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POLITICAL CHALLENGES IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD: POLITICAL PARTIES*

Küreselleşen Dünyada Siyasi Zorluklar: Siyasi Partiler

Ertuğrul Buğra ORHAN¹

¹Dr. Arş. Gör. Fırat Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi İktisat Bölümü, bugraorhan@firat.edu.tr, orcid.org/0000-0003-2455-5441

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ABSTRACT

One of the most important concepts explaining the rapid change in the world is globalization. The important topic behind the power of this concept to explain change is undoubtedly the economy. The economic transformation confronts the states, which are the most important actors of the modern political system, with great difficulties. Therefore, the research aims to explain the challenges facing the state and political parties by globalization. In this context, the theories developed on the concepts of political parties are discussed and the negative effects of globalization in economic, political and social aspects are discussed. The discussion is in the inductive conceptualization pattern in terms of method. The research reveals that political parties will make difficult choices between the interests of global corporations and the demands of citizens. In addition, the weakening of the ability of states to use economic instruments reduces the possibility of political governments to realize their economic and political goals. Failure to meet social demands may also make the legitimacy of political parties questionable. This result shows that the theories about the decline of political parties may still be valid.

ÖZ

Dünyadaki hızlı değişimi açıklayan en önemli kavramlardan biri küreselleşmedir. Bu kavramın değişimi açıklayabilme gücünün arka planındaki önemli başlık ise hiç şüphesiz ekonomidir. Ekonomik dönüşüm, modern dönem siyasal sisteminin en önemli aktörü olan devletleri büyük zorluklarla yüzleştirmektedir. Bundan dolayı araştırma, küreselleşmenin devlet ve siyasi partileri karşı karşıya bıraktığı zorlukları açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda siyasi parti kavramlarına dair geliştirilen teoriler ele alınmış ve küreselleşmenin ekonomik, siyasal ve toplumsal yönden negatif etkileri tartışılmıştır. Tartışma, yöntem bakımından tümevarımsal kavramsallaştırma desenindedir. Araştırma, siyasi partilerin küresel şirketlerin çıkarları ve yurttaş talepleri arasında zorlu tercihler yapacakları sonucunu ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca devletlerin ekonomik enstrümanları kullanabilme yetisinin zayıflaması, siyasal iktidarların ekonomik ve politik hedeflerini gerçekleştirme ihtimalini de azaltmaktadır. Toplumsal taleplerin karşılanamaması, siyasi partilerin meşruiyetini de tartışılır kılabilir. Bu sonuçta siyasi partilerin düşüşüne dair teorilerin hala geçerli olabileceğini göstermektedir.

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Sorumlu yazar/Corresponding author: Ertuğrul Buğra ORHAN, bugraorhan@firat.edu.tr

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1. Introduction

Political parties are very new among the structures that represent power throughout history. Because, as the legitimate representative of the state power, they have been representing the government since a century. In particular, the collapse of empires, the response of modern political ideas in the world, and finally the change in the source of legitimacy paved the way for political parties to become an actor in the state administration. The fact that religion is a fundamental value in terms of social and administrative aspects and the fact that legitimacy phenomena such as the transfer of power from god to king are no longer valid has also changed the perception of power in an abstract sense (Ağaoğulları, 2013). While the aristocrats or centralized empires that ruled the state and economy lost their power, the bourgeoisie and the masses representing them were also organized economically and politically. Established organizations and factions are the early prototypes of today's modern political parties. According to Tanilli, the first examples of political parties existing today started to emerge in Western Europe when the bourgeoisie became dominant in the parliament by gaining superiority over the monarchy in relation to the changing economic production relations (Tanilli, 2007: 215). The formation of a large mass of conscious voters became possible with the acquisition of universal suffrage in Europe over time and the perception of having a say in political power. In the face of this, the existence of power controlled by a small ruling elite has disappeared and the period of power of political parties has begun. It is obvious that the conflict between mentioned classes is a power struggle. The means of the power struggle in the new period are the organizations called political parties. In the 19th century, Max Weber sees that as a result of modern democracy and giving the right to vote to the people, the activities carried out for the purpose of influencing and organizing the public emerged in the form of political parties (Tezic, 2004: 88). In addition, the increasing complexity of the state structure and political systems (Daver, 1985: 98) reveals that political parties are necessary for the administration of the state. In terms of the question of who will have a say in the administration of the state, Tanilli states that political parties are the political equivalent of class conflicts that occur in society (Tanilli, 2007: 211). Berkes, on the other hand, attributes the emergence of modern political parties to the result of the struggle for economic benefits (Berkes, 1946: 5). Today, it is a known fact that economic activities go beyond the borders of the state and form a global network. In this respect, the view that accepts political parties as structures that have emerged in the name of economic interests has to take into account the globalization process. In fact, while political parties were the representatives of economic distribution in the political competition dimension, today global companies have become larger than the economic scale of some states. Therefore, globalization affects states and political parties directly and indirectly. As a matter of fact, globalization will affect everything that exists within national borders, since by its very nature the increasing connections around the world have transnational and territorial characteristics (Scholte, 2000).

