

UDC: 327.56:314.15
DOI: 10.59214/2663-2675.42(4).2025.42

Aigerim Ibrayeva*

Dean

Astana International University

020000, 8 Kabanbay Batyr Ave., Astana, Kazakhstan

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1341-753X>

Representation of ethnic minorities in international relations as a problem of inclusive diplomacy in the 21st century

Abstract. The aim of the study was to establish the role of ethnic minorities in the United States, Canada, Ukraine and Australia in the process of decision-making at the state level. The methods used included political and sociological analysis, historical comparative analysis, and statistical analysis. A historical analysis of the cultural diplomacy of the Crimean Tatars during the establishment of relations with Turkey revealed the importance of the ethnic factor in building diplomatic ties, in particular through a shared historical heritage, migration processes, and Turkey's current support for Ukraine's territorial integrity and the rights of the Crimean Tatar people in the international arena. Examples of multi-channel diplomacy by the United States and Canada demonstrated the importance of an institutionalised approach to involving ethnic minorities in the diplomatic service, which contributes to both internal social stability and the formation of an effective and culturally sensitive foreign policy capable of strengthening international ties in the face of global challenges. It was found that in the United States of America during the 20th century, the diplomatic service was predominantly composed of white Americans. As of 2024, only 27 diplomatic service employees with a political specialisation were Asian, Haitian, or indigenous, with another 10 marked as "multi-race" and 4 of unspecified origin, accounting for 6% of the country's population. In Canada, the government's policy of involving ethnic minorities in diplomacy has contributed to an increase in their share from 16.6% in 2017 to 23.7% in 2023. The systematic integration of ethnic minorities into decision-making and international affairs through diplomacy requires structural reforms and financial incentives. To ensure equal representation of ethnic minorities in diplomacy, it is necessary to implement comprehensive policies to overcome structural barriers, support professional development, and create transparent mechanisms for access to diplomatic careers, including international initiatives, national human resources strategies, scholarship and mentoring programmes, and formal recognition of the role of indigenous peoples in foreign policy processes. The results of this study can be applied in the development of inclusive diplomacy policies at the national level

Keywords: human resource management; migration; average salary; social cohesion; indigenous peoples

Introduction

In the 21st century, globalisation, migration and intercultural interaction have become increasingly intense, and the issue of inclusiveness in diplomacy has become particularly relevant. Ethnic minorities in countries are just as much a part of the population as other citizens and play a role in the social, political, and economic processes of state-building, so they should be represented in decision-making. According to the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995), countries are required to promote the representation of ethnic minorities in government bodies. Therefore, the study of inclusive diplomacy was important not only in terms of the fair distribution of power in international relations, but also for improving the effectiveness of the formation of foreign policy relations between states. The issue has become

particularly important in the 2020s. A noticeable trend in international relations is the influence of non-governmental actors in international relations, among which ethnic minorities can play a decisive role in mediating between states and promoting peaceful conflict resolution through the mechanism of expanding the influence of cultural diplomacy. The involvement of ethnic minority citizens in diplomatic processes can contribute to greater trust in state institutions and have a positive impact on international relations. M.I. Shevchenko (2023) identified two approaches to multiculturalism: egalitarian and dominant. The egalitarian approach involves the elimination of socio-political and economic barriers for representatives of cultural minorities, as well as providing them with equal rights and opportunities. The second approach focuses on

Suggested Citation:

Received: 26.04.2025, Revised: 08.07.2025, Accepted: 16.08.2025

Ibrayeva, A. (2025). Representation of ethnic minorities in international relations as a problem of inclusive diplomacy in the 21st century. *Foreign Affairs*, 35(4), 42-51. doi: 10.59214/2663-2675.35(4).2025.42.

*Corresponding author



Copyright © The Author(s). This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>)

the role of the majority culture and therefore requires representatives of minorities to either adapt or integrate into it. However, each approach has its drawbacks, whether it be changes in the ethno-cultural structure of the population or the risks of cultural segregation.

D.A. Tomakh (2024) described ethnic conflicts in modern Iran. According to him, the Iranian government brutally suppresses any manifestations of self-determination among ethnic minorities. Ethnic groups such as the Kurds and Balochis are oppressed by the army and security forces for their protests. Sometimes oppression even leads to bloodshed. Ethnic minorities in Iran also face repression due to limited access to political representation. As a result, oppression contributes to the growth of protest movements and marginalisation. This reflects a general trend towards the suppression of ethnic identity in authoritarian regimes. In their work, researchers N.S. Martin & S. Blinder (2021) pointed out that the political underrepresentation of ethnic minorities is a significant problem for many wealthy democratic countries. This was particularly noticeable in the United Kingdom, other European countries and North America, where ethnic minorities are almost unrepresented in elected office compared to the rest of the world. This shows that the problem of political representation is relevant not only for countries with harsh authoritarian regimes, but also for democratic societies. T.Yu. Perga (2021) examined the issue of the Hungarian minority in Ukraine, in Zakarpattia. The authors P.T. Dinesen *et al.* (2021) noted in their study that the political opportunities of ethnic minorities are significantly reduced. The topic of ethnic minority representation in politics was also studied by N. Aydemir & R. Vliegenthart (2022). The authors noted that deputies from ethnic minorities use “supportive frames”, i.e. a way of presenting information that supports multiculturalism, to a greater extent than deputies from conservative parties. The researchers also pointed out that the Turkish minority in the Netherlands, as the most organised, significantly increases the likelihood of a “supportive frame” in the country’s representation. Researchers M. Waltz & A. Schippers (2021) noted that most major political parties in Europe have internal meetings or committees that are involved in developing a large pool of appointees or candidates who are representatives of ethnic minorities. This enables political participation by citizens from underrepresented regions. According to J. Weinberg (2021), women and ethnic minority groups are more politically active when their interests are represented by women or politicians from ethnic minorities. T. Amatullah (2024) found a correlation between ethnic diversity and the level of political participation, which is confirmed by the gradual increase in the number of ethnic minority representatives in the Canadian public sector. While in 2017 the number of ethnic minority civil servants in the diplomatic service was 16.6%, by 2023 this figure had risen to 23.7%. Similar trends in Canada were described by researcher J.H. Black (2022), but in the context of the 2021 federal elections in Canada, when 21.7%, or one in five candidates for parliament, were representatives of ethnic minorities.

