



Globalization, Nation State and Radical Right in Western Europe: A Relational Analysis

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Abstract

It is clear that the modern world with the new version of the extreme nationalism that has been rejected and condemned after the Second World War is on the agenda of the whole world. It is seen that in this understanding which is weakened by the influence of globalization, simultaneous radical / populist / extreme right is also rising in the present day when the attempts of the initiated integration have also ended with a failure. The most common example of this is seen in European countries. The desire of the radical right-wing parties to leave the European Union, anti-immigrant and anti-foreign rhetoric, and communities with a desire to close into it, clearly show this momentum. These developments, which are interpreted as the result of global crisis and the re-emergence of the nation-state, are worth examining. This framework aims to explain the relevance of the concepts of globalization and nation-state to their historical development and what they express, and to what extent the radical right-wing concept of today's great leap is linked to these concepts by the example of Western European countries.

Key Words: Globalization, Nation, Nation State, Radical Right, Nationalism.

Küreselleşme, Ulus Devlet ve Batı Avrupa'da Radikal Sağ: İlişkisel Bir Analiz

Öz

İkinci Dünya Savaşından sonra reddedilen ve kınanan radikal milliyetçilik anlayışının günümüzde yeni bir biçimi ile tüm dünyanın gündeminde olduğu görülmektedir. Küreselleşme ile birlikte başlatılan bütünleşme girişimlerinin başarısızlıkla sonuçlandığı yorumları yapılan günümüzde, eş zamanlı olarak radikal/popülist/aşırı sağın da bir yükseliş yaşadığı olgusu birçok çalışmaya konu olmuştur. Bunun en yaygın örneği Avrupa ülkelerinde görülmektedir. Radikal sağ partilerin Avrupa Birliğinden çıkma istekleri, göçmen ve yabancı karşıtı söylemleri ve içine kapanma arzusu taşıyan topluluklar bu ivmeyi net olarak gözler önüne sermektedir. Küresel kriz ve ulus devletin yeniden dönüşü olarak yorumlanan bu gelişmeler incelenmeye değerdir. Bu çerçevede çalışma, küreselleşme ve ulus devlet kavramlarını, bunlarını tarihsel gelişimini ve neyi ifade ettiklerini, günümüzde büyük sıçrama yaşayan radikal sağ anlayışın bu kavramlarla ne kadar bağlantılı olduğunu Batı Avrupa ülkeleri örneği çerçevesinde açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır. Küreselleşmenin sağladığı birçok şeyi tehdit olarak algılayan ve ulus kavramına sarılan siyasi anlayışların Batı Avrupa ülkelerinde her geçen gün daha da güçlendiği görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küreselleşme, Ulus, Ulus Devlet, Radikal Sağ, Milliyetçilik

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1. Introduction

Despite the existence of different approaches and views, it was argued that globalization has caused change on the nation-state. Another claim, in doing so, is that globalization has eroded the characteristics of the nation-state. It is like saying that “the global extension of international organization globally diffused the basic principle of the nation-state, provided a protective shell for the weaker states, and stimulated national consciousness”¹ and “global economic interdependence has led to decline in the authority of nation-states over their national economy”². These claims were based on the fact that, the sovereignty of the nation state was weakened by global influences. Until the 2000s, it is true that the nation-states are exposed to such an impact. However, in the following period, new measures that have strengthened nation-states against global influences have begun to be introduced by nation states. This process, which aims at empowering nation-states in many ways against global influences, has also been interpreted as a re-return of walls, metaphorically or tangible. The radicalization of right-wing politics and the growing strength of the radical right in Western Europe can be seen as reflections of this process.

Nowadays, there is a process in which radical right discourses rises rapidly, the states are prepared for war, embrace security policies and the economic contraction becomes a crisis. In such a process, radical tendencies were inevitable. In such cases, confidence decreases and one sees the other as an enemy. The impact of globalization on flexing boundaries has exposed nation states to the destructive effects of global capital. On the other hand, the negative results of the weakening of nationalism once again revealed the importance of the centrality of the nation-state. In Western Europe, voters complain about the impact of globalization on the boundaries; They believe that the crises which are not related to their own nation will be reflected in themselves because of the opportunities provided by globalization; they tend to support political structures that promise to build walls to prevent it. For these reasons, Islamophobia, xenophobia and nationalism increased in Europe in the 2000s. Interestingly, the radical movements which have been influential in the process of globalization, have an

¹ James Fulcher, “Globalisation, the Nation-State and Global Society”, *The Sociological Review* 48, nr.4 (2000), 539-541.

² Elias G. Carayannis, Ali Pirzadeh, Denisa Popescu, “Globalization, Nation-States, and Global Governance”, In *Institutional Learning and Knowledge Transfer Across Epistemic Communities*. Innovation, Technology, and Knowledge Management 13, Ed. Elias G. Carayannis, Ali Pirzadeh, Denisa Popescu, (Newyork: Springer, 2012),17-20.



instrumental effect in the global withdrawal process. In this study, the relationship between globalization, nation-state and radical right-wing politics has been tried to be analyzed.

The spread of liberal economic understanding with globalization has blurred the boundaries of the nation state. The environment of mistrust, which is believed to be caused by globalization, the decline of prosperity and the aspiration of the nation-state, which is seen as the solution to it, has also increased radical tendencies. This is the main reason why radical right-wing parties have been supported in recent years. The high level of prosperity in the West and the globalization have triggered and facilitated migration movements towards the West. These migratory movements have revealed that these migrants cause the terrorist actions. Therefore, an anti-immigration and Islamophobia wave appear. For this reason, the radical right, which aspires for nation state aspiration, anti-immigration, Islamophobia and economic prosperity but does not fall for other countries, has started to receive great support. The sample of the study is composed of radical right-wing parties in the West European countries, England, Germany, France, Austria and the Netherlands. This is because they are the countries in which the radical right is most evident in Western Europe. It is seen that, the economic, political and social effects of globalization lead to an increase in radical right tendencies. The increase of the far right brings the aspiration of the nation state.

2. Effects of Globalization on the Nation State

It has been stated that the nation-state, which has undergone a great development with the effects of the nationalist waves that emerged as a result of the breakdown of the French Revolution and the Empires, was being destroyed in the global period. Because globalization and nation-state are two opposing facts. First of all, it will be appropriate to understand the meaning of globalization and nation-state and to make a theoretical analysis in order to demonstrate the interaction between two phenomena.

