

## **Globalism and Nation-State**

Globalism and Nation-state by 2000s,  
in the frame of Critical Theory

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2018

## **ABSTRACT**

The ideas put forward in this thesis that investigates the phenomenon of globalization and its impressions on nation-states are founded on the essential assertion that the dominance of globalization over nation-states is decreasing in the 2000s. Moreover, the topic of "balance and single world system" which realists and liberals defend, have been examined through globalization and nation-state. To achieve these facts in the research, primarily, globalization and the nation-state have been investigated from different points of view. Secondly, the first topic was supported by examples under the heading of migration, radical right and Islamophobia. Finally, the topic of globalization and critical theory have been touched on. Globalization has been debated in the sense of critical theory perspective. In accordance with research, it was further finalized that the effects of globalization were decreased on the nation-states in the 2000s.

**Keywords:** Migration, Radical Right, Islam, Politics of fear, Securitization Governmentality, Globalism, Nation-state

## **INTRODUCTION**

Globalization, which has a processual source, leads to integration between countries and reduction of national consciousness. However, there are conflicts with globalization as with any order. The economic crisis in one country may affect other countries as well. In addition to these, racism like Islamophobia may increase as a result of terrorist attacks like 9/11 attacks. Together with these, radical right may be empowered and the state may want to control the migration routes to prevent terrorist incidents. These topics will be viewed in detail during this investigation. Finally, the positive and negative aspects of globalization will

be discussed in the framework of critical theory and it will be explained that single system may not always be balanced.

### **Globalism and Nation-State**

What are the concepts of globalization and nation-state? In the process of transition from industrial society to information society, the concept of globalization is a new concept which is formed by the whole of economic, political, cultural and economic concepts passing into each other. In other words, it means that the social, cultural, economic and political concepts around the world go beyond the local and national boundaries. This concept refers to the development and diffusion of communication instruments and access facilities to minimize the world, and to the strengthening of the world consciousness that the intensity of interaction between people emanates (Robertson, 1999: 21). One of the important features of globalization is that everything is in a liquidness and in mobility. In this process, world are becoming more integrated in terms of economic, social, political and cultural etc. and the relations between international and domestic affairs become closer. (Yürekli: 2007). In other words, globalization has a processual resource. Additively, the concept of nation includes definitions such as living within the same geographic boundaries, speaking the same language, common fate, common ancestry. There are some things that come with the nation-state model. For example, the development of national consciousness, the overcoming of regional and local fragmentation, the single currency, strong and stable central power, national industry, the development of national markets. An especial feature of nation-states is that they have a homogeneous population. In this way, the modern individual is not just a free person but individual is a citizen identical to the nation (Yürekli, 2009). As a result of the effect of globalization on the nation-state, a new international system has been created which curtail time and space and overcome the sovereign rights of states through developments the means of transportation and communication. From the standpoint of economy, the nation-state

has played an important role in the development of the capitalist system. However, the desire of the nation-state to maintain its own sovereignty and to increase capitalism has created a contradiction. Therefore, capitalism has desired a less interfering state. The free movement of goods and capital has reduced the dominance of nation-states over the economy because exchange rates are systematically linked. Therefore, monetary policy has surpassed the national level. Besides all these, international organizations such as the IMF have eroded the sovereignty of nation-states over the economy. Politically, the most important actors of the international system are the nation-states. Indeed, according to Marx, nation-states are radical instruments of oppression by the rulers. However, the process of globalization has greatly influenced the thinking, structure and functioning of the nation-state. Also, the understanding of the nation and the understanding of the state have also suffered from erosion. The authoritarianism of nation-states has been damaged. Thereby, their decision-making mechanisms have also weakened. Liberalism is an fundamental point of global power because it means that the economy itself is shaped through individuality and that all economic decisions are taken over by individuals. The power of the nation-state has diminished under these circumstances. Eventually, it caused the nation-states to turn into a minimal state type. Moreover, those who believe that the power of the nation-state has diminished, advocate the system as a transnational political integration thanks to the a wide variety and multi-level private actors of the global system. The process of globalization has created economic, political, social and many new problems. Many international organizations have been formed to overcome these issue. The fact that the states cannot solve them and the creation of organizations to help in terms of resolving problems denote that the sovereignty areas of the nation-states are abraded. Well, Questions like ‘ Has the nation-state really lost its influence in the 21st century?’ or ‘Will is the nation-state removed?’ may be asked. It is a fact that there is a weakness in spheres of influence of nation-states. However, it is a difficult process

for the nation-states to be destroyed. Over and above, nation-states have to overcome themselves in economic, political and social space with regard to adapt to globalization. This renewal can be achieved by democratic or non-democratic methods. Other topic that continues to be the subject of this heading is immigration, Islamophobia and radical right.

