



Article Info/Makale Bilgisi

✓Received/Geliş:14.06.2022 ✓Accepted/Kabul:11.10.2022

DOI:10.30794/pausbed.1130640

Research Article/Araştırma Makalesi

Yaman, H. ve Kartal, M. (2023). "Globalization and Migration From The Perspective of Ethnosymbolist and Civic Nationalism", *Pamukkale Social Sciences Institute Journal*, Issue 55, Denizli, pp. 147-155.

GLOBALIZATION AND MIGRATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ETHNOSYMBOLIST AND CIVIC NATIONALISM

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Abstract

Nationalist ideology, which emerged in the 18th century and profoundly influenced the 19th, occupies a significant position in human affairs and the concept of the nation-state, despite its contradictions and multidimensional structure. As nationalism gained traction in the ethnosymbolist mentality through values such as race, religion, language, and ethnicity, it acquired different meanings around the concept of civic nationalism in the aftermath of modernization and globalization. The specific conditions of societies were affected by globalization and migration, leading to the differentiation of the nationalist mindset between ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism. Beginning in the 1980s, Western civic nationalism was described as "good nationalism," while Eastern nationalism, informed by ethnosymbolism, was "bad nationalism." This study seeks the answer to the question of how the stances of ethnosymbolism and civic nationalism towards globalization and migration were shaped. In this context, the study examines the convergence between ethnosymbolist nationalism and civic nationalism, as well as the factors that led to it, from a historical and holistic perspective and by using a comparative method.

Keywords: *Civic Nationalism, Ethnosymbolist Nationalism, Globalization, Migration, Nationalism.*

JEL Codes: F22-D71-E61

ETNO-SEMBOLİST VE SİVİL MİLLİYETÇİLİK PERSPEKTİFİNDEN KÜRESELLEŞME VE GÖÇ

Öz

18. yüzyılda anlam bulan, 19. yüzyıla damga vuran Milliyetçi ideoloji, çelişkilerine ve çok boyutlu yapısına rağmen insan ilişkilerinde ve ulus devlet anlayışında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Milliyetçilik, ırk, din, dil ve etnik yapı gibi değerlerle etno-sembolist anlayış içerisinde değerlendirilerek modernleşme ve küreselleşmenin getirileri ile birlikte sivil milliyetçilik düşüncesinde farklı anlamlar kazanmıştır. Toplumların özgül koşulları ise küreselleşme ve göç olgularından etkilenmiş ve milliyetçi anlayış bu değişim karşısında etnik milliyetçilik ile sivil milliyetçilik arasında farklılaşabilmiştir. 1980'li yıllardan itibaren Batı tipi sivil milliyetçilik iyi milliyetçilik olarak tanımlanırken Doğu tipi, Etno-sembolist milliyetçilik ise "kötü" milliyetçilik olarak ifade edilmektedir. Bu çalışmada Etno-sembolist milliyetçilik ve sivil milliyetçi anlayışın küreselleşme ve göç olgusu karşısında takındıkları tavırların nasıl şekillendiği sorusunun cevabı aranmıştır. Bu doğrultuda etno-sembolist milliyetçilik ve sivil milliyetçilik arasındaki yakınlaşma ve buna yol açan etkenler, tarihsel ve bütüncül bir bakış açısıyla karşılaştırmalı bir yöntemle ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Etno-Sembolist Milliyetçilik, Göç, Küreselleşme, Milliyetçilik, Sivil Milliyetçilik.*

JEL Kodları: F22-D71-E61

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1. INTRODUCTION

Different migration theories explain the reasons that lead to migration. In their study titled “The Age of Migration,” first published in 1993, Castles, Haas, and Miller (2014) describe the time period we live in as the “Age of Migration.” While the age of migration continues, immigrants are pointed out as the cause of various problems many countries have been experiencing in the last few decades. Some studies also suggest that religion is another factor contributing to migration¹ (Dölek, 2021:109). Migration theories² interpret the causes of migration through different principles, and the consequences of migration differ according to the immigration policies of each country. These differences arise not only from immigration policies but also from many values of the destination country. Nationalist ties within societies are one of the important variables that lead to different attitudes and behaviors towards migration and immigrants.