Throughout history, many definitions related to the state have been put forward. *“Although the state is not uniquely difficult to define, these problems need to be acknowledged”*³. We will be done with refer a few definitions of state in the literature and give a brief historical information about the state.

³ Chandran Kukathas, “A Definition of the State”, *University of Queensland Law Journal* 33, nr.2 (2014), 357-359.



The state is a political union that establishes a sovereign government mandate within a certain boundary and imposes authority through a set of permanent institutions⁴. According to Gerth and Mills⁵ “*a state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory*”. So, when we speak about the State, there are three factors: the nation (a group of people connected with elements such as common culture and / or ethnic origin), the country (a part of the land where a nation with certain borders can live), sovereignty (all the powers on the nation and the country)⁶.

The concept of modern state emerged with the conception of limited political power. The modern state, whose origins can be taken up to feudal order, is shaped by the evolving of the feudal order to absolutist rule and evolving of the absolutist rule to modern state⁷. The legitimacy of the modern state is based on the concept of nation⁸. The concept of nation is a complex phenomenon shaped by cultural, political and psychological elements⁹. Therefore, as Eski Uğuz and Saygılı¹⁰ says the nation state can be defined as shaped by the common material and spiritual elements, whose legitimacy is of a national origin, to ensure that individuals reach the consciousness that they are part of the whole with political participation and organization in which legislative, executive and judiciary are legally maintained.

When the history of globalization is examined, it is a matter of debate that globalization has existed since the beginning of history, emerged with the development of modernization and capitalism, or that it developed with the solution of capitalism with the industrial society. Undoubtedly, for thousands of years, societies have been unaware of the existence of their distant neighbors. Migrations and collisions with strangers occurred in an environment where the rest of the world was not even aware of it. The existence of the distant, the discovery and mapping of previously unknown areas, but later through colonization and immigration, have been penetrated human consciousness in the last 800 years. This consciousness is one of the

⁴ Andrew Heywood, *Siyaset*, çev. Bekir Berat Özipek, 5. bs. (Ankara: Adres Yayınları, 2011), 126-128.

⁵ Hans H. Gerth, C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essay in Sociology*, (New York: Oxford University Press), 27-29.

⁶ Hakan Ay, Öznur Uçar, “Devletin Gelişim Süreci”, *İşletme Fakültesi Dergisi* 16, sy.2 (2015), 196-198.

⁷ Cem Kotan, “Modern Dünya Sistemi Teorisi Bağlamında Modern Devletin Özellikleri”, *Uluslararası Politik Araştırmalar Dergisi* 2, sy.1 (2016), 10-12.

⁸ Zafer Durdu, “Modern Devletin Dönüşümünde Bir Ara Dönem: Sosyal Refah Devleti”, *Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, sy.22 (2012), 38-40.

⁹ Andrew Heywood, *Küresel Siyaset*, çev. Nasuh Uslu, Haluk Özdemir, 1. bs. (Ankara: Adres Yayınları, 2013), 201-203.

¹⁰ Hülya Eşki Uğuz ve Rukiye Saygılı, “Küresel Dünyada Ulus Devlet”, *Sosyal Ekonomik Araştırmalar Dergisi* 16, sy.32 (2016), 129-131.



important events that started the world wars and the Cold War¹¹. Although the history of globalization is said to be very old, Fulya Kıvılcım¹² stated that the World Bank acknowledges that the first wave of globalization took place between 1870-1914. The fundamental dynamics of the first wave of globalization was change and expansion while the main reason was the economy.

The globalization, interpreted as the weakening of the nation-state, led many researchers to different studies. Indeed, according to some researchers, the time period refers to the development of capitalism, the transformation of the state or a strong nation-state. The following table is illustrative.

	Hyperglobalists	Sceptics	Transformationalists
What is new?	A global age	Trading blocs, weaker geogovernance than in earlier periods	Historically unprecedented levels of global interconnectedness
Dominant features	Global capitalism, global governance, global civil society	World less interdependent than in 1890s	'Thick' (intensive and extensive) globalization
Power of national governments	Declining or eroding	Reinforced or enhanced	Reconstituted, restructured
Driving forces of globalization	Capitalism and technology	States and markets	Combined forces of modernity
Pattern of stratification	Erosion of old hierarchies	Increased marginalization of South National interests	New architecture of world order
Dominant motif	McDonalds, Madonna, etc.	National interest	Transformation of political community
Conceptualization of globalization	As a reordering of the framework of human action	As internationalization and regionalization	As the reordering of interregional relations and action at a distance
Historical trajectory	Global civilization	Regional blocs/clash of civilization	Indeterminante: global integration and fragmentation
Summary argument	The end of the nation-state	Internationalization depends on state acquiescence and support	Globalization transforming state power and world politics

Source: David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, Jonathan Perraton, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. In *Politics at the Edge*, pp. 14-28, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 22-24.

¹¹ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Stratejik Vizyon Amerika ve Küresel Güç Buhranı*, çev. Sezen Yalçın ve Abdullah Taha Orhan, 1. bs. (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2012), 15-17.

¹² Fulya Kıvılcım, "Küreselleşme Kavramı Ve Küreselleşme Sürecinin Gelişmekte Olan Ülke Türkiye Açısından Değerlendirilmesi", *Sosyal ve Beşerî Bilimler Dergisi* 51, sy.5 (2013), 220-222.



The first wave in globalisation theory is said to have a ‘hyper’ globalist account of the economy where national economies are much less significant or even no longer existent because of the role of capital mobility, multinational corporations and economic interdependency¹³. This approach sees globalization as the end of the nation-state. Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson¹⁴, who are seen as skeptics, do not reflect neo-liberal policies nor support anti-globalization. According to them, internationalization and globalization are not new phenomena. Developing events change the scale and scope of globalization. According to them, nation-states have continued to act as important actors of transnational globalization processes. As Stefanović¹⁵ says, national economies have a great role in promoting economic liberalization and cross-border activities. According to the transformers such as Giddens, Scholte, Castells and Wallerstein¹⁶ the Nation State did not stand upright and did not end. In their view, this process is a process in which national governments restructure their power. They suggest that the globalization process can be reversed, especially where it is negative or, at the very least, where it can be controlled. Those who see globalization as a process of transformation actually support the statements that are one of the hypotheses of our study which reveals that the nation-state gained importance in the international system.