### **Migration, Islamophobia and Radical Right in Europe**

The fact of migration is defined in the broadest sense as "human mobility"; but it also refers to a transition from a socio-economic and cultural structure to another (Şeker and Uçan, 2016: 198). Migration is one of the basic tools of change that it affects every aspect of the society in many different ways such as economic, culture. There are many reasons for people to migrate such as economic migration, political migration, brain migration, educational migration.

Migration that forms of economic, social or political causes can be volunteer or force majeure it may also take place within the borders of the country or between different countries as well.

Under this heading, the migration to be examined is an international migration. International migration is also called external migration. According to the United Nations, for the definition of international migration migration must have been put into practice for more than a year such as permanent settlers, regular contract workers, on-the-job professionals, illegal workers, asylum seekers and refugees (Tapia, 2002: 17). During the twentieth century, people were separated from their nation-states because of wars, oppression and internal disturbances that took place in the world. These people have been involved in a group of immigrants under the "refugee" or "asylum" categories. Especially, many people migrated to another country because of World War I and II. After the Second World War, European countries adopted immigration from underdeveloped or developing countries to re-empower themselves in terms of workforce. For example, Germany admitted people to iron out the manpower deficit from countries such as Spain, Greece and Turkey. Therewithal, this is an example of a voluntary migration. The concept of "multiculturalism" in the period between 1970 and 1990 is

forefront. This concept involves the cultivation of immigrant groups to preserve and develop their own identity, and to live together. After the 1990s a new issue emerged with the disintegration of the Soviet Union: security. During the cold war, security meant military and ideological threats. However, with the end of the cold war the concept of security changed. For nation-states, security is no longer limited only to the protection of national boundaries because after the cold war, the only hegemon power was USA but the states still needed to protect their authority over their citizens. Therefore, the concept of "enemy within" was put forward. This concept means internal enemy and it is used as an existential threat. Power of fear was created with this threat. With this fear, modern states use securitization concept as a political technique. Also, this is also an example of governmentality because it means that the state determines what is good and what is bad for the citizen. That is to say, the minds of individuals are inspired by the state mentality and gain a power form in the present order. If it is returned to the concept of "enemy within", who and what is included in the concept of "enemy within"? immigration, ethnic revival, religious revival (Islam), identity claims, etc. In particular, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks have been a breaking point in this regard. International and uncontrolled immigration has been argued to be a threat to the cultural and political identity of the countries because the people who make real terrorist acts used the migration routes. As a result, international migration policies have been made tight. Madrid (2004), London (2005), Stockholm bombings (2010) terrorist incidents in these countries also settled the ground of the "enemy within" concept. As a consequence, the concepts of national identity, citizenship and national security have begun to be questioned as much as ever, and it has been argued that the immigrant population (especially Muslim immigrants) has increased domestic crime rates, weakened / misused the welfare state, and claimed to be incompatible with integration processes (Akçapar, 2015: 566-567). After September 11, racism turned to Islamophobia. The rise of cultural and religious discourses over Muslim immigrants has

increased and created a counterfact that the terrorist acts such as September 11, 2001, Madrid bombing (2004), 7/7 London terrorist bombing (2005) and Stockholm bombings (2010). This aspect is called Islamophobia and reveals a way of thinking that combines the history, politics, societies and cultures of the Middle East with a single unified and negative understanding of Islam. Islamophobia that is a kind of racism creates the concept of "the other". Indeed, globalization is a contrary condition because globalization, which is a process that lifts the differences that arise from spatial distances over social or cultural arrangements, causes the similarities of people's lifestyles, preferences and value judgments (Eşkinat, 1998: 7- 13). In other words, the concept of the "other" has a contrary content against globalization. Besides, Islamophobia is also used by modern states in terms of politics of fear, by the conservative political elite, the media and experts. Islamophobia, anti-immigration, nationalist movements have found themselves in the political parties because these parties get annoyed of multicultural or heterogeneous cases. For example, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) strongly advocates immigrant opposition. It argues that Britain face the threat of Islamism. This party was voted by 3.8 million voters in the 2015 election. The anti-immigrant Austrian Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs) has increased its own votes to 20% by 2015. Unlike 2015, it could get 10% of the votes in 2002. Finland's nationalist party "Perussuomalaiset" has a 17.7% share of the vote in 2015 and it becomes a partner of the newly established government. This party received 1.6% of the votes in 2003. As you can see, the extreme right and nationalist parties have increased voter support. In addition to these, economic problems plays a role in the rise of extreme right. The 2008 financial crisis and its impact on Europe have profound implications on identity and economic problems. Groups that believe that they are economically hurt by globalization react to immigrants because they have an idea that immigrants take their jobs. Increasing unemployment in society, lower living standards and economic problems motive people a new party, a new political discourse,