Nationalism has been followed as an ideology that has always preoccupied the mind of humanity throughout history, just like the issue of migration, and one that humanity has tried to place on a scientific basis since the 18th century. Many scholars have tried to explain the rationale behind the nationalist ideology. The primordialist approach, the modernist approach, ethnosymbolism, and the civic approach are all theories that attempt to explain nationalism (Özkırımlı, 2009). Philosophers such as Edward Shils, Clifford Geertz, Anthony Smith, Benedict Anderson, John Armstrong, Ernest Gellner, and Hans Kohn have tried to explain these approaches. Contrary to many philosophers, political scientist and historian Anderson states that nationalism first emerged in the colonies of America. Anderson (2015: 20) argues that language is not a dominant element in the nationalist view that emerged in the Americas. One of the main reasons for Anderson to make this comment is that the language of the colonies involved in wars is the same as the language of the nationalist view.

Renan (1946: 120) states that human beings are the most important factor in the formation of nations. Ethnosymbolism embodies the emphasis put on previous periods and values such as ethnicity, language, religion, and ancestry by theories and philosophers seeking to explain nationalism. The view of nationalism that is symbolized by the modern era, capitalism, and development is explained as civic nationalism.

Projections point to divergences between ethnosymbolist and civic nationalist views on social, political, and economic issues involving migration and immigrant identity. Through the ethnosymbolist and civic approaches, this study examines the nationalist ideology that shapes the outlook that social structures, changing due to migration and globalization, have for immigrants. It seeks to explain how the stances of ethnosymbolist nationalism and civic nationalism against globalization and migration are shaped.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Ethnosymbolist nationalism and civic (territorial) nationalism are ideological defenses prominently featured in studies on nationalism. Hans Kohn was the first to mention this distinction in his work titled, “The Idea of Nationalism “ (2005: 330-332). Various classifications of nationalism indicate that as an ideology it can adapt to political, social, and economic changes³. Anthony D. Smith, a leading figure in ethnosymbolist thinking, underlines how important ethnic creation is for the foundation of a “natural” nation. In his book, Smith (2016: 32) defines the nation as “*a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths, and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy, and common legal rights and duties.*”

Ethnosymbolist nationalism states that elements such as religion, language, race, tradition, and ancestry have an important place in the formation of the nation. Herder (Türküne, 2006: 633-634), a noteworthy representative of symbolist nationalism who lived in Germany in the 18th century, stated that language and natural environment are the principal elements that determine the identity of a national community. According to Alakel (2011: 8), ethnosymbolist nationalism is an approach that suggests that the formation of the nation precedes the formation of the state. Therefore, the nation is often “a collective entity that outweighs the individual.” Ethnosymbolist nationalism can be clearly seen in Eastern and Central European nationalism, and in German nationalism in particular.

1 Smith (1978), Stepick (2005), Schreiter (2009), Frederiks (2016), Irvin (2014), Phan (2014).

2 Ravenstein (1889) Lee (1966), Petersen, (1958), Stouffer (1940).

3 See for different classifications of nationalism. Akıncı (2014: 140); Anderson (1993: 41); Dieckhoff (2010: 9-20); Dunn (1999: 27-28); Kedourie, (1993: 41); Kohn, (2005: 25); Norman (1999: 14-118). Özkırımlı (2009: 11-80); Parla (1985: 45-49); Uzun (2003:133-134).

Contrary to the ethnosymbolist nationalism approach that denies modernization processes, civic nationalism sees nationalist ideology as an integral part of modernity. According to civic nationalism, social, political, and economic developments shaped by capitalism and industrial production relations highlight nationalism as a product of the modern era (Yanık and Kara, 2016: 566). Civic nationalism is considered to be the starting point of the national identity formation process as well. National identity is a political sense of community that is felt on a piece of land which is founded on respect for the rule of law and has distinct borders. This approach is based on the idea that the main condition of being a nation is territorial and national integrity under the sovereignty of a single political will. Prominent figures of civic nationalism theory such as Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Tom Nairn, and Eric Hobsbawm view nations as political units that are products of capitalism and industrialization. Civic nationalism argues that nationalism has its roots in modernity (Alakel, 2011: 4-5).