The most important reason for politics to gain a global character by crossing regional and national boundaries is the increase of interdependencies. Therefore, globalization is defined as the emergence of complex interconnection networks, which means that our lives are shaped by decisions and events that taking place far from us¹⁷. Every society, every ideology, or every philosopher and scientist can define globalization differently. In other words, it is quite difficult to make a definition of globalization that everyone agrees with. For example, Nye and Welch¹⁸ state that globalization only permeates that it does not lift the borders of the country, so it is not possible to speak of real globalization. According to him, there is much less globalization, even

¹³ Luke Martell, “The Third Wave in Globalization Theory”, *International studies review* 9, sy.2 (2007), 173-175.

¹⁴ Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson, “The Future of Globalization”, *Cooperation and Conflict* 37, no 3 (2002), 260-265.

¹⁵ Zoran Stefanovic, “Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives, Impacts and Institutional Response of the Economy”, *FACTA UNIVERSITATIS Series: Economics and Organization* 5, no 3 (2008), 265-267.

¹⁶ Zoran Stefanovic, Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives, Impacts and Institutional Response of the Economy, 264-267.

¹⁷ Andrew Heywood, *Küresel Siyaset*, çev. Nasuh Uslu, Haluk Özdemir, 1. bs. (Ankara: Adres Yayınları, 2013), 27-29.

¹⁸ Joseph S. Nye and David A. Welch, *Küresel Çatışmayı ve İşbirliğini Anlamak*, çev. Renan Akman, 1. bs. (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2010), 342-344.



among rich countries. Because in a truly globalized world market there would be free movement of goods, people and capital, and similar interest rates. Globalization, therefore, does not mean the creation of a universal community. The strengthening of the nation state and the rise of the walls may also be due to this weakness of globalization.

Dunn¹⁹ mentions five types of globalization. These include: ecological constraints, cultural globalization, globalization of communication, economic globalization and political globalization. Ecological constraints are meant to express global threats because of our sensitive ecosystem and the globalization of ecological risks. Cultural globalization refers to the spread of Western values to the whole World. The most common term means the expansion of cultural interaction. The globalization of communication can also be handled within this framework. The economic dimension of globalization is the relationship between markets, finance, goods and services and networks formed by international companies. Political globalization refers to the institutionalization of international political structures. In other word Globalization means reducing physical and economic sovereignty among countries. As globalization has an impact on spreading Western values to the whole world, it has been able to transfer culture and value from many parts of the world to the West. This is one of the basic things that the radical right opposes.

The question of globalization, which aims at destroying the nation-state, has been much debated, but what can be said clearly is that the nation-state has been a major obstacle to globalization. To be able to produce in any place in the world, sell goods and services as he wish and more importantly, to circulate the speculative money, which so-called as hot money, all around the world and get instant access to the highest profit rate... In order to realize this freedom, the capital wanted to remove all obstacles in the world. These obstacles are expressed as the power to rule within the boundaries of countries. In order to open the way for globalization, the state had to be melted and its power had to be broken²⁰.

The period of the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the USSR in 1989, together with globalization, were the years in which a belief that the whole world was liberated. Fukuyama also declared the final victory of liberal democracy and capitalist economy in his famous article “End of History” which published before the fall of the Berlin Wall. However,

¹⁹ Christopher Chase Dunn, “Globalization: A World-Systems Perspective”, *Journal of World Systems Research* 5, no 2 (1999), 190-194.

²⁰ Cem Erođlu, “Ulus – Devlet ve Küreselleşme”, *Emperyalizmin Yeni Masalı Küreselleşme* içinde, der. Işık Kansu, 1. bs. (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1996), 46-49.



previous thinkers such as Marx and Hegel claimed that history had a progressive flow and was shaped for a purpose²¹. It is a reality that ends every period that begins. Is there an end of the process of globalization, which is regarded as the route of prosperity, peace and stability and considered indispensable? What is happening today refers to such a process? Such questions are one of the important questions that the study seeks to answer, and which can be considered the interaction between the nation-state and globalization.

At this stage, it will be necessary to refer to an analysis that can shed light on such debates as the end of globalization or the return of the nation state. This analysis of Nicolai Kondratieff is about the tendency of the economic crisis observed in capitalist economies before the crisis of 1929. Kondratieff mentions about an economic cycle in the form of "crisis-recovery-revival-crisis" in capitalist economies²². This analysis indicates that change and transformation is inevitable. Just as the great depression and thereafter the oil crisis in the 1970s and following, it can be seen the post-crisis revival has evolved back to the crisis process again. While the walls were destroyed in the last quarter of the 20th century, the walls that built in 2010 were in the foreground. This is a concrete example of Kondratieff's cycle. In the process that defined as the end of nation state, while talking about concepts such as global village, permeability of borders and end of nationality, today's electric fences and borders with barriers has gained importance. There is no doubt that these fences, barriers and walls are erected against the ideology and actors of globalization²³. Because these are an objection to the economic, social and political conditions of the existing order. This objection and counter-stance are now supported by the right politics. This opposing stance, which emerged as another aspect of the new type of nationalism, is fed by xenophobia. In other words, there is a new radical right-wing politics.

3. Radicalization in Right Politics

The radical right is not a new phenomenon ideologically or politically. Its origin can be traced back to the 19th century. What can be said is that there is a new radical right conception that can be described as an ultra-nationalist right wave²⁴. The radical right is known for its position against representative democracy and the working style of democratic institutions. On

²¹ Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, *Duvar*, 1. bs. (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 2017), 10-15.

²² Mücahit Küçükyılmaz, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Katılım: Tek Partiden Ak Partiye Siyasal İslam ve Demokrasi Tartışmaları*, 1. bs. (İstanbul: Yarın Yayınları, 2011), 182-184.

²³ Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, *Duvar*, 12-14.

