



Turkey's Local Responses to Globalization: The Emergence of New Actors as State-Level Security Threats



Ecem Buse SEVİNÇ^a, Şelale ÖZDEMİR^b

Abstract

This paper aims to challenge the scope of security problems in Turkey, emerged by the globalization process and the integration into global networks. More precisely, the goal is to show that after globalization, the threat perception has changed because globalization aimed to reduce state level security problems; however, its nature caused the threat of internally rising minor groups. The working hypothesis is that if the Turkish state develops a *people-based policy* to make citizens more active in policy making process, it seems more possible to cope with state-level security challenges of globalization. Accordingly, the paper is divided into three sections. In the first section, this paper briefly explains the early effects of globalization process and the responses by Turkey, within the context of the debates over the minimization of the state, privatization and restructuring the state. In the second section, it is introduced that the emergence of new actors, who change the previous understanding of the benevolent state, as reflection of globalization on Turkey has led to the new interpretation of security and domestic threats. In the third section, alternative solutions to the security challenges proceeded from globalization in Turkey are discussed in order to enable Turkey to pass through this process with minimum injury.

Keywords: Globalization, Turkey, Security Threats, State Authority, People-Based Policy.

Türkiye'nin Küreselleşmeye Verdiği Yerel Tepkiler: Devlet Düzeyindeki Güvenlik Tehditleri Olarak Yeni Aktörlerin Oluşumu

Özet

Bu araştırma, Türkiye'de küreselleşme süreci ve küresel ağlarla bütünleşme sonucu meydana gelen güvenlik sorunlarının kapsamını irdelemektedir. Daha derinlemesine bir ifadeyle, küreselleşmenin devlet düzeyindeki güvenlik sorunlarını azaltmasına rağmen kendi doğal oluşumunda ülke içinde yükselen ikincil gruplarının tehdidine neden olmasından ötürü tehdit algısının değiştiğini göstermeyi hedeflemektedir. Çalışmanın hipotezi ise Türk devletinin, vatandaşları karar alma sürecinde daha aktif hale getirmek için halk-tabanlı bir politika geliştirmesi halinde küreselleşme kaynaklı devlet düzeyindeki güvenlik sorunları ile başa çıkmasının daha mümkün olacağını ileri sürmektedir. Bu doğrultuda araştırma, üç ana bölüm altında incelenmektedir. Birinci bölümde, küreselleşme sürecinin erken etkileri ve Türkiye'nin bu etkilere verdiği karşılıklar, devletin küçülmesi, özelleştirme ve devleti yeniden yapılandırma bağlamında ele alınmaktadır. İkinci bölümde, var olan "devlet baba" anlayışını değiştiren yeni aktörler ve bu aktörlerin küreselleşmenin bir yansıması olarak Türkiye'de güvenlik ve iç tehdit kavramlarına getirdiği yeni yorum açıklanmaktadır. Üçüncü bölümde ise, Türkiye'nin bu süreci en az hasarla atlatabilmesi için gerekli olan alternatif çözüm önerileri tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küreselleşme, Türkiye, Güvenlik Tehditleri, Devlet Otoritesi, Halk-Tabanlı Politika.

^a Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi, Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü, Arş. Gör., ecembuse.sevinc@adu.edu.tr

^b Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi, Uluslararası Ticaret ve İşletmecilik Bölümü Arş. Gör.,
selale.ozdemir@adu.edu.tr

1. Introduction

Today the liberalization policy accelerated by globalization process and global governance influences almost all units of states. The integration into global networks resulted in the transformation of public service and private sector as well as lifestyle of local people. Since liberalization supports the minimal state intervention into economic and social affairs, globalizing states have experienced the transformation of public institutions, privatization, localization and the urban reconstruction. These changes are regarded as local responses to globalization.

In addition to changes within the state, globalization added a new perspective for states' occupation with world politics: global governance. The emergence of new actors like non-governmental organizations, transnational companies and civil societal communities added more global issues such as global warming, human rights or social justice at the agenda of states. The variety in actors and issues has challenged the state monopoly forming the concept of global governance which refers to "systems of rule at all levels of human activity—from the family to the international organization—in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions" (Rosenau, 1995: 13). This means that several actors and issues have been intervening in the political affairs both at home and abroad. Unlike a non-globalized and more realist world in which the security of political communities was the threat to others (security dilemma), states have to consider several actors to guarantee their securities.