Civic nationalism is established around principles such as a homeland with borders, legal-political equality between individuals, and the existence of a shared culture. The individuals who make up the nation live in equality within the understanding of constitutional citizenship (Özkırımlı, 2009: 15-16). Thus, the objective is to create political unity and integrity in society based on the understanding of citizenship, regardless of ethnic differences in the population (Smith, 2016: 134-136). Viroli brings a new perspective to the concept of citizenship based on the understanding of citizenship and evaluated under civil nationalism within the context of nationalism. In his work named "For Love of Country", Viroli criticizes the same and inseparable aspects of patriotism and nationalism (Erdem, 2012: 51). According to Viroli, nationalism supports ethnic union and linguistic cultural integrity. On the other hand, patriotism defends the love of the republic and the freedom of the people. This situation brings tyranny and despotic oppression against patriotism. Attitudes exhibited toward patriotism and the language used have gained meaning as the modern nationalist language (Viroli, 1997: 19).

Civil nationalism, also known as western nationalism, is the "good" nationalism that emerged in Western Europe. Eastern nationalism, also known as ethno-symbolist nationalism, is seen in Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America and is the "bad" nationalism (Smith, 2016; Balibar and Wallerstein, 2000; Bora, 1995). According to Kohn (2005: 333) a nation in western nationalism is the voluntary union of individuals to live together on a piece of land with certain boundaries and to be subjected to the same management and law. The understanding of nationalism in Eastern Europe, on the other hand, is based on ethnic ties rather than the desire to live together⁴. Civic nationalism, contrary to ethnocultural nationalism, has a formal quality and is not origin-based. The nation unites around certain common ideas and political ideals, instead of a particular origin.

Discrimination between civil nationalism (good nationalism) in Western Europe, which is frequently encountered in nationalism studies, and ethnic nationalism (bad nationalism) in Eastern Europe and the Balkans is problematic. Each specific nationalism embodies the characteristics of both ethnic and civil nationalism in varying proportions and at different levels (Özkırımlı, 2010:21). Hobsbawm and Connor also express their criticism of this discrimination.

Hobsbawm (2020: 25), criticizes the distinction between ethnosymbolist and civic nationalism made by Kohn. Hobsbawm advocates that a distinction between civic nationalism and ethnosymbolist nationalism prevents articulation between the two. Because the nation is blended in itself both ethnically and civically under all conditions. Walker Connor is another scholar who criticizes the distinction between ethnosymbolist nationalism and civic nationalism. Connor (1994), describes the nation as a group formed by individuals who believe that they come from the same ancestor and argues that nationalism is the individual identifying with the nation and developing in relation to their loyalty to it. Therefore, Connor states that the word "ethnic" in ethnic nationalism is redundant (Yıldız, 2007: 32).

4 Western nationalism (civic nationalism/French nationalism), a very common classification in the literature, is described as "good nationalism," and Eastern nationalism (ethnosymbolist/German nationalism) is described as "bad nationalism" (Connor, 1993: 45). Peace, universality, and humanism are some of the characteristics of civic nationalism. Eastern nationalism, on the contrary, has poorer and more negative characteristics compared to civic nationalism. Promoting cultural and historical identity, ethnosymbolist nationalism presents a strictly authoritarian front and is oppressive towards ethnic and cultural minorities in the society (Gökçalp, 2007: 285). Due to these characteristics, ethnosymbolist nationalism often tends to eliminate any other views of nationalism. Marx and Engels describe this distinction of nationalism by classifying these views as European and non-European nationalism. For detailed information on this subject, see Altuntaş, (2005: 11-21).

Emphasized by civic nationalism, globalization affected nearly all countries, and countries found themselves having to interact with each other in many areas. This interaction greatly stimulated the impulses of individuals to compare their different lives. Many people setting out in search of new lives with these impulses led to mobility towards different countries. The view that different variables of globalization also causes migration has produced a parallel connection between migration and globalization. As numerous social, economic, and political parameters compelled countries to interact in the context of globalization, these parameters were also considered to be causes of migration. The concept of migration, which defines the act of changing locations by people, either individually or collectively, to spend part or the rest of their lives in a new place, is discussed chiefly in terms of the causes and effects of international migration. The migration movement, a time period with different reasons and consequences, has deeply affected the five continents since the 1950s and 60s, disrupted the concept of nation, and affected millions of people demographically (Unat, 2002: 3). The effects of transnational migrations led to the issue of migration to attract great attention in the 21st century.