²⁴ Aristotle Kallis, *The Radical Right in Contemporary Europe*, (İstanbul: SETA, 2014), 9-11.



the other hand, xenophobia is one of the most important characteristics of the radical right²⁵. In the literature, the concepts of radical, extreme or populist right, which are often used interchangeably, do not express the same things. The far-right denies the rules of the democratic system, the principle of equality, individual liberty and the full enjoyment of equal rights by all political actors. Instead, it advocates an authoritarian system based on personal characteristics such as race, ethnicity and religion. Radical right accepts violence as a necessary tool for political purposes in both its own country and foreign policy²⁶. The Radical Right is a concept used in the United States for socio-political movements, political groups and political parties which seen as threat against American values and interests. The populist elements contained in the radical right clarify what the concept means and who it is used for. These elements include foreign and immigrant hostility, discontent and criticism of established institutions, engagement around a charismatic leader, the emphasis on the problems posed by economic and social crises, and the call for the most affected classes, a strong state that protects citizens and provides prosperity, a country and nation discourse; protectionism and anti-liberalism²⁷.

It is observed that the radical right and new nationalism, which develops against globalization or which enable the global withdrawal to develop, are in the desire to return to the nation state. Radical right-wing populist parties are referred to as radicals in the rejection of the established socio-cultural, socio-political system, the free market and the role of the state. Similarly, they are radical because they oppose the partnership and the superior common sense that the partnership brings. In short, the radical right tries to combine the classical liberal position on the individual and the economy with the extreme and intellectual socio-political agenda of the new right²⁸. There are number of reasons why this version of the radical right, which is now becoming stronger, has gained such momentum. According to some studies, the crisis experienced by globalization has accelerated the radical right. According to some, the relative representation of the system has led to this increase. Details about this are given in the sample countries given in the study without ignoring the profile of the voters.

²⁵ Kris Dunn, "Preference for Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties Among Exclusive-Nationalists and Authoritarians", *Party Politics* 21, no 3 (2015), 374-376.

²⁶ Hans-Georg Betz and Stefan Immerfall (Eds), *The New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies*. In *The New Politics of the Right*, (London: Macmillan, 1998), 1-2.

²⁷ Filiz Zabcı, "Aşırı Sağ Popülizm: Kılık Değiştirmiş Faşizm mi?", *Monthly Review*, sy. 2 (2017), 36-38.

²⁸ Hans-Georg Betz, "The New Politics of Resentment: Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe", *Comparative Politics* 24, no 4 (1993), 412-414.



4. Global Retraction and Return of the Nation State over Radical Right

The formation of the radical right-wing parties, as discussed today, coincides with the 1970 -1980s. Until this period, the neofascist partisan and non-partisan movements that emerged in the conditions of the post-war period dominated the right-wing political field in a reinterpreted historical fascism. Two important cases related to the rise of radical right are migration and Islamophobia. Events such as the Twin Tower, Madrid and London attacks have led to the interpretation of Islam as a violent and occupying power that wants to demolish Western democracy²⁹. From the 1980s to the present, radical right-wing parties in Europe have received great support. The main characteristics of these parties are that they have a common denominator on ethnic nationalism. Their overall objective is to protect the culture of the country and to ensure that the nation is as homogenous as possible. Of course, the effort to achieve them triggers a foreign, immigrant, minority hostility and an exclusionary attitude³⁰.

When referring to the transformation taking place with the global recession, as in many parts of the US and the world, Europe is referred to as long as populism gains momentum. Some researchers state that the transformation in Europe is a war against progressive neoliberalism. The society rejects corporate globalization, neoliberalism and their advocating political institutions. Because voters say no to the austerity policies, free trade, destructive borrowings and low-paid, precarious jobs that are characteristic of today's financial capitalism. Society thinks that the freedoms offered by the neoliberal policies threaten their nations and hence the right-wing discourse is now becoming the new central discourse of Europe³¹.

It will be useful to analyze Germany, France, the UK, the Netherlands and Austria in order to analyze the reflection of this on elections and to show how the radical right-wing policy has gained momentum. Because some political parties, which have continued their political lives in a marginal position, gained momentum with the 2008 crisis, Arab Spring and the combination of economic and political factors. Some radical / populist / far-right parties as sample countries are listed in the table below.

²⁹ Cihan Uzunçayır, "Göçmen Karşıtlığından Islamofobiye Avrupa Aşırı Sağı", *Siyasal Bilimler Dergisi* 2, sy. 2 (2014), 70-72.

³⁰ Jens Rydgren, Radical Right-Wing Parties in Europe, *Journal of Language and Politics* 16, nr. 4 (2017), 485-487.

³¹ Nancy Fraser, "İlerici Neoliberalizme Karşı Gerici Popülizm: Bir Hobson Seçimi", *Büyük Gerileme Zamanımızın Ruh Hali Üstüne Uluslararası Bir Tartışma* İçinde, ed. Heinrich Geiselberger, çev: Aslı Biçen, Orhan Kılıç, Merisa Şahin, Ahmet Nüvit Bingöl, 1. bs. (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2017), 58-59.



State	Radical/Populist/Extreme Right Parties
Germany	Alternative for Germany (AfD)
France	National Front (FN)
UK	UK Independence Party (UKIP)
Netherland	Party for Freedom (PVV)
Austria	Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)

Today, the reason for the adoption of radical or extreme right discourse in Europe is frequently discussed. A study conducted in Germany on this issue shows what the notion of globalization, nation-state, and radicalization means in terms of social perception. Rather, it reveals the interaction between them. The findings of the study show that the fear of globalization is the decisive factor behind the demands of withdrawal from the political mainstream. In other words, the most important factor motivating the society that supports the populist parties is the fear of globalization. For example: 78 percent of AfD supporters in Germany, 76 percent of FN voters in France, 69 percent of FPO supporters in Austria, 57 percent of PVV supporters in the Netherlands and 50 percent of UKIP supporters in Great Britain is afraid form globalization³². As we have seen, a populist and xenophobic right has emerged with characters or government practices and histories between the global opposition to the system on one side and the possibility of participation in this system with remarkable election successes on the other³³.

Looking at this wave of globalization through the economy makes it more meaningful to find a response of the populist arguments of the radical right. Globalization led to an increase in international trade with the opening of the free movement of capital. The increase in international trade also increases unrequited transfers. For example, EU countries are helping countries that are in difficult situations in order not to damage the foreign trade with each other.