Despite numerous studies on the political representation of ethnic minorities at the national level, insufficient attention has been paid to their influence on international

relations and diplomacy. Existing studies focus on issues of marginalisation, political choice and representation within individual states, but less attention has been paid to the role of ethnic minorities in shaping international policy and diplomatic institutions. In view of the above, the aim of this study was to highlight the role of ethnic minorities in diplomatic relations in Ukraine, the United States, Canada and Australia. The objectives of the study were to examine the inclusiveness of contemporary diplomacy, examples of the influence of ethnic minorities on international relations, and to develop recommendations for strengthening inclusiveness.

Materials and methods

The study was based on an interdisciplinary approach. It used political science and sociological analysis. The main sources were materials from the OSCE (2023), the United Nations (Social Inclusion, n.d.; Minorities and indigenous..., 2025), the Council of Europe and the European Commission (Dres *et al.*, 2000). The sources for quantitative data on the coverage of ethnic minorities in foreign affairs were media publications (Turkish Foreign Ministry concerned..., 2014; Turkey supports the right..., 2023). Data on ethnic imbalance in the U.S. Department of State and a report on diversity policy in the foreign policy department were analysed (The Foreign Service..., 2015; Diversity and inclusion..., 2023). Using statistical and historical-comparative analysis, the approaches of Canada, Australia and the United States to the involvement of ethnic minorities in international affairs were compared. For this purpose, statistics from the Government of Canada (Distribution of..., n.d.) were analysed. The ethnic composition of the US diplomatic corps for the period 2016–2024 was also studied (Foreign Service..., 2016; 2018; 2020; 2022; 2024). As part of the analysis of intergovernmental relations, the participation of ethnic minorities in the Council of Public Associations of National Minorities (Communities) of Ukraine, the distribution of Canadian civil servants in the professional category of “administration and diplomatic service” due to the country’s ethnic diversity, and the Indigenous Diplomacy Agenda (2021) policy in Australia were examined. Materials concerning remuneration in the United States were examined (2024 US Average..., 2025; Foreign Service Officer..., 2025). Statistical data on the wages of Ukrainian diplomats in 2019 and current vacancies at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine were analysed (Paid wages, 2019; Competitions for positions..., 2025).

Results

An inclusive society as the basis for inclusive diplomacy. There is no precise definition for the concept of “inclusive diplomacy”, yet it is understood to be linked to inclusive sustainable development, or simply to an inclusive society. The UN notes that during the World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen in 1995, the definition of an inclusive society was set out as “a society for all, in which every individual, each with rights and responsibilities, has an active role to play” (Social Inclusion, n.d.). Inclusive societies are equipped with mechanisms that recognise human diversity and facilitate participation in political, social, and economic life. Such societies

overcome divisions based on race, gender, or social status and, grounded in the well-being of each individual, foster mutual trust, a sense of belonging, and interconnectedness. In this regard, the definition of social cohesion is also important. According to the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, the concept encompasses a society in which all groups of people feel a sense of belonging, recognition, and legitimacy (Social Inclusion, n.d.). Such societies are not necessarily demographically homogeneous. Rather, they evolve through their diversity and utilise the potential inherent in it (the variety of ideas, skills, and perspectives). Precisely for this reason, such societies are less vulnerable to the destructive effects of conflicts arising from competing interests. The definition of minorities within a state is crucial for understanding the mechanisms of their integration and participation in foreign policy. The UN Refugee Agency points out that, owing to the diversity of circumstances in which they exist, there is still no single definition of what constitutes a minority (Minorities and indigenous..., 2025). Within the UN framework, the term refers to an ethnic, religious, linguistic, or cultural group that is numerically smaller than the rest of the population of a country, whose members nonetheless share the same rights. Persons belonging to minorities may think, feel, and act in ways that differ culturally from those of majority groups. This may be reflected in many social, political, and economic processes, religious practices, approaches to conflict resolution, or family relations.

An expert study by the Council of Europe emphasised that increasing the voices of ethnic minorities in decision-making processes can be achieved through comprehensive measures and mechanisms for their representation in national parliaments (Dres *et al.*, 2000). One of the fundamental conditions for the full integration of ethnic minorities into state processes is the realisation of the right to freedom of association – namely, the right to form organisations or political parties that can more effectively represent the interests of national minorities in the political sphere than traditional or conservative parties. Furthermore, as highlighted in the study, ethnic minorities may encounter difficulties in obtaining political mandates, whereas some states may instead prioritise the integration of ethnic minorities into mainstream national parties. In both scenarios, the absence of separate political parties in parliament composed of minority representatives does not yield positive outcomes in terms of adequately representing their interests. Expanding political influence is possible through the application of principles of direct or indirect privileges in electoral systems. Governments may introduce mechanisms to ensure minority representation, such as lowering electoral thresholds for minority parties, providing parliamentary quotas, or introducing differentiated rules and procedures for voting. In addition, minority representation in parliament may be strengthened through veto powers on certain bills concerning minority issues. Another crucial aspect is granting minorities places in committees responsible for shaping the political agenda, thereby enhancing their capacity to influence the political life of the state. Thus, while the above recommendations pertain primarily to aspects of domestic policy, they may be effectively adapted to the needs of foreign policy as well. Representatives of ethnic

minorities, possessing distinctive cultural, historical, and linguistic ties with other countries, can play special roles in building inter-state relations by fostering diplomatic dialogue and strengthening cooperation. To this end, corresponding quotas may also be introduced within diplomatic service institutions, thereby ensuring greater and more effective participation of minorities in foreign policy processes. Ethnic minorities can be used by governments as a mechanism for public diplomacy. This can include, for example, educational exchanges within cultural institutions, which will help to create a positive image of the country. As with the representation of ethnic minorities in parliament, a key aspect is not just their formal inclusion in the work of diplomatic structures. It must be the development of real mechanisms for influence and decision-making by involving such individuals in international negotiations and various bilateral or multilateral initiatives with international partners. Thus, it is precisely an inclusive approach, the theory of which exists within domestic policy, that can significantly influence the effectiveness of states' international relations by involving ethnic minorities and other population groups in the process of expanding and improving the effectiveness of international cooperation.

