

**UTILITY OF NATIONALISM IN RESPONSE TO
ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION**

Yusuf Ziya KARİPEK

TIGA BRIEFING Tem 2020/7



NECMETTİN ERBAKAN
UNIVERSITY

TIGA
TURKISH CENTER FOR
GLOBAL AND AREA STUDIES

Yusuf Ziya Karipek

Utility of nationalism in response to economic globalization

Turkish Center for Global and Area Studies (TIGA)

Necmettin Erbakan University
Yaka Mah. Kasım Halife Sokak. No:11/B
Meram-Konya/TURKEY
Tel: +90 (0)332 221 0500
E-Mail: info@tiga.erbakan.edu.tr
Internet: www.erbakan.edu.tr/tiga

Editor

Dr. Gökhan BOZBAŞ

Graphic & Design

Büşra UYAR
Muhammed Sami TEKİN
Mustafa ALTINTEPE
Nurullah GÜNER

Necmettin Erbakan University Press

Yaka Mah. Yeni Meram Cad. Hasım Halife Sok. No:
11/1 Meram / Konya/ TURKEY
0332 221 0 575 - www.neuyayin.com

July, 2020

* All rights of this piece are reserved to Necmettin Erbakan University. No part of this piece may be scanned, uploaded, reproduced, distributed, or transmitted in any form or by any means whatsoever without written permission from the author.

* All responsibility of the information and comments contained in this piece belong to the author.

Attribution

You may cite the work as follows:

MLA

Karipek, Yusuf Ziya. "Utility of nationalism in response to economic globalization " TIGA Briefing 7, (2020)

APA

Karipek, Y. Z. (2020). Utility of nationalism in response to economic globalization, TIGA Briefing 7

ISO 690

Karipek, Y. Z. Utility of nationalism in response to economic globalization, TIGA Briefing, 2020, 7

No Derivative Works

You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Notice

For any reuse or distribution, you must make clear to others the licence terms of this work. The best way to do this is with a link to this web page:
www.erbakan.edu.tr/tiga

e-ISBN

978-605-4988-54-9



Bu eser Creative Commons Atıf-GayriTicari 4.0 Uluslararası Lisansı ile lisanslanmıştır.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License.

Published and printed by



Content

THE COLLAPSE OF METANARRATIVE ABOUT GLOBAL PROSPERITY	3
DYNAMICS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY	4
PUSHBACK AGAINST ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION	5
CALL FOR A GLOBALIZED ECONOMY	7
ECONOMICGLOBALIZATIONANDINSTRUMENTALIZATIONOFNATIONALISM.....	9
Resume	12

The image features an abstract geometric design on the left side, composed of several overlapping shapes in shades of teal and green. A large teal shape is at the top left, a medium green shape is below it, and a smaller teal shape is at the bottom left. The text is positioned to the right of these shapes.

UTILITY OF NATIONALISM IN
RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC
GLOBALIZATION

THE COLLAPSE OF METANARRATIVE ABOUT GLOBAL PROSPERITY

Conventional liberal paradigm posits the view that free trade, free movement of capital, goods and open trade policies would increase wealth in the world. Eventually, the wealth created at the richest countries would trickle down to the bottom of the ladder. Hence, it would actually benefit everyone in the long term. These liberal economic values were hailed by the developed nations as the key to prosperity and peace in the international community. The West under the leadership of the USA, has ferociously promoted liberal internationalism as the right model of world order since the end of the World War I.

Globalization has turned into an aspiration and ideology for the construction of a liberal world at the hands of the US.

Globalization and free trade across the world were introduced as universal values and advertised as the catalyst for development for the remaining world. Globalization has turned into an aspiration and ideology for the construction of a liberal world at the hands of the US. It was believed that the liberal

world order would prevent wars at a global scale and preserve the everlasting peace around the world. Intergovernmental organizations including League of Nations (later replaced by the United Nations), European Union, the World Health Organization and the World Bank were also all assigned key roles in the establishment of global governance. However, the call for a 'flat world' transformed itself into a call for a massive pullback from economic globalization in the face of growing economic anxieties and struggles.



The World Health Organization (WHO) plays an essential role in the global governance of health and disease.

