society, law, governance, state authority, economy, and justice. The links within this interrelated circle have been shattered in many parts of the modern world. This is why our world is wracked by political, social, and economic instability. For the sake of a secure and peaceful future for all, we are compelled to complete humanity's quest for justice by achieving its restoration." (73rd Session of the UN General Assembly – 2018).

"This a shameful picture that wounds the dignity and conscience of humanity. What makes it even more tragic is that most of these crises and problems could actually be resolved relatively easily. The peace, welfare, and security of future generations depend heavily on the steps and measures we take today. It is high time we demonstrated leadership with full awareness of our moral responsibilities and tackle these problems with determination." (71st Session of the UN General Assembly – 2016).

"The global conscience does not overlook those who harshly criticize some countries for lacking press freedom yet turn a blind eye to the killing of 16 journalists in Palestine and ignore the pressures faced by media professionals." (69th Session of the UN General Assembly -2014).

"We take due account of protecting the fundamental rights and freedoms of Muslim Uighur Turks in a manner that does not in any way compromise China's territorial integrity, the One-China principle, or its sovereign rights." General Assembly – 2022).

Another code President Erdoğan highlighted under the theme of justice was violations of children's rights. He emphasized children's suffering due to wars and conflicts. Another code President Erdoğan highlighted under the theme of justice was complicity through silence. In the context of this code, he emphasized that actors who remain silent or unresponsive in the face of violence, massacres, and violations are effectively complicit in these crimes. When viewed through Foucault's lens, these themes represent a critique of how those who control power disregard the subjects involved. The Turkish people, adopting an understanding centered on them, produce discourses opposed to the abuse of power within the global system. The President Erdoğan stated:

"In a world where children die and are killed, no one is truly innocent. No one's life is secure. No one can enjoy sustainable peace and prosperity." (69th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2014).



“Let me be very clear: those who witness the killing of children, the brutal murder of innocent women, and the overthrow of democratically elected governments through weapons and

tanks, yet remain silent or indifferent, are openly complicit in this crime against humanity.” (69th Session of the UN General Assembly – 2014).



Figure 6. Word Cloud of Prominent Codes in President Erdoğan's UN Speeches

The distribution of President Erdoğan's statements by intensity is illustrated in Figure 6. Codes displayed in larger font represent the most frequently used expressions, while smaller font sizes indicate less frequent codes.

## 5. Conclusion

In a globalizing world where issues increasingly transcend national boundaries, developing global discourses and offering solutions has become essential. Accordingly, the rhetoric as well as the recommended solutions proposed by political leaders within an international organization such as the UN carry significant weight. The foregoing study examined the speeches delivered by the President of the Republic of Türkiye, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, at the United Nations.

Within the framework of political and diplomatic discourse, President Erdoğan's speeches were analyzed in relation to the issues emphasized at the UN. For this purpose, the main themes of social equality, economic development, peace and security, and justice were broken down into sub-codes for detailed analysis. In his speeches, President Erdoğan constructs discourses opposed to an unequal world order, positioning Türkiye as a force against the inequality of the global world. His discourses, emphasizing the necessity of eliminating the inequality reproduced by global power, present a government that embraces resistance against the current regime. His rhetoric stresses the need for change in the unequal and now dysfunctional global order. The discourses used regarding economic development align with Fouca-

ult's approach to governmentality. The state apparatus that emerged at the end of the 18th century has a capitalist understanding. This capitalist order does not include everyone. Türkiye, by developing a counter-discourse, embraces global economic development. At the same time, in President Erdoğan's discourses, Türkiye is not only an economic actor demanding equality but also a subject that creates a model for the world. Türkiye is a collaborative actor that invests, provides aid, and develops infrastructure both nationally and globally. However, Western countries, with their understanding of biopower and biopolitics, position themselves as actors that ignore regions where inequality and injustice are rising due to humanitarian crises. In these regions, people are condemned to hunger and poverty and governed through policies that control their lives. President Erdoğan's discourse on peace aims to end global and regional conflicts. These discourses are constructed as efforts to achieve stability. While Türkiye positions itself as an actor aiming to establish a peace order based on justice, security, and stability, the West is portrayed as an actor with double standards. In President Erdoğan's discourse, the path to establishing peace, a universal value, is shaped around themes such as combating terrorism and border security. In these discourses, Türkiye is portrayed as an actor that produces global security policies for a peace order. Türkiye is portrayed as a mediator and facilitator who embraces negotiation and diplomacy instead of violence. This subject construction is structured to symbolize resistance against the biopolitical stance of the global order. When the discourses within the code of justice are examined in line with Fou-

cault's approach, the UN's concentration of power in a specific center emphasizes the governance that power uses to shape subjects. President Erdoğan criticizes this situation in his discourses, questioning the legitimacy and understanding of justice within the UN. The statement "The world is bigger than five" forms the basis of President Erdoğan's critique of the global understanding of justice. By producing a discourse against existing ones, a higher truth is presented.

Analysis using MAXQDA shows that the sub-themes highlighted in President Erdoğan's UN speeches focus on universal issues and values. His statements address Türkiye's stance on refugees and humanitarian aid, as well as proposed solutions for combating racism and discrimination globally. It is safe to say that they also include references to the negative consequences of international inaction in response to the challenges people face around the world. In the case of climate change, which is a matter of global importance, the speeches of the President emphasize that the climate and environmental policies for sustainable development should align with globalization. Furthermore, the importance of multilateral diplomacy in resolving ongoing wars and conflicts is reflected in his addresses. His speeches underline that establishing peace and security requires international cooperation and a commitment to counter-terrorism. They also stress that global and regional challenges can only be effectively addressed through international equality and justice. In addition, the President's discourse emphasizes that elements such as human rights, the enforcement of international law, and moral responsibility can serve as instruments for solutions. In this context, his speeches illustrate Foucault's (1976) notion of discourse as a means of generating power and resistance. President Erdoğan develops strategies for power and resistance in response to global issues and dysfunction of the system.

Furthermore, his addresses demonstrate the role of rhetoric as a tool for engagement and mobilization, as discussed by Chomsky (1988). President Erdoğan employs extensive discourse designed to mobilize the international community and assert Türkiye's presence. This study offers a model for future research on UN speeches, providing an example for analyzing the rhetoric used by world leaders at the UN or on other international platforms.

## 6. Data Availability

The data is available upon any reasonable request.

## 7. Ethical Considerations

This study does not require ethical committee approval.

## 8. Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

## 9. Financial Support

This study received no funding.

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