The ethnopolitical dimension of international diplomacy. One example of the establishment of diplomatic relations between countries involving ethnic minorities is the history of the migration of Crimean Tatars to Turkey and, conversely, Turks to Crimea. Relations between Crimea and Turkey have been close for many centuries. The population of Turkey often migrated to Crimea and settled there in the coastal part of the peninsula. Crimean Tatars, in turn, moved to Turkey to receive education or asylum. Mass emigration of Crimean Tatars to Turkey began after the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Empire in 1783. At that time, in 1783-1784, about 8,000 Tatars left the Crimean Peninsula, and in 1785-1788 another 100,000, and in the 1860s another 181,000 Tatars emigrated. The reasons for the mass emigration were devastation, famine, epidemics and, in general, the military dictatorship of the imperial authorities. In addition, Crimean Tatars were deported from Crimea during World War II, and according to official data, this figure amounted to 194,155 people (Buket, 2022). As a result, cultural diplomacy was practised in Turkey, which involved the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and art forms between peoples, contributing to the formation of mutual understanding and trust. In other words, the ethnic minority of Crimean Tatars in Turkey played the role of a kind of cultural bridge that facilitated inter-state dialogue. The consequences of the close historical relations between the Crimean Tatars and Turkey became particularly noticeable after the occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea by Russian troops in 2014. The position of Turkish diplomacy in support of Ukraine's sovereignty has remained unchanged since 2014. For example, in 2014, representatives of the Turkish Foreign Ministry expressed concern about the incident on 21 April (Turkish Foreign Ministry concerned..., 2014), namely the attack by so-called "self-defence fighters" on the building of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people with the aim of removing the Ukrainian flag, during which acts of violence against employees of the state institution were recorded.

In 2020, Turkish Foreign Ministry Spokesman H. Aksoy stated that Turkey continues to support the Crimean Tatar people and the territorial integrity of Ukraine (Turkey expressed support..., 2020). Similarly, in 2023, Turkish Presidential Chief Advisor Y. Topçu noted that Turkey demands respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine, including Crimea (Turkey supports the right..., 2023). The importance of this issue was also due to the fact that Crimean Tatars should live not only in peace, but also in their historical homeland. Y. Topçu also added that representatives of Turkey raise this issue at every meeting or international forum, not only within the walls of the UN. In 2010, Mustafa Dzhemilev spoke in Brussels, in the European Parliament building, with a report on “threats to the territorial integrity of Ukraine” (Gubernsky, 2019). Even then, he pointed out that Ukraine and Crimea were facing challenges and threats. Regarding Crimea, the speaker said that although this territory occupies only about 4% of the area and 5% of the population of Ukraine, the events taking place there and how they are presented in the media occupy much more space than news about other regions. This is explained by the fact that the peninsula has a number of peculiarities, and if the problems of the peninsula are not resolved in a timely manner, conflicts may arise both within Ukrainian society and in relations with geographical neighbours, meaning Russia. The representation of Ukraine’s ethnic minorities at the international level became possible thanks to the election of a representative of Ukraine to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in 2023. This representative is S. Mamutov,

who was born in Uzbekistan and later returned to Crimea (Khalilov, 2022). Ukraine also has an advisory body, one of whose powers is to cooperate with international organisations on issues related to the rights and interests of Ukraine’s national minorities (Council of Public Associations..., 2024). This body includes representatives of the Greek, Gagauz, Polish, Romanian, Azerbaijani, Slovak, Jewish, Hungarian, Roma and other ethnic minorities of Ukraine. The United States is also an example of the significant potential for developing inclusive diplomacy among representatives of different cultures and ethnic groups. The Washington Post reported (The Foreign..., 2015) that when individual diplomats in the United States began their careers in the 1970s, the diplomatic service was a kind of exclusive and closed club. It consisted mainly of white men with relevant education from Ivy League universities. In the 20th century, the US diplomatic service was made up mostly of white men and only a small percentage of women. As The Washington Post pointed out, this was a trend that lasted for decades, and even a photo from 1936 shows the general approach to ethnic diversity in government positions throughout the 20th century. As of 2015, little had changed, with 82% of diplomatic service personnel still white, 7% Asian, 5.4% African American, and another 5% Hispanic (The Foreign..., 2015). For comparison, the US population is approximately 50% male and 50% female, of which 17% are Hispanic and 14% are African American. Although the situation for some population groups in the US diplomatic service has improved, white Americans still remain the core of the diplomatic corps (Table 1).

Table 1. Ethnic and gender composition of the US diplomatic service

Categories	2016	2018	2020	2022	2024	Total population of the country in 2024, %
Men	157 (63.8%)	129 (64.1%)	145 (63.9%)	143 (62.2%)	150 (54.6%)	50.2 (2023)
Women	89 (36.2%)	72 (35.8%)	82 (36.1%)	87 (37.8%)	108 (45.4%)	49.7 (2023)
Hispanic	14 (5.7%)	14 (6.9%)	18 (7.9%)	16 (7%)	26 (10.9%)	19
Non-Hispanic	232 (94.3%)	187 (93%)	209 (92.1%)	214 (93%)	212 (89.1%)	–
White	203 (82.5%)	165 (82%)	179 (78.9%)	176 (76.5%)	176 (73.9%)	58
African American	13 (5.2%)	9 (4.5%)	15 (6.6%)	12 (5.2%)	21 (8.8%)	13
Asian	17 (6.9%)	12 (5.9%)	15 (6.6%)	28 (12.2%)	21 (8.8%)	6
Native American	0	0	1 (0.4%)	1 (0.4%)	5 (2.1%)	
Haitian	0	0	0	0	1 (0.4%)	
Multi-race	7 (2.8%)	10 (5%)	14 (6.2%)	10 (4.3%)	10 (4.2%)	
Race not specified	6 (2.4%)	5 (2.5%)	3 (1.3%)	3 (1.3%)	4 (1.7%)	–
Total	246 (100%)	201 (100%)	227 (100%)	230 (100%)	238 (100%)	100