3. BENEFITS OF GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONALIST TIES

Smith opposed the approaches that view nationalism as an integral part of modernization and stated that a nation already has pre-existing roots. However, Smith does not ignore the effect of modernity on the transformation of nationalism. The influence of modernity on the formation process of a nation is undeniable. Smith (2003: 10) argued that a plain and simple understanding of nationalism as only an ideology was not possible, and emphasized that nations and nationalism should be discussed through cultural backgrounds and phenomena. In this context, one could say that as a multidimensional concept, nationalism is closely connected to national identity and that it should be expanded with values such as religion, language, race, and symbolism.

In the 20th century, as elements such as language, religion, and common origin became the definitive and principal elements of being a nation, ethnic nationalism started to acquire a separatist quality (Turan, 2011: 139). Ethnosymbolist nationalism underlines objective characteristics in its description of the nation. The ethnosymbolist approach objects to the readings of the history of nations and nationalism in conjunction with modern times. It aims to draw a framework on the axis of ethnic elements by carrying nationalism back to the period before modern times.

According to Gellner, nationalism is a sociological consequence of the transition from an agricultural society to industrial society (1983: 22-24). Gellner's view is that nationalism is an indispensable element and a political principle for establishing modern society. Additionally, modernity embodies certain conditions that enable the formation of nations. Another figure discussing nationalism in the context of modernization was Hans Kohn. Kohn stated that the progress made during the earlier days of modernization, such as the formation of national armies, the development of capitalism, and the devising of a national written language, contributed significantly to the development of nationalism. According to Kohn, rationalism and the concept of freedom, which originated at the end of the Reformation, Renaissance, and Enlightenment Periods, became widespread in Western Europe, and all these developments paved the way for great shifts in Europe in the 18th century. These developments gave birth to an idea of nationalism shaped around a civic and rational understanding of citizenship (Kohn, 2005: 10-25).

As the bipolar world order came to an end, the transformation of international politics and the international circulation of labor and capital following technological developments raised the subject of globalization. Coined in the 1960s, rose in popularity in the 1980s, and began to gradually dominate the world in the 1990s, globalization (Sen, 2004: 123) is one of the main reasons why the century we live in is described as "the age of permeable borders and regional integrations." At their core, these takes highlight an order based on borders. Although the concept of border contains various meanings, in geographical terms, it is an imaginary line that separates two countries. Globalization led to outcomes including borders becoming more obscure, areas of freedom expanding, and the concept of compatibility gaining traction (Karaköse, 2020: 508). Especially in recent years, the ever-developing information and communication technologies have led to further ambiguity of imaginary borders. As the waves of globalization took over the world, cultural elements that symbolized national identities were redefined and voices arguing that nations could not have singular identities became louder. The understanding of nations as a classless, unprivileged, and cohesive mass supports this perspective.

The official understanding of nationalism went into a decline in the process of globalization, while ethnic nationalism began to rise in popularity. The escalation of ethnic conflicts in the Balkans, especially after the Cold War, is an important example of the fights that have been put up to be able to say, "I exist," in the global/modern world. Ideologically, globalism once again brought up the issues of ethnic conflicts, xenophobia, organized crime, and racism (Çillier, 2014: 93). The effect of the political structure radicalized ethnic identities and turned them into a national and regional threat (Selçuk, 2012: 129).

Media elites, the new urban middle class, and internationalizing large capital sectors defended the pro-Western and nationalist thought that favored the globalization process (Bora, 2008: 436-437). In addition to these developments, there was tension between globalization and localization. This tension strengthened local ties. Separatist, fundamentalist ethnic and far-right movements revitalized the return to the local as a reaction to globalization. While the effects of globalization on political and social life encouraged the return to the local, they also led to the development of micro-nationalism (Balibar and Wallerstein, 2000: 140).

Rising to prominence in parallel with globalization since the 1990s, liberal nationalism is essentially an effort to answer demands and struggles for cultural rights in politics. Liberal nationalism has problematized the relationship between citizenship and identity and has been the voice of demands for equality and defending minority identities and cultures against the culture of the majority in society. The bonds of unity between individuals started to gradually dissolve under the influence of liberalism, and there emerged a necessity to define new ties that would hold societies together. Culturally motivated claims for rights were described as the reorganization of various identities in the context of equality and freedom (Karabulut, 2015: 875).