Since 1980s, Turkey has experienced the integration process to globalization and global networks. Özal Government adopted liberal policies resulting in the reduction of the state's intervention, privatization and democratic attempts for decentralization. This integration process then maintained as the urban development of globalizing cities like Istanbul. However, the process has not been always showed itself as the change of traditional administrative approaches. The Turkish state has also been challenged by the changes in the security perception with new actors and the impact of international organizations. On the other hand, Turkish citizens have not continually welcomed dynamics of globalization.

As globalization has transformed the state-level and international issues, local responses have evenly increased. These responses to globalization sometimes occur as the transformation of public institutions and state policies while there may be sometimes social problems and reactions of anti-globalists. While anti-globalist civilian groups and movements are criticizing the implications of globalization such as modern construction methods, market economies, a cosmopolitan worldview, etc., they attempt to fight against globalization through the tools of globalization such as media, social media or world public opinion as seen during the Gezi Movement. Therefore, the dynamics of globalization became both the reason and the controller of the process.

This paper firstly deals with world examples to analyse local responses to globalization. Then it investigates the involvement of globalization in the Turkish state and local responses in Turkey to globalization within the context of the transformation of public sector, the emergence of new actors, the changes in the security perception and possible social problems caused by global dynamics. Lastly, alternative solutions to changing security perception caused by the rise of new actors are discussed within three-staged people-based policy depending upon Chantal Mouffe and Carl Schmitt's theory on the "political" - namely *reasonable dialogue*, *reformative entities* and *open platforms*.

2. Local Responses to Globalization: Changes in State Policies towards Neo-Liberal Trends

The phenomenon of globalization has based on a long historical backstage; however, it would not be an absurdity to contend that it has come to the fore frequently since the second half of the 1980s. This rapid increase in the popularity of globalization among academia and business environment may be attributed to dynamics of neo-liberal policies and implementations. Neo-liberalism can be considered as the new interpretation of classical liberalism with its mainstay “laissez-faire” and individual liberty (Hayek, 1999: 171). Neo-liberalism has been the practical experience of the liberal theory. Especially after the Second World War, the neo-liberal institutions like World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and transnational implementations like General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have led to liberalised markets and fluid capital and trade.

These developments have challenged components of the “welfare state” on grounds of ineffective policies such as “minimum wage, unemployment insurance, redundancy compensation and the legislation of employment insurance” through associating to debt crisis of countries and workers’ conditions (Toussaint, 1999: 231). There has been corrosion in state power of decision-making, auditing and practice as a consequence of attempts of neo-liberal institutions to limit the welfare state intervention into economy and labour conditions. Accordingly, the diminishing political conception of nation-states and welfare states has resulted in the empowerment of local administration, thus the dissolution of the central administration (Kazgan, 2002: 34) as well as the rise of new non-governmental actors.

2.1. Early Effects of Neo-Liberal Globalization: World Examples

In the context of two-way process of development and change that seems to contradict with each other at the first glance, the globalization trend has transformed the traditional management approaches, international structures and their operations quickly. On the other hand, decentralization process has reproduced and connected uniform and centralized approaches of globalization and contributed to the development of a new type of government. Today globalization influences the world holistically, not with single understanding. However, the phenomenon of globalization does not have the same impacts on all countries and all people. Hence, referring globalization to as an objective historical fact may lead us to be unaware of its denominational, cultural and intellectual dimensions as well as separate local responses.

In the discussion of globalization along with neo-liberal policies, England and the USA would be primary models since the rise of “new right” by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan caused the early responses to the understanding of the New World Order. The arousal of neo-liberal policies after Thatcher and Reagan had been in power changed the general attitude towards loyalty to the understanding of the welfare state because of private sector oriented regulations. In England, Thatcher argued that “There is No Alternative” to economic liberalism based on free market, monetary policies, the minimization of public sector, privatization and reduction in the budget of social aids (Sallan Gül, 2004: 215). In the USA, Reagan followed the similar way with the aim of cutting down the Federal State’s expenditure, decreasing the effectiveness of social programs and improving the conditions of private sector (Sallan Gül, 2004: 224). What makes the position of England and the USA is also they take the lead to establish neo-liberal policies in the rest of the world through

economic regulations and credits of neo-liberal institutions (the IMF, the World Bank etc.) in return of "structural adjustment" and "stability" (Çımrın, 2009: 201). However, it is questionable to what extent they have been successful in reaching their goals.

In China, it is possible to observe different responses to global implementations and governance. Yan (2007) claims that the increase in the authority and intervention of the Chinese party-state is the most significant response of China to globalization. To apply the requirements of globalization, the party-state has managed the necessary operations in economic, social and cultural areas for the integration to the global economy and international community. The management of growth has been controlled by the party-state through using business elite for the progress of a Western-style management system, manipulating popular culture for the reduction in social tensions and the creation of "an image of prosperity and happiness," and letting intellectual elite and social movements alone in order to prevent collective actions against the party-state ideologies (Yan, 2007).