Source: compiled by the author based on data of U.S. Department of State, World Bank, Visual Capitalist (Foreign Service..., 2016; 2018; 2020; 2022; 2024; Population – World..., n.d.; U.S. Population..., 2024)

According to Table 1, between 2016 and 2024, there was a gradual increase in the number of ethnic minorities and the proportion of women in the US diplomatic service. In 2018, the lowest number of white representatives (165 people) was recorded. However, in 2022 and 2024, this figure was lower than in 2016. On the other hand, the number of African Americans in the diplomatic service has increased since 2016, albeit with fluctuations. There have also been insignificant changes among the indigenous peoples and Haitians, who numbered six in the diplomatic service’s political career specialisation in 2024, compared to none in 2016. Thus, there is insufficient representation of ethnic minorities in the US diplomatic service, including in

the field of political career specialisation. This primarily concerns the representation of Haitians and indigenous peoples of America in the US diplomatic service, who account for only 2.5% of the diplomatic service with a political career specialisation, while they make up 6% of the total population of the country. This can negatively affect the diversity of views in foreign policy and also limits extremely important diplomatic qualities such as cultural sensitivity.

Another country with great ethnic diversity is Canada. Statistical analysis has shown that, according to the 2021 census, there were more than 450 ethnic and cultural groups. Among the most common were Canadians (5.7 million), English (5.3 million), Irish (4.4 million),

Scottish (4.4 million) and French (4 million). Among the less numerous ethnic groups, the Canadian population identified themselves as Germans (3 million), Italians (1.5 million), Ukrainians (1.3 million), and almost 1 million Dutch and Poles. In addition, 1.7 million people identified themselves as Chinese, 1.3 million as Indians, and 0.9 million as Filipino (The Canadian census..., 2022). The Canadian government is also improving the process of involving ethnic minorities in public administration and international affairs. This is confirmed by data from the Government of Canada website, which publishes information on the distribution of civil servants by subgroups and professional categories among members of visible minorities (Distribution of..., n.d.). The total number of civil servants in the professional category of "administration and diplomatic service" in 2017 was 86,032, of which 14,263 were representatives of minorities, or 16.6% of the total. In 2018, the number of civil servants increased to 90,144, of whom 15,605 were ethnic minorities, or 17.3%. In 2019, there were 17,762 ethnic minorities (18.4%) among Canada's 96,616 civil servants. In 2020, there were 20,716 representatives of ethnic minorities among 105,165 employees. In 2021, there were 24,022 representatives among 115,114 employees. In 2022, there were 27,176 representatives among 122,012 employees. In 2023, out of 133,282 civil servants in Canada, there were 31,624 representatives of ethnic minorities, or 23.7%. Accordingly, the diversity of ethnic groups in the Canadian civil service is gradually increasing. Currently, ethnic minorities in the Canadian diplomatic service include African Americans, non-white Latin Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, representatives of Southeast Asian peoples, and others. Official information from the Government of Canada does not contain data on the exact number of Ukrainians involved in Canada's international affairs. The issue of involving national minorities in public administration and their influence on international relations is important in both domestic and foreign policy. The active participation of ethnic communities in political life can contribute to the strengthening of international relations. For example, the actions of the Crimean Tatar ethnic minority in Ukraine, due to its close historical ties with Turkey, became an important factor in shaping Turkey's diplomatic support for the territorial integrity of the state after the start of Russia's armed aggression against Ukraine in 2014. The experience of the United States and Canada shows that state policies aimed at involving ethnic minorities in governance and international relations play an important role in ensuring internal social stability and developing bilateral contacts between states whose citizens are integrated into inclusive political systems. In this context, ethnic diversity in public administration is not only a manifestation of social justice, but also an effective foreign policy tool capable of both strengthening inter-state partnerships and creating new challenges.

Prospects for the representation of national minorities in public administration and recommendations for strengthening inclusiveness. The representation of persons belonging to national minorities in all relevant government structures and decision-making bodies is important for the realisation of their right to participate in public life and contributes to the integration of society, as

noted in the OSCE's collection of recommendations (Recommendations on the..., 2023). Mechanisms for taking into account the interests of ethnic minorities include the appointment of persons belonging to national minorities to positions in relevant ministries and interdepartmental bodies, and the recruitment of persons belonging to national or ethnic minorities involved in the social and economic participation of minorities at the central and local government levels. Ministries and interdepartmental bodies should also consult regularly with national or ethnic minorities on issues related to their participation in social, economic and political life. This mechanism is one of the areas of multi-track diplomacy, which provides for the systematic and comprehensive participation in global processes not only of governments but also of various sectors of society, including representatives of ethnic minorities. The inclusion of these actors in the diplomatic process allows for the implementation of comprehensive approaches to foreign policy, the activation of informal channels of communication and influence, and a faster response to challenges related to intercultural conflicts or crises. Within the framework of the multi-channel concept, the first attempt to increase the number of representatives of ethnic minorities in the US diplomatic service was the Department of State Authorisation of USA (2021) bill. It was submitted to the House of Representatives in February 2021 and underwent a series of readings and amendments. Section 1405, "Promoting diversity and inclusion in the national security workforce," states that the Secretary of State shall ensure that employees with recruitment functions demonstrate a commitment to equal opportunity, diversity, and inclusion. Also, when making recommendations on candidates based on interview results, the Secretary of State should make every effort to ensure that at least one candidate reflects diversity. However, the new US administration is less concerned with diversity than the previous one. In Australia, the Indigenous Diplomacy Agenda (2021) was released in 2021 to raise the issue of indigenous peoples' participation in Australia's international affairs. The main objectives of this programme are to develop international norms and standards to protect the interests of indigenous peoples, maximise opportunities, promote sustainable development, and appoint diplomats from indigenous peoples to serve the national interests of the state. The first diplomatic appointment was Mr J. Mohamed, who became Australia's first ambassador for indigenous affairs. This decision was based on the fact that he had worked for many years in organisations representing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, and therefore had strong ties to the community, and was himself a member of the Gurung-Gurung tribe. This decision helped to strengthen the voice of indigenous peoples in the international arena and draw attention to the challenges of climate change and environmental pollution that they face in their daily lives.