2. Political Parties

In 1850, no country in the world, except the United States, had political parties as we use them today. There were no real political parties apart from the existing philosophical associations, intellectual movements, public clubs, and parliamentary groups. (Duverger, 1974: 15) Political parties emerged in Europe and before that in America and before that in England in the 19th century. Their emergence was accompanied by the development of the understanding of representative democracy and the acceptance and expansion of universal suffrage. Political parties, which gather and represent the opinions and expectations formed in the society, have continued their existence until today by being affected by the political, social and economic changes that have changed since their emergence. Although political parties have existed in the political system for about a century, their becoming legal subjects in the said political system dates back to very recent times. In fact, there are still countries in Continental Europe that have not established legal norms regarding political parties.

The reason for this is the view that the individual freedom of will stemming from liberal thought is restricted by groups and political parties, and it is the reflection of this view on the legal plane (Araslı, 1972: 24). It showed great similarities with the factions, which are other actors in the competition to seize power with their groups, and the cliques formed to achieve certain goals. Therefore, separating these structures from each other has not been as easy as it is today. Due to these difficulties, it does not seem possible to state that there is a consensus among the authors on the definition of the political party.

It is stated that the work on political party theory is Maurice Duverger's work called Political Parties (Özbudun, 1964: 23). According to the author, the aim of all these formations is to seize power, but they are not identical structures. Even in the middle of the 19th century, political party-type structures are not known much outside of America (Duverger, 1974: 15). Today, political parties are now seen as the main actors of modern political systems and contemporary democracies. In this respect, one of the definitions of political

parties has been expressed as "the community that has established an orderly, continuous and stable organizational structure that tries to control the power and management mechanism of the state by providing public support" (Saribay, 1997: 10). In this context, political parties perform functions such as political participation, combining various interests, political transformation, and state administration (Özbudun, 1977: 4). With the effect of the expansion of the right to vote, regular relations between the election committees and the parliament give rise to the political party (Tanilli, 2007: 205). In the historical context, according to Duverger, the emergence of political parties is the result of two important developments that manifested themselves in 19th century Europe. The first is the establishment of the principle of representative and responsible government, and the second is the expansion of the right to vote (Özbudun, 1977: 21). Berkes, while explaining the concept of political party, expressed the definition as broadly and comprehensively as possible. According to him, a political party, in the broadest sense, is a community of people who are united in their views and progress (Berkes, 1946: 2). In other words, a political party represents a view and differs from others according to this view. Political parties are basically the result of a unity of will. A community with only a common will cannot be defined as a political party on its own. A non-governmental organization or a group is a community with a common will. Political parties are also organizations that use the power of the state and its ability to shape the society (Örs, 2015: 21). It can only become a political party when the ideas of this common will begin to exert a coercive effect on a community and when that community gains the coercive power (Berkes, 1946: 3). According to this, political parties are structures that try to implement their ideas on the community, have different ideals and want to use the power of the state to realize their ideals.

2.1. Approaches to The Emergence of Political Parties

Ergun Özbudun defines political parties as regular and permanent communities that operate with the support of the people organized throughout the country in order to be in power or to be a partner in power (Özbudun, 1977: 1). One of Duverger's first determinations regarding political parties is that organizations called political parties were not seen anywhere in the world except the United States in the middle of the 19th century, but by the middle of the 20th century it was impossible to come across a regime without a party (Duverger, 1974: 15). This means that political parties have interacted with the system as an indispensable element in all modern political systems. The emergence of political parties expresses the understanding of a process that should be taken into account in the political administration of the masses (La Palombara & Weiner, 1966: 4).

According to the institutional theory, the development of political parties in Western political systems or democracies occurred as a result of the formation of the principle of representative (responsible) government and the development (expansion) of the suffrage (Özbudun, 1977: 20). Duverger expressed this as the increase in the right to vote and the powers of the parliament (Duverger, 1974: 16). The factions in the parliament had to abandon their aristocratic characteristics with universal suffrage being considered legitimate (Özbudun, 1977: 20). Political parties emerged as a result of these factions and organizations becoming continuous and permanent and establishing a regular connection with their faction in the parliament (Duverger, 1974: 17-23). The transformation of communication between parliamentary factions and election offices, which the institutional theory suggested in the emergence of political parties, is an explanatory but insufficient approach in terms of touching on the political participation of communities. In this respect, although it explains the development of political parties in the context of democracies in Western political systems, institutional theory has been insufficient to explain the emergence of political parties, especially in non-democratic regimes (Özbudun, 1977: 21). Theories put forward in the context of the emergence of political parties generally stated that political parties develop and mature in a certain political system and under certain conditions. In fact, the change in the current social conditions in the emergence of political parties over time has led to the formation of new political parties (La Palombara & Weiner, 1966: 7). This shows how important social conditions are in the formation process of a political party.

