

## IN THE FRAME OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, THE SOVEREIGNTY PROBLEM OF GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONAL-STATE

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### Abstract

The concept of "state", has always been a subject of debate and examination in the field of social sciences, which has continued its existence from the Greek "Polis" concept, which is seen as the first state experience of humanity in the course of history, has been rapidly connected with the concept of globalization. So, it began to be described as "the Modern State". The concept of the "nation-state" that emerged due to this relationship has also faced the problem of sovereignty with the effect of globalization. When we consider the historical development of nation states, we witness that the phenomenon of globalization has begun to affect the sovereignty of these sovereign states. The history of this activity and the possible future road map constitute the main plan of our study. Although the concept of sovereignty has been dealt with in many issues, our work has aimed to examine the effect of political science on the concept of sovereignty. It is seen that; The concept of globalization has a negative effect on sovereignty with a series of phenomena that it brings with it. And this effect appears in every field and progresses step by step.

**Keywords:** State, Globalization, Nation-State, Sovereignty, Politics

### SİYASET BİLİMİ BAĞLAMINDA KÜRESELLEŞME VE ULUS DEVLETİN EGEMENLİK SORUNLARI

### Öz

Tarihte insanların ilk devlet tecrübesi olarak görülen Yunan "Polis" kavramından günümüze kadar varlığını sürdüren ve sürekli sosyal bilimlerin alanının tartışma ve inceleme konusu olan "devlet" kavramı, "Modern Devlet" olarak nitelendirilmeye başlanmasından itibaren hızlı bir şekilde küreselleşme kavramı ile ilişki içerisine girmiştir. İşte bu ilişki neticesinde ortaya çıkan "Ulus Devlet" kavramı, yine küreselleşme etkisi ile egemenlik sorunu ile de karşı karşıya kalmaktadır. Ulus devletlerin tarihsel gelişimini de ele aldığımızda, küreselleşme olgusunun, egemen olan bu devletlerin egemenlikleri üzerinde etkili olmaya başladığına tanık olmaktadır. Bu etkinin tarih içerisindeki seyri ve gelecekteki muhtemel yol haritası çalışmamızın ana planını oluşturmaktadır. Birçok alanda bu egemenlik kavramı tartışmaya açılmış olsa da çalışmamızın amacı, bu etkileşim sonucu egemenlik kavramı üzerinde siyaset bilimi açısından oluşan etkinin incelenmesi olmuştur. Görülmektedir ki; küreselleşme kavramı beraberinde getirdiği bir dizi olgu ile egemenlik üzerinde olumsuz sayılabilecek etkiye sahiptir. Ve bu etki her alanda ortaya çıkmakta ve adım adım ilerlemektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Devlet, Küreselleşme, Ulus-Devlet, Egemenlik, Siyaset

### 1. Introduction

From the formation of the modern state to the present, we know and see the existence of the concept of the state and how many functions it has in the world, its roles and importance both in research areas within social sciences and in our social life. Therefore, we accept it as a reality, as a part of our life.

It should not be forgotten that some non-Western understandings and practices require the existence of the modern state with the traditional experiences. However, the concept of the modern state in question here expresses the basis of the state reality that is valid in today's world because the experience of modernity is based on a paradigm that includes the change like the state - its traditional structure - and the differentiation in its quality and carries it up to the present. This paradigm created the state with a

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definition, description and classification unlike the traditional one and presented it to the world as the best organizational form and model for modern societies to form political society.

In many approaches in its historical course, the state has been seen and still is seen as a structure that is rejected or accepted, respected or worked to disappear, accepted as sacred or only to the extent that it is functional in many societies.

In terms of historical perspective, it is seen that the state phenomenon has undergone a continuous evolution depending on the socio-economic development levels of societies. There is no concept of a state in today's sense in primitive communities leading a nomadic life. With the transition to an agricultural society, feudal lordships were formed. The industrial society, on the other hand, has revealed the modern nation structure in its current sense and has tried to limit the political power of the industrial age state, which is the product of a de facto social contract in which individuals benefit from various rights and freedoms in a modern sense, for the first time by taking into account the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual. The Industrial Age was also when public administration and bureaucracy began to develop institutionally. As a result, public administration gained its formal qualities attributed to it by Weber in this period.

The tense political environment after the First World War also opened the door to an economic depression. With the 1929 crisis, a new awareness/consciousness about the function and necessity of the state came to the fore. This had another critical meaning. After the First World War, all states revised or changed their imperial structures and formed their political orders according to the nation-state model. As a result, the nation-state gained strength both economically and politically.