At the same time, economic factors can both discourage and increase interest in a diplomatic career. For example, the average salary in the United States in 2024 was USD 62,000, which was 4.5% higher than in 2023 (2024 US average..., 2025). The average salary of a diplomatic employee in the United States during those years was USD 56,000 per year, which was slightly less than the national

average. However, as they advance in their careers, US diplomats can earn over USD 100,000 (Foreign Service officer..., 2025). In contrast, in Ukraine, the wage of a leading specialist in the Personnel Management Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine in 2019 was only 3,891 hryvnia (Paid wages, 2019). When it comes to diplomatic service ranks, attachés, the lowest diplomatic rank, received an average of 6,000 hryvnia per month. Information about positions on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, which was available as of February 2025, shows that a leading inspector in the Foreign Diplomatic Institutions Department of the Personnel Management Directorate can receive a salary of 8,236 hryvnia per month (Competitions for positions, 2025). Accordingly, such working conditions are much more difficult during periods of economic instability. This creates difficulties for representatives of ethnic minorities. The average recruitment for such positions can also be tracked on the MFA website by opening a separate column entitled “competition results”, where no candidate is listed as the winner of the competition. However, it should be added that within the structure of Ukraine’s diplomatic bodies, there is also the possibility of advancing one’s diplomatic rank and, consequently, receiving a higher and more dignified salary. An additional problem may be the transparency of such competitions, as well as the absence of regulatory and legal acts that establish norms regarding representatives of ethnic minorities in the structures of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. Given the complexity of the diplomatic service, this is a difficult process, since according to Law of Ukraine No. 2449 “On Diplomatic Service” (2018), the term of service in the diplomatic ranks of attaché, third secretary, second secretary, first secretary, and second-class counsellor is three years. To ensure equal representation of ethnic minorities in the diplomatic field, international organisations and governments must take comprehensive measures to overcome structural barriers, expand professional development opportunities, and ensure equal access to diplomatic career opportunities. International organisations such as the UN or OSCE can expand support programmes for diplomats from ethnic minorities. This could include targeted scholarships, mentoring programmes and internships aimed at increasing the number of minority representatives in foreign policy structures. An example of this is the Pickering Fellowship in the United States. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, in cooperation with other actors in domestic relations, such as the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, could develop an analogue of the Pickering Fellowship with a focus on representatives of ethnic minorities in Ukraine (Diversity and inclusion..., 2023). Governments should also develop policies to diversify personnel in foreign policy agencies. Examples include the activities of the Canadian and Australian governments, which are successfully implementing policies to involve ethnic minorities in international affairs. Similar approaches can be applied in other countries to ensure transparent selection mechanisms and create equal opportunities for career advancement. Governments need to develop and approve systematic strategies for ethnic diversity in the diplomatic service. This may include establishing quotas for minority representation in diplomatic posts, reviewing competitive

selection to eliminate possible biases against ethnic minorities, and including knowledge of minority languages in the requirements. An example is Canada’s Employment Equity Act (1995), which defines groups of people, including members of visible minorities, and requires employers to implement employment equity policies and submit statistical reports on the representation of members of visible minorities. It is also important to create international platforms for discussing issues of inclusive diplomacy. This could include organising summits or forums with representatives of ethnic minorities, which would help develop effective strategies for overcoming inequality in diplomatic structures. In addition, governments need to publicly report on the representation of minorities in the diplomatic service. This will help ensure transparency in the formation of foreign policy personnel. Attention should also be paid to the participation of indigenous peoples in international diplomacy. The active role of Crimean Tatar representatives in Ukraine in international political processes demonstrates the importance of formally recognising indigenous peoples at the diplomatic level and creating special mechanisms for their participation in the formation of foreign policy.

Discussion

A study by L.A. Sutherland *et al.* (2021) states that there is no unified approach to understanding the concept of an inclusive society in international legal documents. Regarding the definition of “minority” the results of the conducted analysis are consistent with the approach proposed by N. Ahmad (2021), according to which a minority is interpreted as an ethnic, linguistic, or religious group that is numerically smaller than the main population but have equal rights and obligations. At the same time, unlike the cited study, N. Ahmad (2021) also focuses on the aspect of “the collective will to survive and achieve equality with the majority,” which has been a subject of criticism in academic circles due to the vagueness and ambiguity of the wording. The results also showed that the participation of ethnic minorities in political life can be increased through mechanisms of representation in state bodies. This is partly consistent with the conclusions of J. Wondreys & C. Mudde (2022). M. Tan (2022) also agreed with the conclusions about the benefits of ethnic minority representation in political offices, noting that excessive political representation in certain regions works in favour of ethnic minorities. At the same time, the results partially contradict the conclusions of W. O’Brochta (2024), who argued that inter-ethnic contacts in the political environment do not have a significant impact on solving minority problems. This study demonstrated that in the case of Ukraine, the participation of the Crimean Tatar community in political and international processes contributed to Turkey’s support for the country’s sovereignty.

A consequence of the close relationship between the ethnic minority from Ukraine and Turkey was full diplomatic support for Ukraine’s sovereignty and independence with the beginning of Russian aggression in 2014 and the continuation of hostilities along with Russia’s full-scale invasion in 2022. This was not least due to the close ties with the Crimean Tatars, whose rights Turkey considered it necessary to protect. E. Sarıççek & T. Öztürk (2023)

also wrote about this, focusing on the Turkish government, which wants to protect the rights of Crimean Tatars by supporting Ukraine's territorial integrity. Turkey's non-recognition of the annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea by the Russian authorities was also emphasised by researcher Z. Krzyżanowska (2024), who noted the numerous associations of Crimean Tatars in Turkey with their informal leader. This thesis was confirmed in the conducted study. The obtained results of the study are consistent with the results of E.M. Ambrosetti (2023), who wrote that the ties between the Crimean Tatars and Turkey demonstrate the latter's solidarity in condemning Russia's actions. In 1989, the U.S. Department of State launched a number of scholarships for those who wanted to join the diplomatic service from minority groups, and also sent diplomatic recruiters to higher education institutions, which were predominantly made up of minority students. S. Portocarrero & J.T. Carter (2022) noted that such scholarships create a competitive environment for minorities and opportunities for a good career. The results regarding the importance of the Pickering scholarship are also consistent with the work of G.E. Martin & C.S. Morris (2022). In their work, they studied the activities of a US educational institution that aimed to increase funding for Hispanic students and students from other minorities, which enabled many of them to get positions in the diplomatic service, including with the support of the Pickering scholarship. However, the results of the study showed that the number of ethnic minority representatives involved in the US diplomatic service between 2016 and 2024 increased minimally, and such representatives number about 2.5%. This was consistent with the results of M. Lachanski (2025), who did not find a clear trend in the stability of ethnic minorities' work in the diplomatic service over an even longer period from 1996 to 2020.