The meta-narrative about development and ever-lasting global peace are heavily questioned by the US. Economic globalization is considered as a threat for long-term economic vitality and even security of the American people. Ironically, the economic model that the US has ferociously promoted backlashed against their economic expectations. The liberal order is being turned upside down. More strikingly, countries that defend

♦UTILITY OF NATIONALISM IN RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

these values of free markets, free trade, internationalism and open global market now are being labeled as major threats to the stability of international world order and detrimental to the interests of the USA.

DYNAMICS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

Some scholars define nationalism as the anti-thesis of globalization. This approach posits the view that with ever expanding globalization, boundaries will be irrelevant. In this paper, I refute this stance. Instead, I use the definition of nationalism as the idea of taking pride in one's own nation or imagined community. The pride not only compromises the nation's past and present achievements and but also compromises perceived achievements in the future. I hold the belief that nationalism as a founding ideology is often reframed and molded specific to one nation's understanding its own history, evaluation of the existing socio-economic conditions and projection of itself into the future. Varying opinions are held in regards to what effect globalization has had on nationalism. Nationalism has the function of providing a new consciousness and a new ideology. Finding innovative answers to multiple challenges posed to this imagined community helps build the sense of belonging and serves as the underlying motivation for the

future. The ideological mindset and cultural identity purport to explain the outside world and defines goals to pursue in their responses to this outside world. The dynamic nature of nationalism allows itself to be distorted, reframed, restructured and remolded.

Nationalism can be sets of images that are independent and responsive to the realities of the outside world.

Nationalism, hence, constantly provides means and space for states to survive, achieve political legitimacy and orientation in their socioeconomic targets/objectives. In abstract forms, nationalism is not defensive and isolationist force against economic globalization. In each state, there is not one unified form of national identity, nor right or wrong form. Nationalism can be sets of images that are independent and responsive to the realities of the outside world. In each nation, competing understandings of nationalism may portray contrasting views on the impact of economic globalization. Thus, for some, globalization poses threat to national identity and for some others, globalization in fact fosters nationalism.

In a bid to gain political legitimacy, the ruling elite needs to provide effective politically feasible policies that can address the socioeconomic effects of globalization. So, the framework of nationalism in part springs from a nation's socioeconomic evaluation, orientation and aspirations. Idealized conception of how one country should identify itself is discovered based on how a nation views its own past, how it evaluates the existing socio-economic, political and cultural conditions and finally how it projects itself into the future. Parties and governments twist world history and nationalist urge that align with their socioeconomic perspectives.



Governments twist and mold world history and nationalist sentiments to align with their socioeconomic perspectives.

Subsequently, the deep rooted struggle about finding the right ideology for the nation's success shapes the approach toward economic globalization. In some countries, nationalism and globalization are seen as the untitheatical forces. In some other countries, these two forces go hand in hand. Recently, the right-wing nationalism in some of the developed nations can be regarded

as a response and reaction the uncertainties of economic globalization. On the other hand, many developing nations which have been the main beneficiaries of more-integrated market economy galvanize the public opinion and mold the nationalist sentiments in support of greater economic globalization.

PUSHBACK AGAINST ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

The pushback against globalization, manifested in the Brexit vote and support for political leaders such as Donald Trump, stems from social and economic exclusion at the hands of economic globalization. With growing globalization and the changes it has brought to the world, many in the developed nations feel behind by the recent developments. Social and economic exclusion appears to have translated into support for leaders such as Trump and Brexit. Political leaders who address growing inequality and polarization in their political campaigns continue to gain more popular support. Trump and Brexit supporters, hence, both formulate and develop nationalist rhetorics that appeal to those who have been left behind by the economic globalization. Until recent-

♦UTILITY OF NATIONALISM IN RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

ly, America's historic mission of spreading values of free trade and liberty were in contingent with what it meant to be an 'American', though the degree to which it has been publicly emphasized has varied.

Until recently, America's historic mission of spreading values of free trade and liberty were in contingent with what it meant to be an 'American', though the degree to which it has been publicly emphasized has varied.