Historical facts in the political field have a function in the emergence of political parties, pointing out the emergence of a new paradigm, except for the ones mentioned. This paradigm, on the other hand, points to the theories of crisis as emerging as crises of legitimacy, integration and participation (La Palombara & Weiner, 1966: 14). As political crises express historical turning points in political systems, it is possible to establish a link between these crises and the emergence of political parties. Political formations based on the masses in crisis conditions develop and take shape according to the political stance they represent in these situations. The conditions that caused the crisis connect the emergence of political parties to some of the problems faced by the political elites in a country and the targets they set out from these problems. The first of these

problems, the crisis of legitimacy, is the disagreement that arises about who will hold the ropes within the state mechanism and how they will run the country. The second problem, the integration crisis, arises from the problems that arise from the attempt to create a nation-state (integrating elements such as language, religion, race). The third problem is the crisis of participation. These are crises arising from the legitimate demands of groups outside the political elite to seize the state or to share the state's administration (Mutlu, 2005: 9). Another view associates the emergence of political parties today with the progress experienced as a result of democratic and social changes in countries. The most valid expression of this view is that modernization reveals political participation, and political participation reveals political organization (Kapani, 2004: 128). In addition, the formation of political parties in colonial underdeveloped countries can be cited as an example of legitimacy crises (Özbudun, 1977: 25). For example, the emergence of the İttihad ve Terakki Partisi (Party of Union and Progress) in Turkey is related to the legitimacy crisis that the country was in at that time and is clearly the result of the crisis in question (Özbudun, 1977: 24). Similarly, the effort to create a national state from various language, religion and racial groups is shown as an example of integration crises (Özbudun, 1977: 25).

The emergence and development of political parties are shaped by their societies and how their rulers deal with these crises (La Palombara & Weiner, 1966: 14). However, it should be noted that the classification of crisis theories as integration, legitimacy and participation crises does not seem sufficient in terms of data available today. As a matter of fact, these three titles represent a regular classification of facts that shed light on the formation of political parties at the time they were written. At this point, a new view has been put forward that explains the formation of political parties in an inclusive way. According to Özbudun, the emergence of political parties in the modernization process is closely related to the concept of political participation (Özbudun, 1977: 26). According to this, the modernization of society, in the meaning stated, is the main factor in the development of political parties by bringing about an increase in political participation. According to La Palombara and Weiner, political parties emerge with the aim of fulfilling various functions with different social, political and economic dimensions in various political systems (La Palombara & Weiner, 1966: 42). Katz and Mair see political parties as elements that act as bridges between the people and the government (Katz & Mair, 2004: 93). In this context, the emergence of political parties in both democratic and anti-democratic regimes is a manifestation of modernization and takes place in the public sphere (Heywood, 2006: 356). Political development in the modernization process indicates the existence of complex political formations that require a high-level organization. The political formations in question consist of large, complex, and flexible institutions that are established by individuals in modern societies and that perform certain political functions (La Palombara & Weiner, 1966: 5). At the same time, these institutions are the structures in which the political power is determined by whom (Baharççek, 2013: 11). As a result of this, large and complex structures called political parties emerge as structures that are expected to direct the public opinion to a certain channel in an organized manner and to convey the demands of an organized community to the administrative power and decision centers (La Palombara & Weiner, 1966: 3).

In any case, the main thing is that political parties have started to be accepted as legitimate figures of political life over time and the competition between parties to take over the administration has emerged as a necessity of an open society (Daalder, 2002: 40). This situation can be understood as a result of the fact that individuals gathered around conflicting interests in the sharing of values in modern societies in the 18th and 19th centuries acted together. In this respect, political parties refer to political structures that are formed in societies that are in the process of democratization and modernization, passing through similar stages, but in which their formation can develop in different ways according to the local characteristics of each society (Bartolini & Mair, 2001: 329).

2.2. Negative Approaches Against Political Parties

The first study that comparatively examines the emergence and functions of political parties in the context of the modern period is Ostrogorski's book "Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties". Likewise, one of the first studies published on political parties was Robert Michels's "Political Parties: A Sociological Study of Oligarchic Trends in Modern Democracy". Both authors saw political parties as structures that dissolve the will of individuals in decision-making processes and prepare the ground for oligarchic activities against individual tendencies, and therefore they attributed negative meanings to political parties (Özbudun, 1977: 5). According to Michels, who expressed his view that the oligarchy called the Law of Bronze, political parties added the views and activities of individuals to the collective energy of the organization. The individuals forming the party are inevitably condemned to be oppressed by the party leader or the powerful segment within the party (Daalder, 2002: 40). For this reason, political parties display anti-democratic features in the opposite direction of democratic values. Although the negative thoughts of Ostrogorski and

Michels about political parties developed at the beginning of the 20th century, a literature on the existence and functions of political parties emerged after that (Montero, Gunther, 2002: 2), and these views are very important in terms of questioning the existence and functions of political parties. In fact, these views are the starting point of criticism against political parties today.