On the other hand, Chinese local authorities have entered into the process of formation and transformation as a result of global economic restructuring. Chien (2008: 493) evaluates this process with the territorial restructuring process that the adaptation to global economy has led to the territorial competition and self-interested local coalition followed by the emergence of local entrepreneurial governances. The local entrepreneurial governances in China are the results of the challenges posed by globalization such as local fiscal deficits, weak state capacities, unemployment level and the need for a struggle against international regulations by the EU and the WTO (Ohmae, 1995). These challenges have made municipal governance more entrepreneurial in China to spark the local economic development. Local authorities started to act more independently through the coalition with public and private agencies for the formation and implementation of policies for the local economic growth. Regional and urban regimes enable local governances such as local governmental officials, labour organizations, universities and the media to manage a bottom-up process in the local economic development as entrepreneurial, developmental or clientelist actors (Unger & Chan, 1999).

Another case that globalization has shown important effects is Luanda, Angola. It may be claimed that globalization and the emergence of global governance bodies have not always caused positive reaction in the regional and local governances, especially in much of the Third World. Poor economies have been generally considered as the source of the economic development of capitalist actors. Globalization maintains peripheralization within cities and nation-states through increasing the gap between rich and poor that national elites acquire disproportionate benefit from economic transformations of globalization (Rakodi, 2001: 343). This situation may sometimes induce the emergence of indigenous private sector or effective state policies in order to analyse the challenges of globalization and develop production mechanisms for the benefits to the poor. However, the lack of such mechanisms as seen in Angola may sometimes result in the rise of the third mechanism to respond the global dynamics: civil society. The existence of the Western transnational companies in Angola and the use of Angola as a resource tool for the Northern governments, without any economic relief for the poor, provoked anxiety of the peri-urban poor (Jenkins, Robson & Cain, 2002: 124). To be of interest to the peri-urban poor, non-governmental organizations such as the Sustainable Community Services Project (SCSP) and the NGO Development Workshop (DW) made attempts to be engaged in the development process and promote local-level democratic governance (Jenkins, Robson & Cain, 2002: 124). Neo-liberal globalization has generated a demanding local society to compensate for economic inequality by local mechanisms.

As it can be observed in the examples, the state and the local governances have undergone both the structural and the functional transformation along with globalization. Despite the immediate attempts of the state governments to control the globalization process, the state has lost its independence in the exercise of power, regulations and inspection because it has shared its authority with various actors in local, national, international and global level (Köse, 2003: 41).

3. Globalization and Turkey

Emerging global debates at the top of Turkish agenda in accordance with the arguments about the “new right” coming to power in the 1980s primarily in England and the USA and the “New World Order” after the collapse of the Soviet Union was in the period of Özal government with neo-liberal policies. The globalization in Turkey first occurred within the context of the debates over the minimization of the state, privatization and restructuring the state (Yayman, 1999: 65). Within the process, there have been both positive and negative reactions to the consequences of globalization in Turkey. No matter what their nature is, there is an explicit fact that Turkey’s integration to globalization has caused the emergence of new local responses from social life to security issues.

3.1. Early Effects of Globalization and Responses by Turkey

In the 1980s, the minimization of the state and the reduction of public expenditures became the primary goals of the Özal government. According to the Public Administration Research Report, the government adopted the policies of business management for a more efficient role of the state by acting in compliance with market mechanisms. In the process of the structural adaptation to the globalization, a pragmatic, divisive and public-sector-contractory approach was in question.

Privatization as one of the most important dynamics of the globalization phenomenon was added to the agenda of Turkey again at the beginning of the 1980s. Privatization is defined as a tool to accelerate the growth, regulate the structural imbalances in the public sector, and reduce the public finance deficits and inflation, and a process to transfer assets of the state and the state economic enterprises to the private sector (Boratav & Kepenek, 1998: 120). The state economic enterprises were considered as the obstacles to the international capital (Başkaya, 1997: 61). Additionally, economic development and industrialization with public investments was abandoned as a result of privatization, so the state economic enterprises became the institutions of the private sector. The increase in unemployment and the deunionization of workers was another response to globalization in Turkey caused by privatization (Işıklı, 1995: 277). The rise of private sector added new concepts such as flexible working hours, employment of women workers and waged-workers and weakened the model of collective agreement and decreased the efficiency of labour unions.