Despite doubts raised by some scholars and politicians about whether spreading these values worldwide would actually improve the lives of Americans, there was a broad consensus about the compatibility between American nationalism and the tenets of economic globalization. The compatibility was to the extent that the US was willing to give up its own short term economic interests for the sake of keeping the global economy running and maintaining intergovernmental institutions developed under the leadership of the US. It was hoped that by keeping the US wide open to the rest of the world's exports and even granting economic favors,

it would be in the favor of the nation in the long-term. By doing so, the US would be the main beneficiary of the economic development by keeping allies all over the world. During the Cold War, the US economy was predominant world power and hence economic globalization was in tandem with strong nationalism at home.

In the past decades, economic growth and globalization always seemed to have risen in tandem. Thus, American nationalism was shaped in support for economic globalization. After the end of the Cold War, it was the height of a certain "globalization euphoria": The implementation of the Open Door Policy in China and integration of former socialist economies into the global market economy all signified reaffirming support for the worldwide triumph of liberal world order.

In the face of changing global realities and growing global competition, the bond, however, between nationalism and advocacy for global economy is now fracturing in the US. Many feel threatened by the way the global economic integration is affecting their lives. Under decline of manufacturing employment, loss of competitiveness, reduced and unstable incomes among the

poor and working class, American public has grown skeptical about economic globalization and international agreements over the years.



Trump's understanding of nationalism pits against international global economy and global governance.



The US government under Trump administration also feels being unfairly treated by the global trading system and argues that the US economy is exploited at the hands of developing nations. Under the growing influence of economic globalization, Trump administration conveys the public that the US economy is worse than better. Trump's understanding of nationalism pits against international global economy and global governance. The US government moves away from its commitment to promotion of liberal values. In contrast, it displays hostility toward global economic integration and global governance. Anti-globalization movement identifies the nationalist discourse and Trump's 'America First' stan-

ce is a response and reaction to the uncertainties of globalization in the West. The call for pullback from economic globalization and overreliance on protectionism find more popular support.



In the face of growing economic anxieties and struggles, the US government under Trump administration also feels being unfairly treated by the global trading system.

CALL FOR A GLOBALIZED ECONOMY

In contrast to the US antagonism against economic globalization, political leaders in China have defined nationalism in lines with the promotion of economic development and upholding globalization principles. For years, China experienced national humiliation at the hands of imperial powers, faced isolation in the international community, suffered poor governance and lacked modernization. In the late 1970s, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, economic development was the most viable path to address the daunting economic social problems. Since the initial days

◆UTILITY OF NATIONALISM IN RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

of the reform, Chinese nationalism is defined in lines with the promotion of economic development and integration of the nation into the global economy.

“For years, China experienced national humiliation at the hands of imperial powers, faced isolation in the international community, suffered poor governance and lacked modernization.”

The Chinese nationalist discourse provides the political legitimacy domestically and serves the underlying motivation for economic activities externally. The decisive surge of nationalism, therefore, coincided with the economic growth in China. In recent decades, greater globalization leads to deeper nationalism in China. The theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, starting from the late 70s, can be considered how the rise of the Chinese society is contingent on upholding the values of the liberal economic order and economic globalization. The important thought of “Three Represents”, put forward by Jiang Zemin, exerts the substantial influence for the support for

further economic globalization. China’s entry into the World Trade Organization in 2001, signifies another key milestone in the nation’s incorporation into global economic governance. In the quest for human society development, Hu Jintao’s “Harmonious Society” also acknowledges the key role of international community, intensification of international interaction and economic globalization. From the century of humiliation to China’s rise as a world power, these developments in recent Chinese history demonstrate the dramatic paradigm shift in China from showing hostility toward international system to developing a new sense of accountability and commitment in the international community.

“In the grip of economic slowdown, during President Xi Jinping's first term of office, nationalism and economic globalization are harnessed together again by the Chinese state”

In the grip of economic slowdown, during President Xi Jinping’s first term of office, nationalism and economic globalization are harnessed together

again by the Chinese state. In an attempt to boost trade and stimulate economic growth, President Xi announced the launch of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013 which can be considered as a global development strategy.



Chinese President Xi Jinping's new inspirational slogan- the Chinese Dream, hopes to build a moderately prosperous society and realize national rejuvenation.