³² Catherine de Vries and Isabell Hoffmann, *Fear Not Values: Public Opinion and the Populist Vote in Europe*, (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016), 3-5.

³³ Jean-Yves Camus, "Radikal Sağın Yeni Görünüşleri", *Neoliberalizmin Egemenlik Aracı Sağ Popülizm: Avrupa'daki Sağ Popülist Parti ve Hareketler*, ed. Murat Çakır (2011), 32-33. <http://www.kozmopolit.com/sagpop1.pdf>



Germany's financial assistance to countries such as Greece, Spain and Italy can be evaluated in this context. Because as the collapse of the economy of any one of these countries will deeply undermine the German economy. But radical right-wing parties in countries such as Germany oppose this situation with the claim that these aids will lead to shrink their economies. Therefore, they are moving away from EU and rejecting many things brought about by globalization. Examining the electoral performance and political views of these political parties in the sample countries and revealing why they are supported in the electorate will increase the understanding of the issue.

We have stated that the two main factors affecting the rise of the radical right are Islamophobia and migration. In countries such as Germany, where a large population of asylum-seekers has been adopted, matter of migration has become the agenda of domestic and foreign politics. This situation contributed to the strengthening of right-wing parties such as AfD³⁴. In 2017 elections, it is seen that AfD increased its votes by 9 percent with respect to previous elections, which achieved 95 percent with a 13 percent vote. In 2017 elections, AfD gained 95 representatives with 13% of the vote. This rate is 9 percent higher than the previous election rate. This is a valuable data to see the course of the radical right in Germany. The country's biggest parties, the CDU (Christian Democratic Union) and the SPD (Social Democratic Party), have lost serious votes. According to the analysis, these parties received the lowest votes since the postwar period. The votes that they lost shifted to the Alternative Party. It is observed that 35 percent of SPD voters and 40 percent of CDU / CSU (Christian Social Union) votes shift to AfD. In Germany, where 355 parliamentarians were required to establish the government, the only option was coalition. Here too, the CDU announced that it would not form a coalition with AfD. At the last election of Bavaria in 2018, according to the preliminary results, the CSU won 37.2 percent, dropping more than ten percentage points compared to 2013 and losing its absolute majority³⁵. As Nelson³⁶ said CDU's and CDU's future is in doubt, with conservative Bavarian voters in the midst of a shift toward Alternative for Germany (AfD). Just

³⁴ Cihan Uzunçayır, "Batı Avrupa'da Aşırı Sağ Rüzgarı", *Liber Dergisi* 20, sy. 2 (2016), 70-72.

³⁵ Rachel Loxton, "The Winners and Losers – 7 Things You Need to Know About the Bavaria Election", *The Local de*, 2018, <https://www.thelocal.de/20181015/five-things-you-need-to-know-about-the-bavaria-election> (Date of Access: 18.01.2019).

³⁶ Soraya Sarhaddi Nelson, "Germany's Far Right Finds a New Stronghold in Bavaria, and It's Costing Merkel", *National Public Radio*, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/2018/10/13/656989428/germanys-afd-party-finds-a-new-stronghold-in-bavaria-and-it-s-costing-angela-mer>, (Date of Access, 17.01.2019).



5 years old, the far-right party is currently the main opposition in the German parliament and is widely expected to win seats in the Bavarian legislature for the first time.

As mentioned above, when we look at the election program of AfD, it is seen that radical right, security oriented and nationalist politics have responded as in many other Western European countries. The promises of AfD's in 2017 election program show that this populist politics has risen. That is especially noteworthy in view of the Muslim community as it one of the issues that concern Turkey as well. The program emphasizes that Islam should not settle in Germany. Because AfD states that it considers its expansion and increase in the number of Muslims as a threat to our country, our society and our values³⁷. As a result, the AfD, which was known for its radical rightwing policies and especially radicals about immigrants, Islamophobia and security, was successful in the elections. In addition, as mentioned above, the fact that Germany, one of the largest economies in Europe, helps other countries. This is also encounter a big reaction. In fact, from an economic perspective, it can be stated that Germany's aid to correct the Greek economy has a great meaning for the future of the German economy. The collapse of the Greek economy could cause global financial institutions to lose their confidence in EU countries and attract all their savings due to similar problems in Spain and Italy. This would reduce Germany's foreign trade. Germany could lose much more than its long-term assistance. Opposition radical right-wing parties have criticized governments to force their own citizens and help other countries.

In France, as in many European countries, various forms of populist right have been found throughout history. However, since the 1950s, such movements have not been effective due to the political structure. This is also true for the Front National, which came to the stage in 1972 as a coalition of radical right National elements. The party remained marginal as an anti-systemic movement until the beginning of the 1980s and was not successful in any elections. However, despite all the institutional challenges that make the party exceptional, it has survived for many years and has continued to rise steadily and has become a prototype for similar parties in Europe. At this point, populism, as a new force, puts forward a radical right-wing party, pushing the traditional right / left parties, which are important components of the

³⁷ AfD Party Program, 2017, https://www.afd.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/111/2017/04/2017-04-12_afd-grundsatzprogramm-englisch_web.pdf (Date of Access, 20.01.2019).



system, to the crisis and forcing them to change³⁸. Therefore, in France, which is known for many years of democracy, populism has been more supportive.

In France, Jean Marie Le Pen had been able to find a specific ground with his anti-Semitic and far-right advocacy, but remained a marginal movement as mentioned above. In 2012, however, the National Front became the third-highest-ranking party in the presidential elections led by Marine Le Pen. Surprisingly, in the 2017 elections, the center-right and center-left candidates were eliminated in the first round. Marine Le Pen, the representative of the extreme right, remained in the second round and collected 35% of the votes. This is a great victory in terms of the movement as she represented³⁹. Support for these policies was mostly from the middle class, small businessmen and farmers. When Le Pen took office, he attempted to rescue the party from attempts to denigration. This policy has brought the facts to not only the radical followers of the party, but also from anti-Semitic policies to anti-immigrant policies and from radical security policies to the policies which has been against the protection of French people⁴⁰. Another factor which has shown the rise of the radical right is the European Union. This factor is related to the anti-democratic of the EU decision-making mechanisms. In this situation, which is also defined as a democracy deficit, the national states transfer their important powers to Brussels. However, bureaucrats who do not have direct responsibility to the public use these powers. As a result, national states have narrowed their sphere of influence without guaranteeing the establishment of number of control mechanisms. The discomfort associated with the anti-democratization of the EU's decision-making mechanisms was particularly high in France, where political legitimacy was closely linked to the state. The state is the only guarantor of democracy beyond its role in regulating the economy, protecting French culture and ensuring a balanced distribution of welfare. Therefore, the reduction in the powers of the state has been perceived as a threat to the people. Instead of demanding more powers for the European Parliament, the EU's counterparts advocate stronger and more inclusive state interventions to ensure the Union's social legitimacy. As in the case of Germany, the reasons of the economic crisis are the global impact on the economy and the international competition,