Globalization also brought democratization and localization up for the discussion. It is claimed that democratization and decentralization can be achieved by reducing the state role from a producer, distributor and regulator to the traditional position as a security provider, so the social sphere will be enlarged (Güler, 1996: 51). In the 1980s, “Local Administrations Reform Draft” was prepared to restructure the state and this draft transferred several works of the central administration to Provincial Special Administrations (Yayman, 1999: 72).

3.2. Transformation of the Turkish State and Current Local Responses: The Challenge of Globalization

The early attempts in Turkey to string along with globalization revealed itself as the reduction of the state intervention and the rise of the private sector. However, the

implications of globalization have not remained limited with these implementations. It should be noted that globalization added a new dimension to the role of states and this dimension naturally caused local responses to the developments and changes in the international arena. The significant position of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in shaping international relations, the increase in the effectiveness of ad hoc units, the debates over various subjects from telecommunications to environment in the international platforms have enforced states to be active in world politics without having national problems (Kettl, 2000: 491). This situation led to pressures on public administration to transform its values, structure, operations and methods as well as the redefinition of its role including a reduction in its national functions and dimensions (Muhammed, 1990: 222). To resist these pressures is not an easy task, so globalization has caused successive effects in all countries including Turkey.

3.2.1. The Emergence of New Actors

As the core values such as human rights, freedom, democracy and environmental protection have acquired universal qualification, states have been forced into remodelling under the pressure of democratization, decentralization, transparency, participation, flexibility and accountability (Köse, 2003: 3). In this framework, the strategies like the minimal state, deregulation, privatization, political reforms and the transformation of socio-economic policies have been the main policies of nation-states. Nation-states must often share their sovereignties with supranational, international, regional and urban centres of power. Additionally, it is claimed that central governments cannot adopt a course of action in accordance with their own preferences and standards (Koçak, 2009: 134).

One of the most obvious reflections of globalization on Turkey is the introduction of new actors who change the previous understanding of the benevolent state. The state on the one hand has tried to take a leading part to integrate the country into the global system; on the other hand, it has to cope with ideological, technological, economic and cultural actors to protect its power. Kasaba and Bozdoğan (2000: 19) describe how Turkey has responded to the forces of globalization that:

“So far, the signs are overwhelmingly positive in that the government has shown a strong willingness to further the social and economic liberalization in the country....There is also a reinvigorated sense of openness in the country, where each day the media probes into what is euphemistically referred to as the ‘deep state’.”

The integration of global dynamics into the Turkish state, in short, resulted in the empowerment of non-state actors. For example, the liberalization of Turkish economy increased the effectiveness of the business elite in political process (Bilgin, 2005: 178). This situation also encouraged civil societal actors to express their thoughts and expectations. Conventions, regulations or activities of international or non-governmental organizations strengthening the authority of global governance over nation-states and domestic affairs has enabled civil society within the country to get the state cared their requests. For instance, feminist arguments and the Convention on the Elimination of All Types of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) provided the inspiration for women’s organizations in Turkey so they strived to accomplish their rights (Arat, 2001: 29). Hence, the Turkish government made regulations to protect and develop women’s conditions. Non-state actors and

transnational coalitions empowered global governance in the issue of domestic political process.

3.2.2. Changing Security Perception

The emergence of new actors as influential actors in the political process at home brings changes in the Turkish state's security perception in its wake. Before the empowerment of globalization, the security of separate political communities threatened the security of each other (Guéhenno, 1998: 9). After globalization, the threat perception has changed because global governance aimed to reduce state level security problems; however, its nature caused the threat of "the internal weakening of communities" (Guéhenno, 1998: 10). In other words, the emergence of new actors at home increased the number of game players causing new demands and challenges. The internal issues started to be discussed beyond the national borders with globalization. New actors added new issues on the agendas of states. The security concern has been more than a threat posed by other political communities. Therefore, states had to find and develop new methods to ensure the security of their citizens. As a result of these impacts of globalization the perception of threat and security, the monopolistic authority of the Turkish state has been challenged by internal and external actors. For instance, the PKK has emerged as an internal threat to the Turkish state, but the state also struggles against the international media and other states for the justification of its decisions and actions. In 1994, Germany suspended the military supply to Turkey in order to understand whether the Turkish states used them against the PKK (Brown, 1995: 124).