The conducted study also highlighted the importance of the right to hold positions in relevant bodies and ministries, in accordance with the recommendations from the OSCE. Regarding the representation of ethnic minorities in state bodies, the study by S. McCandless *et al.* (2022) indicated the importance of diversity management strategies to ensure equality in the political process. The obtained results confirm this thesis, as it was shown that countries with an active state policy on equality, such as Canada, demonstrate a more dynamic involvement of ethnic minorities in public administration. Additionally, the importance of appointing minority representatives to political positions can help reduce inequality by providing different views on social, economic, and political aspects. Also, ethnic minority representatives can be effective channels of communication between the central government and regional minority representatives. Researchers A.E. Una & U.E. Eyo (2024) have a different point of view regarding political appointments of ethnic minority representatives. According to the authors, one of the potential consequences may be the promotion of ethnic biases, which will lead to favouritism towards a specific ethnic group. This can also limit opportunities for qualified candidates from other ethnic groups. The obtained results of the study are consistent with the opinion of M. Hassan *et al.* (2024), who noted the benefits of ethnic minorities in the civil service in better communication channels and inter-agency trust. Within the framework of the study, attention was

also focused on the importance of economic incentives for involving ethnic minorities in international relations at the state level. Considering the average salary in the US of about USD 62,000, diplomatic service employees, although they earn an average of USD 56,000, career growth can provide them with a salary of more than USD 100,000. For example, researchers A. Jha & A.L. Nauze (2022) noted the average salary of diplomats in the US at the level of USD 92,314 as of 2019, which is consistent with the obtained results regarding the average salary of US diplomatic employees. Researcher Yu.A. Dovbnya (2023) estimated the average salary of a diplomat in the US at the level of USD 94,000, while the salary of the Ambassador of Ukraine to the US is USD 10,000. It should be taken into account that the rank of ambassador is the highest and therefore the most difficult to achieve.

The importance of the Indigenous Diplomacy Agenda (2021) was confirmed in the work of S.G. Carter & G. Fry (2023). The authors gave an example of the diplomacy of indigenous peoples, thanks to which Kiribati returned to the Pacific Islands Forum in 2023. However, researcher H. Reynolds (2023) criticised the initiative and noted that the active policy of "white Australia" has deeper institutionalised roots and cannot be solved by simple means. As A. Waymouth (2024) pointed out, superficial changes are unlikely to lead to changes in the interaction of Australia's ethnic minorities with other countries in the region, since, as J. Cornthassel (2021) pointed out, indigenous peoples are alienated from state structures. The study reveals the absence of a single concept of an inclusive society and minorities in international law, while at the same time confirming that the representation of minorities in state bodies, especially in politics, contributes to the support of their interests. In particular, the example of the Crimean Tatars in Ukraine shows how close ties with Turkey can strengthen the country's sovereignty. However, the analysis shows that there are conflicting views on the political appointments of minority representatives, as well as the fact that despite special programmes (for example, in the US), their involvement in the diplomatic service remains low.

Conclusions

Thus, inclusive diplomacy is an important indicator of an inclusive society based on the principles of equal opportunities regardless of race, gender, sex or ethnic origin. The active participation of the entire population is important for social, political and economic development. The involvement of ethnic minorities in the decision-making process in international relations is an important process in shaping the inclusiveness of public administration. As the example of the Crimean Tatars and Turkey has shown, historical and cultural proximity can have a long-lasting impact on bilateral relations. Support for Ukraine, including through ties with the Crimean Tatars, is reflected in the systematic protection of Ukraine's independence and sovereignty in the international arena. The representation of ethnic minorities is a topical issue for the governments of the United States, Canada and Australia. In Canada, between 2017 and 2023, the number of civil servants from ethnic minorities in the "administration and diplomatic service" category increased from 14,263 to 31,624. In percentage terms, the number of ethnic

minority representatives was 16.6% in 2017 and 23.7% in 2023. In the United States, the policy of integrating ethnic minorities into the decision-making process still needs improvement. Although the number of Hispanics, African Americans and Asians in the U.S. Department of State has increased since 2016, it has only increased by 5-10 representatives, depending on ethnicity. In Australia, the Indigenous Diplomacy Agenda programme has been an important step towards strengthening the participation of indigenous peoples in international affairs, aimed at protecting their interests, ensuring sustainable development and representation at the diplomatic level, symbolically reinforced by the appointment of the first ambassador from the indigenous peoples.

The representation of ethnic minorities in government structures is one of the foundations of a democratic society. Economic factors can be a significant obstacle to the involvement of minorities in international relations and diplomacy. It has been determined that the average salary in the United States is USD 62,000, while that of the diplomatic corps is around USD 56,000, but career advancement can increase this amount to USD 100,000. In Ukraine, however, the salaries of civil servants in the diplomatic service do not encourage the involvement of any of the country's ethnic groups. In addition, Ukraine lacks

legislation regulating the representation of ethnic minorities in the civil service. Thus, the involvement of ethnic minorities in international relations at the state level is a problem not only of legislative initiatives, but also of wage reform, increasing the prestige of the diplomatic service, and creating decent conditions for the professional development of all segments of the population. Increasing the level of inclusiveness in diplomacy is possible by expanding support programmes for diplomats from ethnic minorities through scholarship programmes. It is also important to introduce legislative norms regarding the number of representatives of ethnic minorities in international agencies and to publish reports on this process. Future research on this topic could focus on the international legal aspects of obligations regarding the representation of ethnic minorities in decision-making processes.

Acknowledgements

None.

Funding

None.

Conflict of interest

None.