The mentality of progress and development is the basis of liberal nationalism. Economic and social factors such as international expansion and export-oriented policies adopted within the scope of neo-liberal economic policies implemented after the 1980s, as well as globalization, which affected the whole world, led to the development of liberal nationalism. Liberal nationalism, described as a development-based nationalist approach, adopts Western-oriented values such as freedom, human rights, and democracy as its main reference points.

4. NATIONALIST MEMORY AND THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION

Ethnosymbolist nationalism, which prioritizes values such as religion, language, race, and tradition instead of adopting Western values such as freedom, human rights, and democracy, has had an impact on all nationalist views that survived throughout history as the strengths of nationalist memory. However, the global enthusiasm and longing to attain a modern life have made Western lifestyles and spaces more desirable to people. The difference in the socio-cultural values that met those who migrated to the West in search of better living conditions and safer lives, made social participation more difficult. Settled communities with a dominant nationalist memory have presented a threat to immigrants at times. This element of threat influenced the concerns nation-states had around security and economy as well and has been one of the most important factors contributing to the negative attitudes towards immigration and immigrants.

Migrations have led people from different nationalities and different cultures to start living together in the same lands. The attitudes assumed by individuals in line with their nationalist ties and cultures have differentiated in terms of perceiving nationalism as an ethnic phenomenon based on civic ties or innate blood ties (Çarkoğlu, Kalaycıoğlu, 2020: 5). Sharing is another issue that leads to differences in the attitudes of individuals towards the nationalist memory. The increasing volume of migrations, economic problems, and spatial distributions in the public sphere have led to a problem of sharing. The competitive environment arising from this problem, along with the perception and fear of loss, caused the sensitivities of micro-nationalism and ethnic nationalism to be felt more intensely (Ekici, Tuncel, 2015: 17). These feelings motivated by nationalism are one of the important causes of undesirable events that take place in social life.

Civil nationalism, which adopts Western values, currently seems to be moving closer to ethnic nationalism following the impact of migration. The rise of the far-right in particular can be interpreted as a significant indicator of these developments. The rise of the far-right view can be traced through two branches of developments. One is the increase in the rate of votes won by far-right parties in Europe, and the other is public civil incidents.

Ideologies have an important place among the founding values of far-right parties. These ideologies lead to xenophobia, to people marginalizing anyone with characteristics different from themselves, and provoke feelings of hatred. Golder (2016: 478) describes the main features of the far-right view as nationalism, xenophobia, racism, undemocratic perspectives, and a mentality of an all-powerful state. With a view of the current political and social climate, it is possible to add populist political approaches and Islamophobia to the features listed by Golder.

The idea that “the nation is more valuable than the individual,” which is part of the nationalist memory, is an important reading of the differences between ethnosymbolist nationalism and civic nationalism. The instinct that nation-states have of protecting their own values against immigrants can be interpreted as a motivating factor for that view. Feeling afraid to have their values in social environments assimilated due to migration, communities may see immigrants as the target (Çalışkan, 2020). In addition to the increase in globalization and the discourse indicating a decrease in nation-state nationalism, the surge in migration density has contributed to heterogeneous social structures. These developments served to preserve the concepts of ethnosymbolist nationalism and xenophobia (Meç, 2018: 125). The use of these concepts as propaganda tools by the far-right parties brought together those who support ethnosymbolist nationalism with ideological ties and the masses that believe in civic nationalism. The power of propaganda compelled the perspective of civic nationalism, which is based on citizenship and legal equality, to move closer to ethnosymbolist nationalism as a consequence of migration.

The way propaganda is presented together with populism also paved the way for those who are against immigration to shift their nationalist ties from the ethnic center to the civic nationalist view. In his discourse where he emphasizes the importance of structures or opportunity for far-right parties, Kitschelt (as cited in 1995, Gusberts et al. 2002: 350) states that the rapprochement between parties of both moderate left and right wings, increases the likelihood of a radical party successfully positioning itself as the extremist on both sides. The extremism, once positioned against both sides, gets ahead of the parties on the public ground and creates a front against immigrants in society and public incidents. Observations show that on this front, political ideas from both the right and the left stand together. Evidence pertaining to this theory of rapprochement is present in the attitude of absolute objection adopted by many European societies against immigrants mostly from Eastern countries.