Local responses to be integrated into the globalization process may sometimes cause social problems for states. There may be some opponents to dynamics of globalization, so the state authority and the reliance of citizens on the state policies can be challenged. This situation can be easily observed in urban development projects because urban life is firstly affected by new global networks. Global dynamics restructure urban economy, town planning and social life. Berlin is a fair and successful example to examine the opposition to globalization. In 2011, Berlin population reacted to the privatization of the municipality water and collected signs for referendum to force the Municipality to publish the contract with the buyer company, Veolia and RWE (Julian, 2013). Similarly, the city-dwellers of Hamburg used the city-wide vote to buy the privatized the energy grid in 2013 that launched "re-municipalisation" process in Germany (Evans, 2013). This new globally restructured urban life changes population segments followed by changes in consumption habits and lifestyles towards global trends such as the emergence of global brand names and shopping malls. These changes also direct plans and projects of states that they restore historical places with the aim of trade and tourism and change natural habitats or traditional places into shopping and trade centres. For example, the Valide-i Atik compound sponsored by Nur Banu Sultan, wife of Ottoman Sultan Selim II was sold to a private university and its current appearance after the restoration deformed its historical ambience (Pektaş, 2015).

Istanbul has been one of the most important globalizing cities in Turkey that it has experienced the global shock though the "rapid integration into transnational networks and markets" bringing "the lifestyle and consumption habits of their transnational counterparts" (Keyder, 2005: 124). This globalized development provided the employment opportunities and economic development while deteriorating the city's nature and limiting the variety in social life at the same time. Therefore, anti-globalists reacted to the immediate impacts of globalization and challenges of the globalized urban reconstruction as it was seen in the 2013 Taksim Gezi Movement. The Movement protested the rebuilding of the Taksim Gezi Park in Beyoğlu allocated to İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality for the public service despite the court decision to protect cultural and natural heritage (İnce, 2013). The local people did not

want the Turkish government to use the public places for the construction of global facilities. When the protests turned into violent activities, the use of social media caused the reactions both at home and abroad against the government. The Turkish politicians not only struggled with the social unrest but also had to justify its actions against the protestors. This means that the dynamics of globalization became both the reason and the controller of the process.

4. “People-Based Policy” and Recommendations for Alternative Solutions

State’s security discourses have been reshaped by globalization, since political entities are no longer able to guarantee the security of their members. Because, such threats which were considered as being the threats of another entities, are now the creation of new actors through internal weakening of political entities. As it is stated in Ulrich Beck (2000)’s book *What is Globalization?* that previously de-marginalized civil societal actors of decision-making now find a new way to politicize themselves (Beck, 2000: 99). In Turkey’s case, local responses to such challenges of globalization are not also institutionally and in a bureaucratic level well-formed. That’s why local governances are facing with massive demonstrations as being new forms of security threats like 2013 Occupy Gezi Protests, 2013 Brazil’s World Cup Protests, 2014 Hong Kong Protests and etc. triggered by civil societal communities. This is what we call the *invisible hand of globalization*^c that negatively effects state-level policies. Hence, this study argues that what has to be done may be to constitute or regulate *people-based policies*^d to better fight with security threats in question. Accordingly, within the problematic issue of globalization and its state-level security threats, the main question can be raised as; “Which motivations and steps local governances should take to deal with possible demonstrations held by new actors?”

To start with the characteristics of people-based policy, it is meant to be publicly formed whose targeted groups include individuals, civil societal communities, non-governmental organizations and etc. So, the supply side of this policy mechanism targets to assist political minorities as new actors who demands active participation in politics, while the demand side targets to move these minorities into political process. In other words, people-based policy which will lead to mutual benefit: a) considers preferences, expectations and suggestions of new actors, then b) provides sufficient channels to make active participation for them more possible and finally c) enables them to act as a complementary branch of the state in policy-making processes. Accordingly, in this article, alternative solutions to the security challenges in Turkey have being discussed within three formula – in which two of them is shaped around Carl Schmitt’s theory of antagonism and Chantal Mouffe’s theory of agonism – in order to enable Turkey to pass through this process with minimum injury.

The first formula is to adapt Chantal Mouffe’s theory of “agonistic democracy or pluralism” to the relations between local governances and new political actors. Accordingly, Mouffe begins to discuss the concept of antagonism, primarily with the distinction between what political and politics refers. She represents how to distinguish between political and politics as;

^c This phrase is also placed within the 4th chapter of *Contemporary Issues in the Integration Processes of Western Balkan Countries in the European Union* by Slavenko Grgurevic but it mentions the experience and knowledge about the market rules and mechanisms which changes throughout of globalization.

^d “People-base policies” are come up for discussion by several writers, mostly to compare them with “place-base policies”, under the idea of regional development.

“by the ‘political’ I mean the dimension of antagonism which I take to be constitutive of human societies, while by ‘politics’ I mean the set of practices and institutions through which an order is created, organizing human coexistence in the context of conflictuality provided by the political” (Mouffe, 2005: 9).