The rejection of political parties, which is one of these criticisms, contains the view that political parties are not beneficial for a democratic society and administration in modern societies or they contain some harmful elements. Moreover, according to this view, political parties cannot be considered as a legitimate element of modern political life (Daalder, 2002: 39). In terms of the rejection of the party in the context of authoritarianism, political parties are seen as a tool to hide the existence of the elites who have a say in the administration. The idea that the elites, who have taken over the administration of the state through political parties, will defend their own interests rather than the interests of the state in the state administration, causes the existence of parties to be open to criticism. The rejection of the political party with its democratic aspect is based on the idea that the party will put an obstacle between the individual and the state as an anti-democratic structure. In addition, mass parties are criticized in the context of dragging the masses after a certain ideology despite some positive meanings and putting the party discipline and collective mind ahead of individual activities while dragging the masses (Neumann, 1956: 400). The common denominator of both ideas is that although they do not deny the existence of political parties and their functions in modern political life, they refer to the non-democratic features of the structures in political parties.

Party systems play an important role in determining the democratic legitimacy of the political system in a country. Studies on party systems, on the other hand, attribute positive features to some party systems, while revealing an approach that reacts negatively to other party systems. In this context, it is possible to say that the two-party system, which is very important in the creation of a democratic political system in England, and especially the multi-party systems that give its democratic harmony to Continental Europe, have been heavily criticized (Lijphart, 2002: 45). Discussions on the subject focus on which of the existing party systems contributes the most to the democratic quality of the political system. While these discussions argue that one party system gives the best results in establishing democracy, they state that the other party system creates problematic areas in the formation of democratic government. In this respect, the rejection of party systems necessarily affirms the party system in a particular country, while the party systems in other countries express undemocratic tendencies.

All criticisms against political parties should be evaluated in the context of paradigms that change depending on the position of political parties in the political system over time. The criticisms made in the years when political parties were relatively new completely reject the existence of political parties. Political parties, which have become irrefutable institutions of representative democracy over time, have begun to receive partial criticism. In the following years, the criticism of political parties continued to be made institutionally, and the relationship between political parties and democracy was started to be questioned in the context of party systems (Heywood, 2016: 381). Criticisms against political parties today, on the other hand, point to the existence of institutions that are candidates to take the place of political parties in modern societies, emphasizing the unnecessaryness of parties. These criticisms are characterized as "the inevitable decline of parties" (Montero & Gunther, 2002: 1) due to the problems of political parties.

2.3. Approaches That Political Parties Are In Falling

It is an opinion that questions the existence of political parties in the political system, such as the views on the decline of political parties and the criticisms made against the parties in the first period of their emergence (Montero & Gunther, 2002: 3). These views question the existence of parties with the claims they put forward in the context of various perspectives (Heywood, 2006: 382).

While Gunther and Montero explain the idea of the decline of political parties by explaining the difficulties faced by the parties in the modern period, they base these difficulties on the emergence of new demands from this class as a result of the expansion of the middle class and the inability of worker-based parties to meet these demands. However, the representation functions of political parties have faced a challenge that new political movements (Heywood, 2006: 382) have never encountered before (Montero & Gunther, 2002: 3). This situation has also changed the nature of political participation. Equipped individuals with diversified information-communication opportunities can share their knowledge from independent sources without being tied to the institutional structure of the political party. In terms of individuals, access to information is evaluated in terms of an egalitarian world (Wallerstein, 2016: 279). The natural result of this is the inability of the parties to fulfill their representation function and the weakening of the bond established by political parties between the citizens and the government (Montero & Gunther, 2002: 4). In addition to all these, the technological breakthroughs that have taken place in recent years also eliminate the necessity of relying on an

institutional structure for the communication between citizens (Hobsbawm, 2008: 6). This, in turn, affects political participation and weakens the political relationship established within the party institutional structure among citizens (Montero & Gunther, 2002: 5). To put it more clearly, the decline of political parties in the modern era is attributed to the failure of these structures to fulfill their representative duties properly and their failure to establish the link between the public and the government, and the decline in party membership and partisanship, especially starting from the late 1950s (Heywood, 2006: 381- 382).

The effects of these developments which caused the decline of political parties in the modern period on them have been a separate discussion topic. According to Daalder, there are three basic views on whether or how parties can survive against new political movements (Daalder, 2002: 51). The first of these views is the view that the bond established by political parties between the people and the government in a certain period fulfills an important function and completes its historical mission. According to this, political parties have realized their purpose of existence by taking on the role of being a bridge between the people and the state, which was assigned to them in history (Rokkan, 1970). Therefore, the development line of modern society forces political parties to leave the historical scene by leaving their existence to other structures. In this respect, the disappearance of political parties is destined (Daalder, 2002: 51-52).