³⁸ Selman Saç, "Front National: Radikal (Popülist) Sağdan (İlmlı) Neo-Popülist Sağa", *Mülkiye Dergisi* 41, sy. 1 (2017), 266-268.

³⁹ Deniz Ülke Arıboğan, *Duvar*, 76-78.

⁴⁰ Thomas Greven, The Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Europe and the United States, *A Comparative Perspective [La emergencia del populismo de derechas en Europa y Estados Unidos. Una perspectiva comparada*, (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2016), 1-3.



which stemmed from the French perspective. The fact that it appeared in many countries at the same time indicates that the crisis is outsourced.

It is seen that the radical right, although not as much as France and Germany, has experienced a revival in Britain especially in the last decade. The most important representative of this party is the UK Independence Party (UKIP). UKIP, which is the anti-European Union, conducted its campaign with xenophobic rhetoric, and Farage who is the party head argued that the foreigners living in the UK should be returned to their countries.

The election results in the UK were carefully monitored and analyzed by many researchers. Because in 2017 elections, the rate of UKIP which received close to 13 percent in 2015 elections, remained at 1.8 percent. This situation was interpreted as the radical right of the collapse in England. The fact that the vote rates received in 2015 came about as a result of the reaction of the Conservative and the Liberal Democrats to the austerity policies of the coalition government. However, Mathew Goodwin⁴¹ emphasized that UKIP continues to have an impact on UK politics despite the election results. According to Goodwin, some may argue that the UKIP, which has fallen below 2 percent and no MPs, is among the major losers of the election, but, in a further aspect, it can be claimed that the UKIP has won the war despite losing its electoral support. Most of the party's main goals have taken place. As the UK voted for Brexit, the Conservative Party also copied many policies of UKIP. These include opening elite high schools and restricting migration from the EU. Therefore, UKIP has still a clear and provable effect on national politics despite the result of election.

The Dutch elections considered to be the litmus influence for populism in Europe after the British separation from the European Union and the election of US President Donald Trump. In the election, the radical right-wing party PVV managed to win 20 of the 150-seat assembly.

It is noteworthy that this party, which achieved great success in the election, was radical right, anti-immigrant and anti-EU. PVV, which succeeded with these policies, is a very strong party in the Netherlands. The success of VVD (People's Party for Democracy) in the elections has been interpreted as a great success against the radical right in Europe. The underlying cause of PVV's success is undoubtedly the terrorist attacks. Terrorist attacks in France, Germany and Belgium have led 80% of Dutch voters to think that terrorists have infiltrated Europe as refugees, creating a sociological backdrop that fosters refugees and foreigners. In such a

⁴¹ Mathew Goodwin, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BtyHJoGKifE>, (Date of Access, 17.12.2018).



sociology, the party's anti-Islamic rhetoric has quickly led to the strengthening of its party by taking the wind of populism behind itself⁴². In the Netherlands, for example, radical right-wing party leaders have argued that Muslims should be excluded because they are discriminatory to women -and homosexuals- that they cannot reconcile with the egalitarian culture of the Netherlands, which cannot be reconciled, but come from a culture of incompetence. It was emphasized that the new migratory movement would never be accepted. It is stated that the integration of existing immigrants into the Dutch society is necessary. Just like in Germany and France, it is noteworthy that there is an important consensus on the priority of the local communities in accessing this welfare in European countries with the pressure of radical right representatives and supporters who state that their welfare has fallen due to globalization⁴³.

The FPÖ, which is increasing its power in Austria, is a radical right-wing populist, which sees immigration as a threat to the unity and values of the nation, which sees the integration movement as a major threat to its nation and aims to intimidate the minorities living in the country. As the coalition partner after the second world war, the FPÖ was noteworthy for being the right-wing party that came to power for the first time in Europe. FPÖ increased its votes by 5.5 points compared to the 2013 elections. However, the 7.6 percent increase in the People's Party is an indicator of the rise of radicalism. Sebastian Kurz, who is the leader of the People's Party (ÖVP), stands out for his anti-Islamic rhetoric. The votes of the Social Democrats (SPÖ) do not show any change compared to the previous elections. In the end, the ÖVP and the FPÖ started to work by establishing a radical right-wing coalition.

In Austria, election campaigns were carried out with anti-immigrant and anti-Islamic populist discourses. For example, Austrian FPÖ leader Heinz Christian Strache described Islam as a 21st century fascism (Rogers, 2017), which envisions a totalitarian legal and social system. Strache also referred to the migration from Muslim countries as the third Turkish siege and emphasized that it should be resisted in every sense⁴⁴.

As can be seen, the rise of the far right in Western Europe is embodied in the support of the populist parties in these countries. The main reasons for the support of these parties are economic crisis, unemployment, immigration / xenophobia and Islamophobia. The reasons for

⁴² Enes Bayraklı ve Oğuz Güngörmez, "Hollanda Parlamento Seçimleri ve Aşırı Sağın Yükselişi", *Analiz*, (Ankara: SETA, 2017), 15-17.