BRI significantly contributes to China's pride and symbolizes the greater footprint of the nation in the world. President Xi's model for economic growth and prosperity through his proposed 'Chinese Dream' suggests that China's ascendancy still operates in tandem with sustenance and expansion of economic globalization. China's sense of imagined community continues to be reframed and molded in ways that facilitate its integration to the global market economy and assume greater responsibility for the maintenance of the existing world order.

ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION AND INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism in China as an ideology advocates the rise of China based on economic globalization principles where as in the United States, the Trump administration twists American nationalism as an ideology to advocate the rise of the nation based on anti-global economic principles. Despite some distinct and contrasting differences, nationalist sentiments both in the US and China first and foremost fulfill the function of reaffirming the political legitimacy of the ruling parties. Second, nationalist discourse fulfills the function of providing a new consciousness, a new ideology that provides answers to multiple challenges of modern global economy. In both nations, the ruling elite instrumentalizes national patriotism as an ideological tool to mobilize the masses to support and carry out the socio-economic targets. Although perpetuating completely contrasting attitudes toward global economic integration, President Xi's 'Chinese Dream'

♦UTILITY OF NATIONALISM IN RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

is not any less or more nationalist than Trump's 'America First' approach.

“ Although perpetuating completely constraining attitudes toward global economic integration, President Xi's 'Chinese Dream' is not any less or more nationalist than Trump's 'America First' approach. ”

The US and the UK, once furious defenders of economic globalization, step back from the commitment to neoliberal values including open door policy, market-oriented reform policies, free and open trade. On the contrary, China, who once showed reluctance to embrace neoliberal economic measures, positions itself as the defender of economic globalization. Since the start of the 20th century, the US highlighted the benefits of free trade, foreign assistance, foreign direct investments, and the importance of international organizations such as NATO, the WTO and UN. Initially, China along some other developing countries certainly felt economic globalization was simply a ze-

ro-sum game. More precisely, it was believed that foreign investors only promote greater economic globalization so that they can gain economic profits at the expense of their economies. Not surprisingly, until the late 1970s, China's zero-sum game approach to economic globalization has led to deeping isolationism in the international community.

New beneficiaries emerge from world trade due to the shift in the global economy. During the time when the liberal international economy contributes to economic growth and prosperity in the United States, the tenets of liberal economy were introduced as the ingredients for economic development for the rest of the world.

“ Although perpetuating completely constraining attitudes toward global economic integration, President Xi's 'Chinese Dream' is not any less or more nationalist than Trump's 'America First' approach. ”

When such meta-narratives met opposition from the developing nations, the opposing forces

were seen as a threat, backward, uncivilized and in need of change. However, just couple decades later, when the US no longer can reap the economic benefits of globalization, the very same values and principles of liberal economic order are perceived as posing a direct threat to security and national economy. The US government imposes a sense of American identity that negatively influences the mass public's reaction to immigration, economic globalization, international organizations. On the other hand, China has been the forerunner and defender of economic globalization and free trade in part because the country benefits from the present socioeconomic conditions. As the socioeconomic conditions continue to change under the influence of globalization, the intriguing relationship between nationalism and call for globalization will likely change.

The image features several abstract geometric shapes in various shades of teal and green. A large teal shape is in the top left, a medium green shape is in the middle left, and a smaller teal shape is at the bottom left. A dark teal horizontal bar is at the very bottom. The word 'RESUME' is written in a bold, teal, sans-serif font on the right side of the page.

RESUME

Yusuf Ziya Karipek, Yusuf Ziya Karipek The City University of New York Sosyoloji Bölümü ve Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi'nden mezun oldu. Mezun olduktan sonra Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi'nde araştırma görevlisi olarak çalıştı. Uluslararası göç, kamu diplomasisi, dini gruplar üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır. Halen Tsinghua Üniversitesi'nde Çin Siyaseti, Dış Politika ve Uluslararası İlişkiler alanında yüksek lisans derecesi üzerinde çalışmaya devam etmektedir. Yusuf Ziya Karipek holds a bachelor's degree in Sociology from the City University of New York and in Theology from Necmettin Erbakan University in Konya, Turkey. Upon graduation, he worked as a full-time research assistance at NEU in Turkey. He concentrates in international migration, public diplomacy, religious groups. Currently, he is working on a Master's degree in Chinese Politics, Foreign Policy, and International Relations (CPFP) at Tsinghua University.