References

- [1] 2024 US average salary. (2025). Retrieved from <https://www.knitpeople.com/blog/average-salary-us>.
- [2] Act of the Department of State Authorization of USA. (2021, May). Retrieved from <https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/1157>.
- [3] Ahmad, N. (2021). Protecting the rights of minorities under international law and implications of COVID-19: An overview of the Indian context. *Laws*, 10, 127-147. doi: 10.3390/books978-3-0365-2280-7.
- [4] Amatullah, T. (2024). Exploring female Muslim educational leadership in a multicultural Canadian context. *Religions*, 15(2), article number 215. doi: 10.3390/rel15020215.
- [5] Ambrosetti, E.T. (2023). Tarafsız: Turkey's impartial stance vis-a-vis Russia's war against Ukraine. In *Polarization, shifting borders and liquid governance: Studies on transformation and development in the OSCE region* (pp. 367-382). Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland. doi: 10.1007/978-3-031-44584-2_22.
- [6] Aydemir, N., & Vliegthart, R. (2022). Tracing roots of group representation among MPs with immigrant backgrounds: A content analysis on parliamentary questions in the Netherlands. *Ethnicities*, 22(3), 467-486. doi: 10.1177/14687968211005187.
- [7] Black, J.H. (2022). *Racial diversity and the 2021 federal election: Visible minority candidates and MPs*. *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, 45(2), article number 4/7.
- [8] Buket, Ye. (2022). *Ukraine commemorates victims of deportation and genocide of Crimean Tatar people*. Retrieved from <https://armyinform.com.ua/2022/05/18/v-ukrayini-vshanovuyut-pamyat-zhertv-deportaciyi-ta-genocyzdu-kryskotatarskogo-narodu/>.
- [9] Carter, S.G., & Fry, G. (2023). Australia's indigenous diplomacy and its regional resonance in Oceania. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 77(6), 656-663. doi: 10.1080/10357718.2023.2268024.
- [10] Competitions for positions. (2025). Retrieved from <https://is.gd/rZjKTf>.
- [11] Cornthassel, J. (2021). *Life beyond the state: Regenerating Indigenous international relations and everyday challenges to settler colonialism*. *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, 2021(1), 71-97.
- [12] Council of public associations of national minorities: A new voice for Ukrainian diversity. (2024). Retrieved from <https://dessa.gov.ua/rada-hromadskykh-ob-iednan-natsionalnykh-menshyn-novyy-holos-dlia-ukrainskoho-riznomanittia/>.
- [13] Dinesen, P.T., Dahl, M., & Schiøler, M. (2021). When are legislators responsive to ethnic minorities? Testing the role of electoral incentives and candidate selection for mitigating ethnocentric responsiveness. *American Political Science Review*, 115(2), 450-466. doi: 10.1017/S0003055420001070.
- [14] Distribution of public service of Canada employees by designated sub-group and occupational category – members of visible minorities. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.canada.ca/en/treasury-board-secretariat/services/innovation/human-resources-statistics/diversity-inclusion-statistics/distribution-public-service-canada-employees-designated-sub-group-occupational-category-visible-minorities.html>.
- [15] Diversity and inclusion in the U.S. Foreign Service: A primer. (2023). Retrieved from <https://afsa.org/diversity-and-inclusion-us-foreign-service-primer>.

- [16] Dovbnya, Yu.A. (2023). *Career prospects of a diplomat*. In *Proceedings of the III international scientific conference "Innovations and scientific potential of the world"* (pp. 70-73). Vinnytsia: UKRLOGOS Group.
- [17] Dres, H.C., Frowein, J.A., & Bank, R. (2000). *The participation of minorities in decision-making processes*. Brussel: Council of Europe.
- [18] Employment Equity Act of Canada. (1995, December). Retrieved from <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/e-5.401/>.
- [19] Foreign Service Officer career and salary profile. (2025). Retrieved from <https://online.fit.edu/degrees/undergraduate/ba-mgmt/foreign-service-officer-career-and-salary-profile/>.
- [20] Foreign Service promotion statistics. (2016). Retrieved from <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/265923.pdf>.
- [21] Foreign Service promotion statistics. (2018). Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/FS-Pormotion-Statistics-by-Grade-Cone-and-ERG-2018.pdf>.
- [22] Foreign Service promotion statistics. (2020). Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/2020-FS-Promotion-Statistics-by-Diversity-and-Cone.pdf>.
- [23] Foreign Service promotion statistics. (2022). Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/2022-FS-Promotion-Statistics-by-Diversity-and-Cone.pdf>.
- [24] Foreign Service promotion statistics. (2024). Retrieved from <https://2021-2025.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/2024-FS-Promotion-Statistics-by-Diversity-and-Cone.pdf>.
- [25] Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. (1995). Retrieved from <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/cets-number/-/abridged-title-known?module=treaty-detail&treatynum=157>.
- [26] Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. (1995, February). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/995_055#Text.
- [27] Gubernsky, B. (2019). *Mustafa Dzhemilev. "A faithful ally and a glorious commander"*. Retrieved from <https://ua.krymr.com/a/mustafa-dzhemilev-virnyi-sojuznyk-ta-slavnyi-polkovodets/29597873.html>.
- [28] Hassan, M., Larreguy, H., & Russell, S. (2024). Who gets hired? Political patronage and bureaucratic favouritism. *American Political Science Review*, 118(4), 1913-1930. doi: 10.1017/S0003055423001338.
- [29] Indigenous Diplomacy Agenda. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.dfat.gov.au/publications/indigenous-diplomacy-agenda>.
- [30] Jha, A., & Nauze, A.L. (2022). US Embassy air-quality tweets led to global health benefits. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 119(44), article number e2201092119. doi: 10.1073/pnas.2201092119.
- [31] Khalilov, R. (2022). *Crimean to represent Ukraine at UN Forum on Indigenous Peoples: How did they manage to oust Russia?* Retrieved from <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/korinni-narody-oon-ukraina-krym-suleiman-mamutov/31843121.html>.
- [32] Krzyżanowska, Z. (2024). *On the trail of the grey wolf: Pan-Turkism in Turkey's foreign policy*. *OSW Commentary*, 595.
- [33] Lachanski, M. (2025). US trends in job stability by sex, race, and ethnicity from 1996 to 2020. *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 11(1), 224-246. doi: 10.7758/RSF.2025.11.1.11.
- [34] Law of Ukraine No. 2449 "On Diplomatic Service". (2018, June). Retrieved from <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2449-19#Text>.
- [35] Martin, G.E., & Morris, C.S. (2022). Overcoming inequality of access and participation through institutional, international, and governmental collaboration: A case study. *Beijing International Review of Education*, 4(2), 301-321. doi: 10.1163/25902539-04020007.
- [36] Martin, N.S., & Blinder, S. (2021). Biases at the ballot box: How multiple forms of voter discrimination impede the descriptive and substantive representation of ethnic minority groups. *Political Behavior*, 43(4), 1487-1510. doi: 10.1007/s11109-020-09596-4.
- [37] McCandless, S., Bishu, S.G., Gomez Hernandez, M., Paredes Eraso, E., Sabharwal, M., Santis, E.L., & Yates, S. (2022). A long road: Patterns and prospects for social equity, diversity, and inclusion in public administration. *Public Administration*, 100(1), 129-148. doi: 10.1111/padm.12830.
- [38] Minorities and indigenous peoples. (2025). Retrieved from <https://emergency.unhcr.org/protection/persons-risk/minorities-and-indigenous-peoples>.
- [39] O'Brochta, W. (2024). Elite responses to ethnic diversity and interethnic contact. *Political Behavior*, 46(2), 1057-1077. doi: 10.1007/s11109-023-09859-w.
- [40] OSCE. (2023). *Recommendations on the effective participation of national minorities in social and economic life & explanatory note*. Retrieved from <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/2/3/553783.pdf>.
- [41] Paid wages. (2019). Retrieved from <https://dostup.org.ua/request/59187/response/151181/attach/3/21200335dod1.pdf>.
- [42] Perga, T.Yu. (2021). Relations of Hungary with neighboring countries in the 20th – early 21st centuries. *Problems of World History*, 3(15), 74-91. doi: 10.46869/2707-6776-2021-15-3.
- [43] Population – World Bank. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL>.
- [44] Portocarrero, S., & Carter, J.T. (2022). "But the fellows are simply diversity hires!" How organizational contexts influence status beliefs. *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 8(7), 172-191. doi: 10.7758/RSF.2022.8.7.09.
- [45] Reynolds, H. (2023). Racialised foreign policy and the prospects for Indigenous diplomacy. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 77(6), 632-636. doi: 10.1080/10357718.2023.2273055.
- [46] Sarıççek, E., & Öztürk, T. (2024). The annexation of Crimea and Türkiye's balancing role in the Russia-Ukraine war. *Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 22(2), 238-255. doi: 10.18026/cbayarsos.1425589.