It means that politics is emphasized on the ontic level – in other words, the necessary functioning for the continuity of the system – while political deals with the ontological level which refers to the organizational process rather than the functioning one. According to Mouffe, the basic dynamics of this distinction is the concept of “antagonism” by being considered to be served as the key notion for addressing the question of what political is. This term, introduced by Carl Schmitt, in his fundamental book *The Concept of Political*, argues that the conflict between friend and enemy is the distinctive feature of the political. This means that friend-enemy relations take place at the heart of the politics. By his own clarification, the distinction between friend and enemy is the *utmost degree of intensity of an association* in which members of a particular political entity are willing to fight with members of other groups or; is the *utmost degree of intensity of an dissociation* in which members of a particular political entity are willing to kill members of other groups others for kind of a reason that they are members of other groups (Schmitt, 1996: 26). In this context, Mouffe interprets this concept as; “...antagonism is we/they relation in which the two sides are enemies who do not share any common ground...” (Mouffe, 2005: 20). In our case, antagonism can be regarded as we/they relations where local governances directly see new actors as the organizations that create new security challenges for the substance of them.

After critically interpreting Schmittian friend-enemy distinction which is considered as the basis mechanism of antagonism, Mouffe attempts to develop Schmitt’s identification in a different way and tries to visualize a different kind of friend-enemy distinction which is compatible with agonistic dimension of the politics. In this context, to what extent Mouffe’s conceptualization of friend-enemy distinction, is differentiated from Schmittian ideas, can be described as; even if she sustains Schmitt’s thoughts on friend-enemy distinction, she treats enemies which is namely “adversaries”. By her own words, “we/they relation where the conflicting parties, although acknowledging that there is no solution to their conflict, nevertheless recognize the legitimacy of their opponents. They are *adversaries* not *enemies*” (Mouffe, 2005: 20). Hence, if we think of the acceptable form of conflict is not an antagonism but agonism, the local governances, at the first glance, should regard new political actors as being adversaries not their enemies.

As clearly seen, Mouffe is willing to accept Schmitt’s premise; conflicts generate core of the politics however she disagrees with his friend-enemy separation. In relation to that, we recommend to replace antagonistic ideal which regards the existence of an every us implies the existence of every them as an enemy, with agonistic pluralism which establishes relationship between local governances and new actors in the way that by being opponents, they are no longer treated as enemies but rather perceived as adversaries who share common symbolic space. As it is issued out, adversaries “... while in conflict, see themselves as belonging to the same political association, as sharing a common symbolic space within which the conflict takes place” (Mouffe, 2005: 20). Accordingly, this study argues that the existence of political demonstrations like 2013 Gezi protests should not be denied but instead

should be “domesticated”^e which indicates to a process of incorporating political conflicts into the politics, so that the conflict could find its expression in agonistic ways in which we regard it as a *reasonable dialogue*^f.

Mouffe’s new political approach seems to me as a reasonable dialogue, since agonism; (a) clearly defines the distinction between politics and political, for not to get lost within these concepts, (b) recognizes the reality of antagonisms of politics at first and then reformulate itself within this concept, and (c) refers to the understanding of politics as a good communicative process, which will be helpful to reorganize possible conflicts by seeing enemies as adversaries – in other words, the legitimate opponents – and by providing to bring their demands in political area, within pluralistic societies. Hence, this study argued that politics can be reducible to a *reasonable dialogue*, even if it is possible to face with some possible problems, when trying to justify this new imagination, in practice.

The second formula is to organize *reformative entities*^g under the control of Internal Affairs of a state to enable such reasonable dialogue be systematically performed. As widely discussed above, antagonism recognizes the possibility of the existence of another political entity and in our case the possibility of conflicts occurred by new actors whose self-identification process will never fully complete. They have already existed before globalization but after that changed their action which confront local governances with security challenges. In this context, antagonism actually represents a potential empty space for all kind of new actors, in which they found a chance to be able to reestablish themselves. When formulating her democratic theory, Mouffe explains the idea of why she gives such a central role to antagonism, according to the nature of the relationship between this concept and “political”. By her own word; “...To take account of ‘the political’ as the ever present possible of antagonism, requires ...recognizing the hegemonic nature of every kind of social order...” (Mouffe, 2005: 17). In this context, by seeing political problems as the ones which should be dissolved by qualified experts or authority, it is argued that reformative entities, under the control of Internal Affairs, should be launched by regarding the nature of collective identities, in order to adequately grasp the pluralistic nature of the social world.