alternative approach and solution apart from the ruling political parties. At this stage, the extreme right parties form an alternative party example by them. However, it leads to more conflicts among different peoples, to slowing down the process of adapting to each other and to a deeper concept of the 'other'. For example, if you look at the Anti-Muslim Racism Report prepared in the Austrian Center for Documentation and Counseling for Muslims in 2017, it is seen that 253 attacks against Muslims were recorded in 2016 and this figure rose to 309 in 2017. Another example is that in the first 4 months of 2018 more than 40 mosques were attacked in Germany. These examples are another proof of the increase of Islamophobia in society.

In conclusion, could the rise of right-wing and conservative parties be a sign that nation-states are strengthening again? Only an increase in extreme right-wing parties could be a weak indicator. However, in terms of national security, the increased role of nation-states in blocking the flow of international migration and controlling borders support this indicator. According to this situation, in the 2000s, globalization that harmed state power and power has started to lose its influence over the nation-state. In other words, the effects of globalization have begun to decrease.

### **Globalism and Critical Theory**

First, critical theory should be viewed. Then a review will be made on globalization. Critical theory has five features. The first feature is the framework. According to critical theory, an objective reality is not mentioned, unlike realists and liberals. There is a reality context. The context is created by our perspectives and perceptions. There is reality as we see it. In order to understand international relations, we first need to be able to examine everything in this framework. To put it simply, what is important is how we perceive our world. This is reality. Secondly, the international system is able to affect everything. Psychology, environmental issues, economy, etc. can affect. The third characteristic is change. Framework is constantly



changing. For example, between 2004 and 2008, the world was perceived by many people in the perspective that globalization has increased and the power of the nation-state has declined. Now, People perceive it that cultures are moving away from each other, exclusion is increasing, and nation-states are strengthening again. Therefore, this denotes that there is not a single world system. The fourth characteristic is the historical structure. Historical events and information have the power to alter in the framework. So, the context changes and changes with discourse. In a sense, the context changes and discourse also alter. When incidents alter, perceptions also change. The fifth feature is conflict. In other words, the balance should not be focused. According to liberals and realists, balance is the reality of life. For example, Waltz refers to balance of power, in terms of international policy. Nye mention about economic equilibrium. Unlike them, critical theory argues that conflicts and contradictions should be focused because there are very serious conflicts and contradictions under the balance. For this reason, incidents and phenomena beyond perspective should be considered. At this point, the framework is expanded. Within the framework of this theory, the positive or negative aspects of globalization may be discussed. According to Held, globalization is the The nation-states have begun to strengthen again.economic, military and cultural spheres in all aspects of modern social and social life. Beck defines the notion of globalization as the process by which transnational actors undermine the dominant nation-states by changing the appearance of power, orientations, identities, network and these states face with the crisis. In the beginning, nation-states may be defended for a period of declining power and transculturation.

However, the fact that the extreme right, the nationalist movements and the international immigration, which are increasingly controlled by the states in the current period give us the message that the effect of globalization is decreasing. Historical incidents may cause a change in the framework. Breakpoints of 9/11 events affected the process of change. Also, the

increasing power of nationalism may affect globalization. Moreover, it can change into perceptions, if the conflicts that underlie the image of globalization that has created a balance are focused. For example, As a consequence of globalization, a group that is affected by 2008 crisis has emerged or Brexit may be examined. This has affected the mobility of global markets. This process has been heavily influenced by global investors and the system has also been affected. Britain's exit from the EU influences the European Union in various areas; economic, political, military diplomatic areas.

To sum up, globalization has no positive influence in all aspects of modern social and social life. Due to a problem, negative effects may be observed in many areas. our perceptions may alter because of changes in modern social and social life. Under the headings, it can be seen that there is no single understanding of the system and the system is beginning to change or lose its influence within the framework of the critical theory.

## **CONCLUSION**

Results of the investigations demonstrate that globalization has begun to lose its influence on nation-states. The bad perceptions of immigrants, terrorist incidents, extreme right and Islamophobia have enormous influence in this case. It has come to the point of conflict and breakdown within itself. Therefore, the equilibrium condition that is defended by liberals and realists is distorted. The system is in a state of flux.

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