- [47] Shevchenko, M.I. (2023). [Modern concepts of intercultural interaction in the context of globalization and modern international relations](#). *International Relations: Theoretical and Practical Aspects*, 12, 164-179.
- [48] Social Inclusion. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://social.desa.un.org/issues/social-inclusion>.
- [49] Sutherland, L.A., Burton, R.J., Adamsone-Fiskovica, A., Hardy, C., Elzen, B., Debruyne, L., & Flanigan, S. (2021). Inclusivity of on-farm demonstration: Gender, age, and geographic location. *The Journal of Agricultural Education and Extension*, 27(5), 591-613. doi: 10.1080/1389224X.2020.1828115.
- [50] Tan, N. (2022). Introduction: Quotas, parties and electoral design-mechanisms and effects of ethnic representation in diverse societies. *Representation*, 58(3), 339-346. doi: 10.1080/00344893.2022.2026813.
- [51] The Canadian census: A rich portrait of the country's religious and ethnocultural diversity. (2022). Retrieved from <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026b-eng.htm>.
- [52] The Foreign Service is too white. We'd know – we're top diplomats. (2015). Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2015/05/18/the-foreign-service-is-too-white-wed-know-were-top-diplomats/>.
- [53] Tomakh, D.A. (2024). [Religious and political conflicts in Iran](#). In *Proceedings of the XXVII All-Ukrainian scientific and practical conference* (pp. 91-96). Kharkiv: Pravo.
- [54] Turkey expressed support for the Crimean Tatars and the integrity of Ukraine. (2020). Retrieved from <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-crimea/3027756-tureccina-vislovida-pidtrimku-krimskim-tataram-ta-cilisnosti-ukraini.html>.
- [55] Turkey supports the right of Crimean Tatars to live in their historical homeland – presidential advisor. (2023). Retrieved from <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-crimea/3798477-tureccina-pidtrimue-pravo-krimskih-tatar-ziti-na-istoricnij-batkivsini-radnik-prezidenta.html>.
- [56] Turkish Foreign Ministry concerned about oppression of Crimean Tatars. (2014). Retrieved from https://lb.ua/news/2014/04/23/264150_mid_turtsii_obespokoen_pritesneniyami.html.
- [57] Una, A.E., & Eyo, U.E. (2024). [Ethnic politics and governance in Akwa Ibom state](#). *World atlas International Journal of Education & Management*, 7(1), 55-66.
- [58] Waltz, M., & Schippers, A. (2021). Politically disabled: Barriers and facilitating factors affecting people with disabilities in political life within the European Union. *Disability & Society*, 36(4), 517-540. doi: 10.1080/09687599.2020.1751075.
- [59] Waymouth, A. (2024). [Indigenous diplomacy: A framework for rethinking Australia's engagement with Asia](#). *ANU Undergraduate Research Journal*, 13(1).
- [60] Weinberg, J. (2021). Civic education as an antidote to inequalities in political participation? New evidence from English secondary education. *British Politics*, 17(2), 185-209. doi: 10.1057/s41293-021-00186-4.
- [61] Wondreys, J., & Mudde, C. (2022). [Victims of the pandemic? European far-right parties and COVID-19](#). *Nationalities Papers*, 50(1), 86-103.
- [62] Yankovsky, G. (2018). *Crimean Tatars and Nogais in Turkey*. Retrieved from <https://www.ji.lviv.ua/n90texts/yankovskyj-kr-tatary-i-nogajci.htm>.