Contrary to the view of Rokkan, who argues that political parties will disappear as a result of the difficulties they face in the modern era, there are opinions that argue that it will not be possible to completely erase political parties from the stage of history. The first of these is the view that argues that although political parties continue to exist, they cannot regain their former importance. This view, which questions whether the existence of political parties really makes a difference in the political system, has two aspects suggesting that "action groups" will replace political parties and perform their functions, and/or by using the tools of direct democracy more intensely, the weight will shift from parties to them in the political system (Daalder, 2002: 53). In the first aspect, the aforementioned view argues that the importance of political parties in the context of the "institutional pluralism" phenomenon will decrease, leaving the fulfillment of their functions to various institutions. Today, Perkin (2011) expressed this with the concept of "corporatocracy". The second aspect of this view argues that with the referendum and similar semi-direct democracy instruments, the fact that the public's political participation in more specific issues is realized through parties will weaken (Daalder, 2002: 53).

The explanations on the situation of political parties in today's societies that they will necessarily disappear and not disappear but only lose their importance are the views that follow in parallel with the view of the decline of the parties. In addition to these two views, it is necessary to point out the existence of a third view. This is the view that parties will cease to see the functions they have seen in history in a classical way and that they will adapt to the political system by redefining their functions. What is more important than how political parties are defined and classified today is that they have to constantly change themselves in order to win elections. In fact, all the activities of political parties to collect votes developed with the acceptance of universal suffrage, leading to the formation of mass parties and then catch-all parties. After that, the changes in the world, especially in the 1990s and after, show that there is a very serious need for a new political party conceptualization in economic, social and political terms. In particular, the radical change created by the globalization process reveals that the conditions and theory before the 1980s are now incapable of evaluating political parties from a conceptual and practical point of view.

2.4. Challenging Conditions For Political Parties And Globalization

Globalization is not just a phenomenon that has an impact on a single phenomenon. The anatomy of the political, social and economic relations of the established order in the world is inevitably affected by the effects of globalization. Different traces of this influence process emerge in every country and society. Globalization is a phenomenon that not only leaves traces but also changes economic and political structures (Kissinger, 2014). In other words, each system is affected by the globalization wave at different levels. The rate of spread of this wave can be explained by the strengthening of communication channels on the internet and reaching individuals with the developing technology. So much so that the knowledge of a political or social change in Western Europe has the power to affect societies or politics in Africa or Asia by spreading rapidly all over the world. In this sense, it can be thought that globalization has an unruly, maverick nature (Bauman, 2012: 64). However, it is obvious that globalization is a concept that affects the whole world. Scholte (2002) thinks that this general effect is directly related to concepts such as internationalization, liberalization, universalization, and westernization.

Apart from the effect of globalization on communication channels, its economic effects are also very important. While the economic power in the hands of the states has centered them as an actor in the global sense, the economic power of international financial institutions and multinational companies has caused