The state, which provided its economic and political power to a large extent in the post-World War II period, also revealed its functions as a social state and welfare state, which was the implementer of social policy. As an important stakeholder of the decision-making mechanism in economic and social policies, it was implementing especially social policy practices.

In today's world, the adequacy and roles of the nation-state in the economic and political field are discussed and, in a sense, criticized. The qualitative and quantitative transformation in economic and social life in the last thirty years, especially in the 2000s, raises the issue of the inadequacy of nation-state experience. The economic and social transformations, popularly called globalization and characterized by neoliberal economic policies, have produced a necessity to discuss the validity and adequacy of the nation-state in the political arena. Globalization, with its different processes and actors, expresses the intensification of economic relations, the flow of information quickly crossing physical borders, the new reference point in the fields of identity and culture, the global problems becoming the common problem of all humanity, on the axis of a single worldwide ground that it has revealed. Although the process seems to express commonality and uniformity in certain areas, it also brings differentiation and searches for new identities in other areas.

In this study, the new institutions created by the phenomenon of globalization which expresses the fundamental economic, social and, of course, political transformations of the last thirty years, and how adequate and valid the nation-state is in the context of these institutions are included. First, what the nation-state means as a heritage carried to the present day, and then what the function of the political – the nation-state – is/should be in the economic and social order accepted as globalization will be discussed, and answers will be sought for the future of the nation-state.

Our study did not specifically address the sovereignty relations of any state. For this reason, it is also important in order to form the basis of historical or future studies on the relations of sovereignty and globalization in the international arena. It will also inspire researchers to study this relationship in detail from the economic, cultural, political or administrative aspects.

## **2. Concepts**

### **2.1. Globalization**

Although there are many examples of definitions, explanations and interpretations, a reality that has not yet become clear at the conceptual level, the concept of globalization remains fuzzy. It is not easy to define precisely because it covers many social, economic and political dimensions of humanity. One of

the definitions of globalization (Bayar, 2008, p. 25) is "the level of communication and interaction between people, society and states living in different parts of the world gradually increasing within the framework of the concept of "interdependence". According to another definition (Ateş, 2007, p. 33), "the intensification of economic relations, the flow of information easily crossing physical borders, the new reference point in the fields of identity and culture, the global It means that the problems become the common problem of all humanity."

Globalization is a comprehensive phenomenon that can affect the economy to politics, from politics to management and social and cultural fields. Globalization, in a sense, means spreading material and moral values worldwide beyond national borders. "The concept of the global first entered the literature with Marshall McLuhan's use of the term Global Village for this new process in his book 'Explosions in Communication'. (Hasanoğlu, 2001, p. 72)

Giddens, on the other hand, states that it should be underlined that globalization does not mean the same as internationalization, that globalization includes not only the convergence of international ties but also processes such as the emergence of a global civil society that transcends the borders of nations, and states that with globalization, states face risks and dangers rather than enemies (Giddens, 1994). 2000, p. 153). It is also possible to interpret globalization, in other words, the new world order, as capitalism's acceptance of its superiority as a system without options (Şeylan, 2003, p. 178). "Because when globalization is interpreted as the removal of national economic borders, the economical manoeuvring areas of nation-states are limited to the areas of developed centres." (Önder, 2003, p. 252).

Globalization's history dates back to relations between human communities living in different geographies.

"Globalization in a broad sense is not a new phenomenon at all, and in fact, its beginnings date back to the geographical discoveries of the Middle Ages, first to the recognition of all parts of the globe. This is the first step of the phenomenon in question. The first and second industrial revolutions constitute globalization's other two important steps." (Gormez, 2005, p. 7).

However, in terms of the meaning, it has today, the emergence of globalization as a concept coincides with the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. "The nature of globalization in this process was commercial." (Kartal, 2007, p. 261). Therefore, it can be said that this phenomenon passed through three phases at that time and took its present form. These phases can be listed as follows: the period from the end of the 19th century to 1914, the period from 1914 to 1945-50, and the period after 1945-50.

From the end of the 19th century to the 1914s, globalization is seen at a very advanced level, especially in economic terms. In this period, barriers and tariffs in front of international trade decreased to almost non-existent levels, the integration of global markets deepened, and transportation costs and restrictions on the free movement of persons in the international arena decreased to their lowest levels.