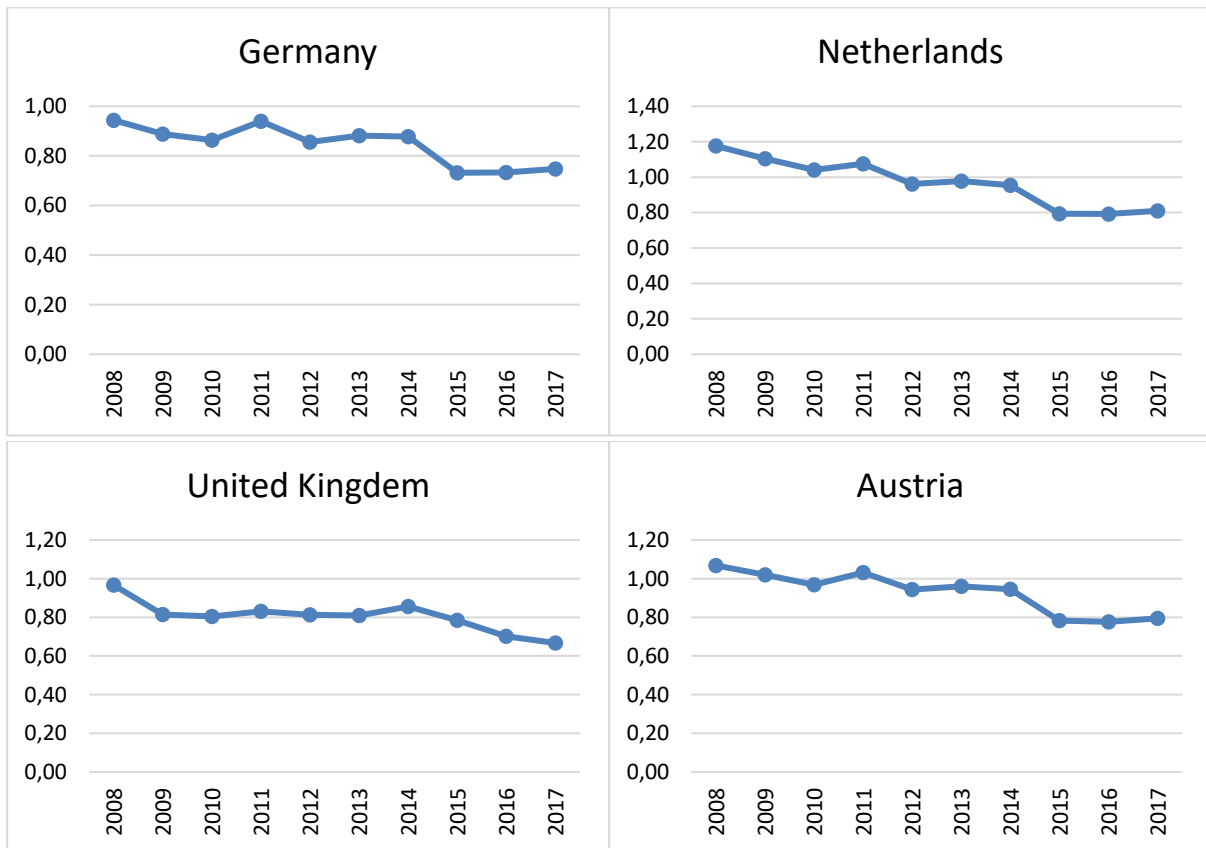
⁴³ Cihan Uzunçayır, "Göçmen Karşıtlığından Islamofobiye Avrupa Aşırı Sağı", *Siyasal Bilimler Dergisi 2*, sy. 2 (2014), 140-142.

⁴⁴ Cihan Uzunçayır, "Göçmen Karşıtlığından Islamofobiye Avrupa Aşırı Sağı", 141-143.



economic crises, unemployment and migration are connected to the free order of globalization. It is useful to mention the economic situation, immigrant mobility and unemployment in these countries in order to have a good assessment of the emergence of the opposition to globalization and the consequences of the radical right.

The 2008 financial crisis affected many countries, particularly the US and Europe. Figure 1 shows the GDP per Capita of Countries (Germany, France, Austria, the Netherlands and the UK)/GDP per Capita of USA.



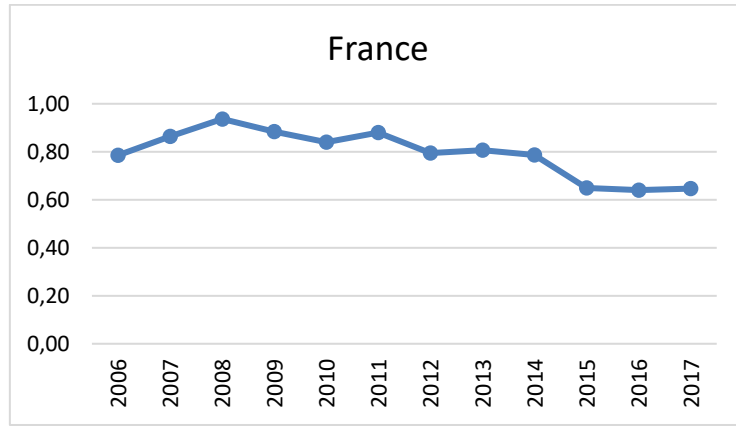


Figure – GDP per Capita of Countries/GDP per Capita of USA⁴⁵

It was stated that globalization has an economic impact in the rise of the radical right in these five countries and this has been frequently expressed by radical right. It is observed that the ratio of per capita GDP of these countries to the same value of US has decreased gradually. This indicates that the welfare levels of these countries are relatively low compared to the prosperity of the US. During the financial crisis of 2008, the US's rapid expansion into the expansionary monetary policy prevented the decline in GDP values in the US compared to Western European countries. Because, in the times of crisis and in emergencies, expansionary monetary policy significantly reduces uncertainty and increases share prices and consumer confidence⁴⁶. The crisis created an air of panic in these countries due to economic recession and the increase in unemployment⁴⁷ in many developed countries and this panic became an attack on the values of globalization in society. Because globalization has economic activities exceeding the country borders and cause the inflation⁴⁸. Due to the activities of the economic units and institutions that can be defined as transnational or supranational, the interdependence and integration between countries has increased economically⁴⁹. The 2008 crisis has affected almost the whole world, and the radical right, which has a growing tendency, has increased its reaction to the globalization that it sees as a reason.

⁴⁵ World Bank, World Development Indicators, 2019.

⁴⁶ Nils Jannsen et. al., *Monetary Policy During Financial Crises: Is the Transmission Mechanism Impaired?*, Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW), Kiel Working Papers, no 2005 (2016), 3-5.