them too as an actor to appear on the scene. Therefore, the state, global capital actors, non-governmental organizations are confronted in more interactive and complex processes both in international relations and in the internal affairs of the countries. One of the biggest recent examples of this situation is undoubtedly the economic war between the USA and China. This process, in which commercial enterprises and governments are involved, has developed especially after Trump's sanctions on China in 2018, and it is very difficult to predict its long-term effects (Bown, 2019: 131). Therefore, it is seen that there will be a process where state administrators and political parties will have difficulties both in terms of commercial rules and companies. As a result of this rapidly developing process, the need for states and political authorities governing states to reposition themselves arises. Although this positioning differs from country to country, it has been evaluated with its negative and positive aspects and changes have been experienced accordingly. In this respect, Heywood (2006) considers being economically weak and being inadequate in legal norms among the negative elements of globalization. One of the evaluations made in the context of the negative effects of globalization was made by John Naisbitt. Naisbitt said, "Political parties are dead. Don't the leaders see the difference in this?" (Naisbitt, 1994: 24). These words, in fact, express how negative globalization is and how destructive the traditional role of the state is, according to Naisbitt. However, when we look at the present instead of predicting what will happen in the future, it is possible to see that Naisbitt's approach has not been fully realized yet. However, there is also the fact that there is a factual process in which globalization erodes the nation-state, melts different national identities into the pot of popular culture, and makes the state and the political parties governing the state conservative against this transformation. It would be appropriate to emphasize the post-modern aspect of this phenomenon (Arpacı, 2013: 136). The manifestations of globalization shaking the modern institutional order and such as localization instead of centralization, and multi-partness instead of unity will be perceived very negatively in terms of political administrations. Naisbitt said, "As democracy increases, the number of countries, that is, the number of parts of the global economy that is getting smaller, also increases. The next years will be determined by the spread of the right to self-government" (Naisbitt, 1994:215). According to this approach, it is a matter of existence for the state and democratic systems to preserve their central structures and for the political parties performing this duty to adapt themselves to the new order. Otherwise, it does not seem possible for the nation-state and representative democracy to exist in the conditions of the modern period. The possibility of this, of course, depends on the political parties' re-establishing a different model of relationship with individuals and communities. In terms of Western countries that have completed their political and economic institutionalization, the severity of the situation is better than developing and underdeveloped countries. Because the pressure created by the already Western-centered globalization will naturally create a much more difficult process to digest in non-Western regions. However, the words of the President of the United States of America, Donald Trump, "*The future will belong to patriots, not globalists*" (Trump, 2019) show that the West is also seriously affected by globalization and that the nation-state has taken a position to oppose globalization in the West. In order to avoid the political, social and economic effects of globalization, it is necessary to be isolated from the whole world, which is practically impossible today. For this reason, the number of examples where political parties are ineffective and weak in underdeveloped countries is substantial. In states that do not have economic power and have not achieved political stability, there are not many opportunities that political powers can use in terms of country administration, capital relations and social relations. For this reason, the political powers of the developed countries in the West are better able to cope with the waves created by globalization. According to Aydoğan, democracies in the West are the whole of political movements that are formed as a result of an intense struggle for democracy and have high accumulation (Aydoğan, 2006: 21). In this respect, the situation of political parties in the West against the phenomenon of globalization will be different from those of non-Western political parties. However, in general, political parties had to redesign some relations in the globalization process and take a new position regarding these relations. The rapidly developing technology and industrialization after the industrial revolution caused the world trade to grow exponentially. At the same time, increasing population and increasing population movements between countries have resulted in transparency of national borders and increased international interaction. The development of information technologies and the strengthening of communication channels have reached their zenith, especially with the internet starting to connect the whole world. According to Naisbitt, the realization of the electronic revolution renders representative democracy and economies of scale obsolete (Naisbitt, 1994: 24). However, the spread of the internet around the world and the development and spread of social media have brought people all over the world together in an interactive and supranational public space. Therefore, different cultures came closer to each other under the roof of popular culture, and everyone was able to be aware of the social developments in the world and react instantly. This situation formed the social base of globalization and started to appeal to the x, y and z

generations thanks to the blessings offered by the internet. The fact that local and international communication is mutual, instant and continuous means that individuals and masses interact with each other in terms of politics (Aziz, 2019: 3). In terms of political parties, this relationship has spread from the party leader to the leadership, from the members to the voters and the lowest segments of the society. Even people who did not declare their political identity before, can share political discourse or symbols in the profiles they create on social media providers with communication networks such as Twitter, Facebook or Instagram (Eşki & Saygılı, 2016: 137), and can have discussions independent of political party organs. This situation has completely affected the propaganda and indoctrination process of political parties through their affiliated organizations or through a single channel. While political parties partially lost control on the basis of base and members, they also started a more interactive political process by using the same communication channels and gained certain advantages from it. It is not possible to ignore the financial dimension in the context of the effects of globalization. In fact, the movement created by non-state financial power centers in the last hundred years has accelerated other technical developments. In this respect, we cannot consider the issue independent of the impact of financial movements.

Financial movements in the world have developed rapidly in the last hundred years and have connected the economic unit to its own global network. Especially in the 1990s and later, developments in information and communication technologies (Castells, 1998) enabled money to circulate freely all over the world and enter from small companies to small households. Thus, it has been possible for international financial institutions to interact comfortably with small actors, state institutions and individuals in nations through their local branches. The strengthening of this financial relationship network means the introduction of finance between political authorities, institutions and voters. In addition, the role of international finance in matters such as foreign borrowing and repayment of debts in the implementation of government policies by political parties has gradually grown. The growth of this role means that independent capital has become an indispensable actor in terms of political parties. Moreover, the growth in global capital can limit the effects of national capital representatives (Naisbitt, 1994: 24). Especially the political parties of the developing countries want to reach the finance needed to fulfill their election promises and this is generally obtained from foreign sources. Even this situation allows global capital institutions to have a say in the national policies of the countries. On the other hand, meeting the economic expectations of the political party base and potential voters is one of the biggest agenda items of the countries. Financial movements are not only related to the supply of resources, but also attracting direct or indirect investments to the country and increasing economic welfare (Held vd, 1999) are also on the economic agendas of political parties. Political parties are under pressure to implement reforms such as business feasibility, financial transparency and raising democratic standards in order to ensure the entry of foreign investments into the country. As a matter of fact, the formation of this pressure has a positive effect on developing economies such as Turkey. However, in terms of states that do not have strong national capital, it can be said that it restricts political parties from producing fully independent policies, which will also be reflected in domestic politics. This situation causes criticism of governments without government (Naisbitt, 1994: 24). Because in a developing or underdeveloped country, if representative democracy is functioning institutionally, the impact of winning elections, recruiting party members and keeping members affiliated with the party is undeniably great in terms of economy. Reducing unemployment, if any, in the country, increasing per capita income, improving the quality of health and education services, improving transportation and technological infrastructure depend on finding the necessary resources for the investments to be made. Finally, political parties need economic resources to carry out their activities across the country. The two biggest sources where this need is met are the state aids received and the dues received from the members, depending on the country of origin. Today, however, the activities and propaganda processes of political parties are more complex and diverse than in the past. This situation has revealed the need to diversify and increase the financial resources required. Therefore, donations to parties are also important. The most important source of these donations is free market actors. Because in the current century, the economic power of capital and companies is greater than that of many states. These organizations increase their investments, diversify or shift their investments to other markets according to the policies of political parties in the countries in which they operate. As such, the principle of interdependence between political parties and companies begins to operate in representative democracies. Therefore, companies have some expectations from political parties. In return, political parties have to get support from companies in their election processes and some activities. In this process, interdependence sometimes evolves into cooperation and sometimes into conflicts and competition in terms of the capital-politics relationship. However, according to Naisbitt, since global politics is no longer shaped by independence but by economy, politicians have started to develop behaviors in this direction (Naisbitt, 1994: 117).