The rhetorical side of populism (Weyland, 2001) transcends the concept of migration and nationalist ideology and may bring about a serious hatred of immigrants. Parties maintain that populist movements support past values and ethnic discourse that emphasizes race and language in the flow of social life in which the mainstream groups of people begin to feel alienated from themselves. Efforts are made to shape xenophobia, which does not equal defense of liberalism, using the informal face of state policies. In the same vein, the opinion that there is a need to determine “what is best” for immigrants is also voiced through official discourse. In this context, the issue of immigration has reached a level of maturity that can remove populism from the monopoly of far-right parties. Immigration has become intertwined with populism as a subtle ideology (Mudde, 2007) and turned into a political argument that is valuable to use.

The use of immigration as a political argument can be observed in the wake of the conflicts between Russia and Ukraine as well. According to the UN, since the beginning of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine (until 02.04.2022), approximately 4.14 million Ukrainians have left their homes. Additionally, more than 10 million people have been displaced⁵. The fact that 10 million people have been displaced by the migrations due to the war, which has been going on for nearly 100 days as of the end of May 2022, and that this number of people can be accommodated in various regions in European countries, can be explained as an understanding that serves civic nationalism, the view of citizenship, and the integrity of the Western world, rather than ethnic nationalism. Efforts to define Ukraine as a European society, which can be regarded as an element of civic nationalism rather than ethnic nationalism, opened the doors of Europe to Ukrainian immigrants. In this case, the positive benefits of civic nationalism begin to stand out. European and Western countries, which have not granted even a small semblance of these privileges to immigrants from the Eastern regions, adopted a different attitude moving from

⁵ <https://www.dw.com/tr/bm-ukraynay%C4%B1-terk-edenlerin-say%C4%B1s%C4%B1-41-milyonu-a%C5%9Ft%C4%B1/a-61341509>

ethnic nationalism to civic nationalism. Supporters of ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism who have formed united fronts against Eastern immigrants were able to put aside ethnic nationalism with regard to Ukrainian immigrants.

5. CONCLUSION

Seeing migration as a means of survival for immigrants, the concept of the ethnic values of the immigrant and adopting the values of different societies has caused a quandary. And in the case of a dilemma between living according to ethnicity and adapting to Western societies, the side that is made meaningful with a life of virtue will prevail. The effort to portray the modern world in the image of the West, which was caused by globalization, has made Western countries the first choice for immigration. This has led to a situation where Western peoples find themselves obligated to live together with undesirable groups of people. Regardless of the state and international policies embraced in this climate, hatred, discrimination, and xenophobia, the strongest justifications for all of which are shaped through nationalist ideology, are clearly visible. Migrations from the East lead to a rapprochement between civic nationalism and ethnosymbolist nationalism due to far-right parties, propaganda, and populist thinking.

The similarities in the views of globalization in countries such as Germany and Italy, which predominantly lean towards ethnosymbolist nationalism, and others such as France, England, and the USA, which support civic nationalism, are also present with regards to the issues of migration and immigrants. Although nationalist sensitivities differ, attitude toward non-Western immigrants remains consistent among ethnosymbolist nationalist countries and those that uphold civic nationalism. The recent conflicts between Russia and Ukraine have revealed that the identities of immigrants and the geographies they come from are the obvious reasons that create the differences in attitudes towards immigrants. The distinction of "us and them" within the Western mentality was once again made evident through the attitudes exhibited towards different immigrants.

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Beyan ve Açıklamalar (Disclosure Statements)

1. Bu çalışmanın yazarları, araştırma ve yayın etiği ilkelerine uyduklarını kabul etmektedirler (The authors of this article confirm that their work complies with the principles of research and publication ethics).
2. Yazarlar tarafından herhangi bir çıkar çatışması beyan edilmemiştir (No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors).
3. Bu çalışma, intihal tarama programı kullanılarak intihal taramasından geçirilmiştir (This article was screened for potential plagiarism using a plagiarism screening program).