⁴⁷ Gonzalo Caballero, "Effects of Fiscal and Monetary Policy in the Great Recession", *Economies*, nr. 1 (2013), 15-17.

⁴⁸ Serkan Çiçek, "Globalization and flattening of Phillips curve in Turkey between 1987 and 2007", *Economic Modelling* 29, no 5 (2012), 1654-1656.

⁴⁹ Junus Ganiev, Küreselleşme, Finansal Piyasalar ve Kriz. *İktisat Politikası Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, sy. 2 (2014), 117-119.



It was mentioned above with reference to Kondratieff that this kind of crisis can be experienced cyclically. The economic cycle is a periodic fluctuation of the level of business efficiency represented by GDP. GDP includes everything that is produced in a country such as goods, services. GDP grows but the rate does not change. Therefore, there is a period of economic growth or stagnation. Kondratieff's theory of economy turned out to be this. In the beginning of the cycle economies produce high cost capital goods and infrastructure investments creating new employment and income and a demand for consumer goods. After a few decades, however, the expected ROI (Return on Investment) falls below the interest rate and people refuse to invest to reduce the demand for consumer goods. This indicates unemployment and a long economic crisis. In this process, people and companies are trying to save their resources until the environment of confidence is restored. Thus, they enter into a new process of capital formation⁵⁰. Schumpeter used the term “creative destruction” processes for such situations⁵¹. But these crises have various effects. For example, in Western European countries, a reaction to curing has led to a tendency toward extremism.

One of the economic reasons of this transformation in Western Europe is the unemployment and economic recession created by the 2008 crisis in most developed economies. While the recession can be observed clearly, the unemployment data do not make this clear. Thus, in the post-2008 period, there is a decrease in unemployment rates in the major economies. However, there are differences in the quality of employment. For example, while it was 11% in Germany in 2005, it has been continuously decreasing until 2017 and declined to 3.75%. However, it increased to 5,50% in 2017 while it was 4,13 in 2008⁵². Thus, in the context of the unemployment rate in the 2008 crisis, a serious period of stagnation has begun, even though there has not been a decline in every country. The objections of radical right tendencies are growing over this. They link the existence of low levels of work and quality of life to global influences and migratory flows.

Data from the 1990s to the present day have shown an increasing trend of migration for the five countries. As of 2017, there are 12.2 million in Germany, 1.7 million in Austria, 7.9 million in France, 2.1 million in the Netherlands and 8.8 million in the UK⁵³.

⁵⁰ Ishkhan Sokhakyán, “Economic Crisis and Kondratiev Theory”, *21st Century* 2, no 18 (2015), 66-69.

⁵¹ Esben Sloth Andersen et. al., “Schumpeter’s Process of Creative Destruction and the Scandinavian Systems: A Tale of Two Effects”, in *DRUID, Conference 25*, (2006), 2-5.

⁵² OECD, OECD Data, 2019.

⁵³ IMO, Migration Data Portal, 2019.



According to Radikal Right supporters, globalization has made economies interdependent, the crisis in one country has affected other economies, groups that have escaped from crises or wars have migrated to developed countries and caused the decrease in prosperity and increasing violence-terror. This has led to an increase in xenophobia and Islamophobia.

It can be stated that this radical right tendency and the pains that are experienced in Europe and all over the world express a postnormal process. 3C is used to describe the characteristics of the postnormal period: complexity, chaos and contradictions. With the effect of globalization, people have been dependent on each other as never before in history. Everything is connected to each other and therefore the complexity to be experienced in a place can create chaos in many places. Finally, there are postnormal processes in which societies experience contradictions such as globalization or inward closure⁵⁴. As Stephen D. King⁵⁵ reports from Dani Rodrik, in a world where nation-states exist, criticism of globalization presents the “trilemma” faces of the globalization. The nations face one of three strange choices:

- A strict democratic election that hopes the global economy and financial gains will be maximized
- Strict globalization that hopes to improve national democratic elections
- Globalized democracy that produces institutions to replace institutions in the protection of only nation-states so far

Considering the global financial crisis, the first option no longer gives much confidence. The second option reminds us of the disturbing arguments used between the two world wars. The third option cannot easily adapt to the growing populist political environment.

5. Conclusion

Economic reasons play an important role in the rise of the radical right in Europe. Because the stability and low unemployment rate increased the tendency to vote again for the current government, the worsening situation of the economy and the austerity policies led voters to turn to radical right-wing parties. The radical right-wing parties, which see globalization as the only reason for the increase in borrowing and the decline of prosperity, react to the glorification of globalization. They do not accept the approach of globalism as a moral

⁵⁴ Ziauddin Sardar, “Welcome to Postnormal Times”, *Futures* 42, no 5 (2010), 437-440.

⁵⁵ Stephen D. King, *Küreselleşmenin Sonu Kasvetli Yeni Dünya Tarihin Nihai Savaşı*, çev. M. Murtaza Özeren, 1. bs. (İstanbul: Profil Kitap, 2019), 239-241.



obligation to borrow. Because, according to them, this situation shows globalism as something superior than the rights of citizens⁵⁶. Therefore, political parties and unions, which have the mission to operate the wheels of the global economy, must end. The radical right-wing parties in Europe are anti-EU parties. They argue that they will organize a referendum on their country's separation from the EU if they win the election. Because, according to them, the EU is a project that lifts borders. Nation states transfer their sovereignty to this unity and each nation may have the right to decide on matters concerning the other. All this is seen as a threat to the nation by radical right-wing parties.

The reason behind the political success of the radical right is that it addresses the blue-collar workers, the low-educated ones and the unemployed, which are marginalized by the modernization and individualization process. In summary, those who perceive many things as a threat by globalization are more embraced by the concept of nation and do not want foreigners. It seems that the radical right-wing parties are on the rise in Germany, the UK, Austria, France, the Netherlands and many other European countries. The interpretations that society may be experiencing a fear of war are important analyzes for the rise of the radical right. The attack on the mosque in New Zealand reveals how even a country that does not have an anti immigration background and needs immigration is affected by the radical right movements rising in the West.

⁵⁶ John Ralston Saul, *Küreselleşmenin Çöküşü*, çev. Erden İlgi Akter, 1. bs. (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2018): 9-11.



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