3. Discussion

In the globalizing world, political parties communicate with the society through many different channels. In the classical sense, propaganda activities during election periods, activities of party organizations to recruit members to the party, use of written and visual media tools within the scope of advertising and public relations are some of these communication methods. However, while modern nation states allow political parties to take over the power for a certain period of time, they have made this subject to legal norms. Political parties also have to guarantee the rights of citizens in the negative sense. In order to protect general freedoms, the positive rights of the state in the legal context have been developed to restrict some freedoms (Pettit, 1998). This is the basis of the legal legitimacy of the state. Political parties, on the other hand, develop policies and operate the political order within the framework of this structure. As a result of the shocking acceleration of economic and political transformation by globalization, the power of the state to maintain the balance in the legal order has decreased and the concept of legitimacy has begun to transform. In this context, it is no longer sufficient to use the classical tools of the modern era in the relations of political parties with both voters and party members. Criticisms that the end of representative democracy has come (Naisbitt, 1994: 24) are also formed in this context. Because different segments of the society are dealing with each other and with segments that are in different political ranks by using order and continuous interactive communication channels. Heywood (2016: 159) explained the voluntary acceptance of authority in the political sense on the basis of legitimacy. In this context, the fact that political parties are subject to the consent of the society while using the state authority is to ensure legitimacy. The diversity and differences created by globalization have made it more and more complex to consent to authority. According to Naisbitt, globalization can lead to the formation of tighter ties in societies such as religion, language and ethnicity (Naisbitt, 1994: 24). Therefore, when political parties enter into relations with individuals and communities, they may encounter different social tendencies, as Naisbitt states. In addition, representatives of political parties are also a part of this process. Due to the functioning of representative democracy, political parties now have to continue to establish close ties with the voters who voted for them and with the sympathizers who adopt the party ideology. However, the nature of this relationship and the differences between the masses are gradually decreasing. The distinction Duverger (1974) made between voters and sympathizers is now highly eroded. Because in the past, the voters, called the silent majority, used to show their political orientation in the elections without revealing their political colors. However, today, both social media shares, data obtained from people using internet data, and continuous surveys and scientific studies are used as data by parties and other institutions of instant political trend changes. While this situation allows the momentary changes in political tendencies to be partially known, it also makes it open to manipulation. Because the sharing of symbols and verbal expressions with political content by individuals and communities increases the total data size, while increasing the standard deviation share and manipulation. Therefore, the success of companies conducting research for elections in Turkey in recent years has begun to be questioned. In an environment where relations have become very complex, information pollution has increased, and individuals and communities are constantly confused, it can be easily understood from the example of Turkey that instant political data can change rapidly in a short time. The emergence of political processes in which this unpredictability increases, necessitates the political parties to adapt to this situation and take precautions. Especially after the 1980s, it has been seen that the understanding of the social state has begun to change in OECD countries. Reducing state intervention, privatizations, and reducing social services caused problems especially in unemployment (Habermas, 2018: 60). Today, the decline of the economic power of the state is one of the most obvious consequences of globalization, and it will be inevitable for representative democracy to weaken even strong governments without the state's all-encompassing economic support. While this is the case in developed or developing countries, it is worse in less developed countries. The dream of going to other countries and establishing a new life for the poor masses also increases the global population movements. For example, the increase in migration movements in recent years has put a lot of pressure on states and political parties. Because the entry of a large number of immigrants through the country's borders means a mandatory change in policy items such as employment, security and integration. As the number of immigrants increases, it is not surprising that the economic concerns of the citizens increase and they begin to question the political authority. In the context of the nation state, immigrants were not seen as desirable and productive groups, unlike minorities (Kymlicka, 2016: 491). In this context, the European Union published a statement with Turkey on 16 March 2016 in order to control the number of irregular migrants in the union (Akdoğan, 2018: 69). Undoubtedly, the purpose of the European Union to publish this statement with Turkey is to refrain from the damage that irregular migrants will cause in the fields of economy and security.