If we are willing to accept Chantal Mouffe’s ideal on politics, which is described a space of power, conflict and therefore antagonism, then local governances should organize new reformative entities or channels and enable them for allowing conflicts to be performed in *agonistic* ways where local governances are now willingly recognize the legitimacy of their opponents – new actors. On the other hand, Schmitt advocates the idea that relationship between us and them had to take a form of antagonism in order to inform local governances about the possible dangers that an agonistic pluralism entails for the permanence of the political entity. However, Mouffe claims that because there exist conflicts due to antagonistic forces, what can be done is to see how we can generate such a pluralism which is possible by forming reformative entities – serving mechanisms in agonistic pluralism –

^e This word is taken from one of Chantal Mouffe’s interviews which is namely “Interview with Chantal Mouffe: Pluralism is linked to the acceptance of conflict”, presented by *Barcelona Metropolis* in February 2010.

^f The concept of agonism in Mouffe’s theory refers to multiple voices in political arena with plausible arguments. Therefore, even though Mouffe does not use this term, according to me, an affirmative answer to whether politics can be reducible to “agonism” implies a “reasonable dialogue”.

^g The expression is originally formulated to better understanding of “reasonable dialogue”, introduced in previous paragraphs. It basically refers to the political entities, under control of Ministries of a state in question, in which social groups expect to see the improvement in their unsatisfactory actions.

where such conflicts when emerge will be destroyed. Because, they would be the living organisms in which political implementations are occurred to reconstruct the state-level policies and where the conflicts in political sphere are brought into the political stage, for joint resolutions.

As discussed above, the idea of reformative entities as being alternative channels is envisaged to make reasonable dialogue between local governance and new actors more plausible. How to bring then collective identities together is argued out by the third formula – organization of *open platforms*^h where variety group of workers, academics, scientists, students, intellectuals come together to discuss the recent agenda. It can be formulated by both face to face discussion sessions and online forums.

We have experienced similar examples of that kind of public discussions; for instance, Change Org is working like receivers and triers of petitions. By being an online campaign organization, they have been trying to effect state-level policy decisions that are previously taken or in a process of discussion, by collecting online signatures from ten to millions of them. Because, it is more legitimate if you have collected signatures when trying to reach out to policy makers. Hence, one can say that such online open platforms is an easier way to get people engaged and to promote for a cause that might not otherwise get lots of attention. Furthermore, as an example of face to face discussion forums, during 2013 Occupy Gezi Protest, such individuals came together under Taksim Solidarity Platform, to discuss neoliberal transformation of Turkish government and regeneration of property rights. By doing so, this is another way to become the voice of one's opinions about matters of state-level policies. However, what is recommended within this formula is more about the central and local governances, to be the initiator of such open platforms for the issues in recent agenda, before they hold last decisions. Because, the giving examples above, are now partaking in political process after governmental authorities determine the agenda.

5. Conclusion

As a result of the relation between globalization and local responses, it may be argued that globalization has had immediate changes in states' traditional management systems with the entrance of transnational companies and global trends into countries. In time, local authorities of states have adopted a particular role to provide local development or cope with the challenges of globalization. The impacts of globalization demonstrate that making the world more global has caused more concerns and difficulties of states despite the increase in the number of intrastate and international actors which generally have sufficient authority and capability to solve the existing problems.

In the Turkish case, the 1980s were the significant times to introduce globalization to the state. The globalization process has added new implementation to the administrative system such as privatization, minimal state, localization and urban development followed by the emergence of new economic and social actors changing the state's perception of security. As globalization has made its presence more in the country, there has been an increase in anti-globalist reactions to the state policies. The globalization process of Turkey has indicated that Turkey should benefit the advantages of globalization such as democracy, human rights or individual freedom rather than a formalist change in order to prevent

^h This phrase is recently used in the energy and technology sectors but the concept in this study is more related to the place where civil societal groupings discuss the latest state-level policies, to collectively represent their demands and expectations. In other words, these platforms can be represented as public forums.

possibly more negative responses to the global factors. If new actors are moved to decision-making process, more citizen-oriented regulations will be possible by reformative entities in which new political actors can represent their demands through the channel of open platforms enabling them to perform reasonable dialogue with central and local governance.

References

- Arat, Y. (2001). Women's rights as human rights: The Turkish case. *Human Rights Review* 3(1): 27–34.
- Başkaya, F. (1997). *Sömürgecilik, Emperyalizm, Küreselleşme*. İstanbul: Öteki Yayınları.
- Beck, U. (2000). *What is Globalization?* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Boratay, K. & Kepenek, Y. (1998). Kamu işletmeleri ve Özelleştirme Deneyime: Sorunlar ve Politika Seçenekleri. *Toplum ve Bilim* 77: 100–133.
- Brown, J. (1995). The Turkish Imbroglia: Its Kurds. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 541: 116-129.
- Chien, S. (2008). Local Responses to Globalization in China: A Territorial Restructuring Process Perspective. *Pacific Economic Review* 13(4): 492–517
- Evans, S. (2013). “German call to ‘undo’ energy privatisation amid Berlin vote.” *BBC News*, < <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-24763311> > [Erişim tarihi: 20.12.2015]
- Guéhenno, J.-M. (1998). The impact of globalisation on strategy. *Survival* 40(4): 5–19.
- Güler, B.A. (1996). *Yeni Sağ ve Devletin Değişimi*. Ankara: TODAİE Yayını.
- Hayek, F.A. Von. (1999). “Liberal Bir Sosyal Düzenin İlkeleri”. In A. Yayla (ed.) *Sosyal ve Siyasal Teori-Seçme Yazılar*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitapevi. pp. 171-185.
- Işıklı, A. (1995). *Küreselleşme ve Yeni Ekonomik Düzen*. İstanbul: Altın Kitapları.
- İnce, E. (2013, January 17). “Kışlaya onay yok!” *Radikal*. Retrieved from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/>
- Jenkins, P., Robson, P. & Cain, A. (2002). Local responses to globalization and peripheralization in Luanda, Angola. *Environment&Urbanization* 14(1): 115–128.
- Julian, C. (2013). “Citizen's Bid to Buy Back the Grid: Lessons from Germany.” *World Future Council*, < <http://www.power-to-the-people.net/> > [Erişim Tarihi: 20.12.2015]
- Kazgan, G. (2002). *Küreselleşme ve Ulus-Devlet- Yeni Ekonomik Düzen*. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Kettl, F.D. (2000). The Transformation of Governance: Globalization, Devolution and the Role of Government. *Public Administration Review* 60(6): 488–498.
- Keyder, Ç. (2005). Globalization and Social Exclusion in Istanbul. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(1): 124–134.
- Koçak, H. (2009). Küreselleşme ve Yerelleşme Çağında Yerel Demokrasi ve Kentsel Yaşam. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 2(10): 133–142.

- Kökalan Çımrın, F. (2009). Küreselleşme, Neo-Liberalizm ve Refah Devleti İlişkisi Üzerine. *Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 23: 195-204.
- Köse, H.Ö. (2003). Küreselleşme Sürecinde Devletin Yapısal ve İşlevsel Dönüşümü. *Sayıştay Dergisi* 49: 3-46.
- Mouffe, C. (2005). *On the Political*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Mouffe, C. (2010, February). Interview with Chantal Mouffe: Pluralism is linked to the acceptance of conflict". *Socio-cultural challenges for the XXI century*. (E. D. Álvarez, Interviewer and M. D.-C. Catalunya, Editor), Barcelona, Spain.
- Muhammed, F. (1990). Kamu Yönetimi: Gelişen Görüşler ve Öncelikler. *Türk İdare Dergisi* 62(389): 220-224.
- Ohmae, K. (1995). *The End of the Nation-State: the Rise of Regional Economies*. London: Harper Collins.
- Pektaş, A. (2015). "Historic sites threatened by restoration work." *Today's Zaman*. <<http://www.todayszaman.com/>> [Erişim tarihi: 20.12.2015]
- Rakodi, C. (2001). Urban Governance and Poverty-Addressing Needs, Asserting Claims: An Editorial Introduction. *International Planning Studies* 6(4): 343-356.
- Rosenau, J.N. (1995). Governance in the Twenty-first Century. *Global Governance* 1(1): 13-43.
- Sallan Gül, S. (2004). *Sosyal Devlet Bitti! Yaşasın Piyasa/Yeni Liberalizm ve Muhafazakarlık Kışkırcılığında Refah Devleti*. Ankara: Etik Yayınları.
- Schmitt, C. (1996). *The Concept of the Political*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Toussaint, E. (1999). *Ya Paranı Ya Canını- Dünya Bankası ve IMF'nin Üçüncü Dünya Politikaları* (M. Berberyan trans.). İstanbul: Yazın Yayıncılık.
- Unger, J. & Chan, A. (1999). Inheritors of the Boom: Private Enterprise and the Role of Local Government in a Rural South China Township. *China Journal* 42, 45-74.
- Yan, Y. (2007). The Power of an Alternative: Implications of the Chinese Response to Globalization. *UCLA International Institute*.
- Yayman, H. (1999). Küreselleşme Tartışmalarının Türkiye Özeline Yansımaları. *Sayıştay Dergisi* 84: 59-76.