The adaptation of political parties to globalization also depends on the successful adaptation of the party leadership to this process. Therefore, it is possible to say that non-traditional approaches and the demands of the new generation are more taken into account in the discourse and policies of the political parties established in the 1990s. Bringing the right concepts together and successfully applying the formulas developed by the political cadres who can observe the transformation in politics and keep up with the times means being in power and ensuring the longevity of the power. It is possible for political party cadres to create stronger communication channels with the voters by using new digital media platforms. However, due to reasons such as the difficulty of controlling digital media and the possibility of voters to organize against the political party in a short time, policy-making processes may be blocked and the democratic process may be interrupted (Maarek, 2014: 20).

Today, the development of communication technologies has led to the expansion of the public sphere. The natural result of this is that people's preferences and political-social movements are more visible. Powerful communication tools and increasing possibilities cause Duverger (1974)'s classification of people's political participation to become more complex. Prior to globalization, political movements' disclosure of their policies and propaganda were more unidirectional than from a single source or within an organization. However, in the 1990s and later, political parties began to experience difficulties both in terms of regular members and active members. Because one of the most powerful elements in a representative democracy for political dominance with traditional methods is undoubtedly human resources. Political party members are considered as the sensors of the society and convey the thoughts and complaints of the society to the party leaders (Poguntke, 2002: 13). Members perform these tasks within a certain framework and in a defined format. For example, Panebianco defines the concept of political party membership in a narrow framework as those who pay regular dues to the party and occasionally attend rallies (Panebianco, 1988: 25). According to the classical understanding, the nature of the relationship that party members establish with the political system also changes. Because the power of new communication channels now offers people the chance to exist in the political system without being a member of political parties. Therefore, political parties and their affiliated organizations, which lost their members in the new conditions of the changing world, found themselves in a crisis. To give an example, even though Norway's voter and party membership rate is high in Europe, in terms of total party membership, while it was 461,000 in 1980, this number decreased to 237,000 in 1999 (Tosun & Tosun, 2010: 27). However, the structural turn in the world has also paved the way for people to access information more easily and to reach a large number of people through the internet and then social media applications such as Twitter. For this reason, the transformation experienced all over the world with the effect of globalization has led to the questioning of concepts and the penetration of new concepts into daily life. Political parties, which have to open up to a completely different world than before, have to adapt to new conditions. As a matter of fact, this adaptation cannot prevent both the voters of political parties and the questioning of party members about legitimacy.

4. Conclusion

As in Pettit's approach, it is now seen as less acceptable and therefore less legitimate for the state to restrict the negative freedoms of citizens in order to guarantee the general good and freedoms. Because the state's beginning to lose its economic power has started to oppress the political parties between the state administration and the expectations of the citizens. Political parties have to protect the public economy, meet the demands of global companies, and stay in power by getting votes in the elections. Realizing these at the same time is now getting harder both economically and politically. In particular, the protection of social welfare and the absence of restrictions on general freedoms are among the most important elements of the oppression of citizens on political parties. In any case, nation-states had to limit themselves economically in order not to fall behind in international economic competition. It is obvious that this limitation will primarily harm the understanding of the social state. Political parties in power will not be able to operate political communication channels with voters as well as before by limiting economic autonomy. It seems that for those who argue that political parties are in decline, the effect of globalization serves as a confirmation. Although the reasons do not exactly overlap, when the results are considered, the rate of similarities is not negligible.

In today's world where capital flow has increased, the failure of political parties to fulfill the demands of capital companies means that billions of dollars of capital flow to other countries. Therefore, political parties may first want to be legitimate in the eyes of capital companies. Efforts made to meet the demands of companies such as legal regulations, exemptions and supports can have many negative effects on local businesses and citizens. In this case, political parties that have lost their national support due to the functioning of representative democracy can be removed from power. The difficulty in maintaining a balance

inside and outside may lead to the formation of unstable and discredited political parties, and to political instability in general. Political parties, which are the biggest actors of political communication in the modern period, have more opportunities in terms of social and political mobilization compared to the past. However, the globalization of even the public sphere beyond the nation-state makes it difficult to answer the question of who will determine the political agendas, where and how. However, in the new asymmetrical order, political parties have to deal with problematic topics such as economic conditions, citizens' demands, and compliance of the legal order with the new conditions. Aside from overcoming all these problems, the biggest cost of dealing with problems is undoubtedly the loss of power of nation states and political parties. The loss of power in the political sense may result in the loss of legitimacy in the eyes of the citizens and the loss of the meaning of political representation. It is an undeniable fact that globalization has staggering effects in the political context. However, if political parties lose their administrative power in the near future and a deep legitimacy crisis arises, unanswered questions will be asked. These questions will be about the future of democracy and which actors will be closer to political legitimacy.

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