This atmosphere, which developed in favour of globalization, was reversed from 1914 to 1945-50—beginning with the First World War and continuing with the Great Depression and II. This period, which ended with World War II, was a period in which globalization dynamics and global integration currents were seriously interrupted. Politically ultra-nationalism, economic protectionism, and self-sufficiency tendencies are typical features of this period.

After World War II, globalization started to grow. The production had a worldwide appearance. The driving forces of capital and production began to be controlled by supranational corporations.

## **2.2.Nation-State**

When the traditional structure and church authority began to be shaken and disintegrated, the power of modern ideology to create a new understanding began to be felt more. The triumph of the human mind expressed a foundation that set modernity in motion. In this way, the existence and importance of works related to worldly life were realized. A new and urban life consciousness gave birth to trade, art and social life. These elements, which constitute the basic dynamics of the transition to more secular life, did not seem possible without political unity and order – in a sense, balance and coordination.

"The secular understanding of life, in which Christian doctrine and practice became increasingly obsolete, began in the Italian peninsula before the north of Europe." (Sander, 2015, p. 81). This understanding of life and urbanity was also a phenomenon that represented the modern state. Here, the importance of the modern state understanding as the basis of the nation-state emerges. In this respect, the concept of the modern state is essential for understanding the nation-state.

### **2.2.1. Peace of Westphalia and the Modern State**

To base the development of the nation-state after the French Revolution or only in the nineteenth century may not be sufficient for this study to understand the discourse that the current position of the nation-state has begun to weaken. Because the problem that the nation-state model is claimed to face today should be sought in the dynamics that reveal its basis, the first of these is the meaning and legitimacy of the modern state.

First, it would be an excellent start to briefly talk about the Peace of Westphalia, which constituted a critical breaking point in the process leading to the French Revolution because Westphalia has a meaning that constitutes the modern state and, subsequently, the appearance of the nation-state.

"The Treaty of Westphalia has an important place in a vibrant and heated European order due to the breaking of the traditional structure. In France, which broke away from religious hegemony, IV. Henri secured the state authority of the monarchy after long and devastating religious civil wars. Although the state remained officially Catholic, the national interests of France were always considered separate from those of the papacy. The French example has been a model to be emulated by other European states." (Sander, 2015, p. 98).

"By the 1600s, while this was the case in France, there was a complex order, especially in Germany. Although the Holy Roman Empire was Catholic, within the empire, Protestants were in the majority. The authority to determine the citizen's religion, which was granted to the states within the empire in previous agreements, did not work in practice, and in 1608, the Protestant states sought to form a union to defend their rights. The German Catholic states also sought support from Spain, France and, of course, the Holy Roman Empire. Thus Germany was moving towards disintegration, and by 1618 a great sectarian war ensued that would last for thirty years." (Sander, 2015, p. 99).

The Peace of Westphalia (1648), which was signed with the victory of the post-war Protestants, can be considered the largest first conference in Europe and has essential features. Most importantly, while previous international meetings were of a religious nature, the state, war and power were discussed in this meeting. The Holy Roman Empire disintegrated with this agreement, and about 300 German states became sovereign political units (Sander, 2015, p. 100).

Two elements brought by the Treaty of Westphalia left their mark on classical sovereignty; land and authority. This form of relationship established between the state's use of authority and the border, which was seen as a definite line separating the areas of national sovereignty, was a new situation in terms of national sovereignty. "The establishment of a clearly defined dependency relationship between the authority and the land and the border, together with the Westphalia agreement, provided the most obvious manifestation of the inevitable dependency relationship between the nation-state and the sphere of sovereignty." (Davutoglu, 2003).

"If one of the features of politics is to realize public order and create an area of action for the manageability of the society, there is no doubt that the focal point where those who govern the society are organized perfectly." (Vergin, 2012, p. 32) Here, one should not proceed without considering Max Weber's contributions. According to Weber, the state's definition as a political institution is an organization that can use violence as a tool. That is, he has the authority to use legitimate force. "It has a permanent and permanent dominion. This definition undoubtedly constitutes a description of the modern state. (Vergin, 2012, p. 32).

The existence of the phenomenon we call the state covers a substantial area from a backward point in human history. In traditional societies, we can talk about a state phenomenon in tribal structures. The most crucial premise of this is the existence of an organization and its legitimacy, in which the power and power relations that direct human and social life in this society or communities rise. Everything in

human and social life in traditional societies is of religious origin. Therefore, the state institution to reproduce such a social system must also be of religious origin (Şeylan, 2003, p. 32).

"The understanding of legitimacy is also essential to the state's existence. In traditional societies where power and authority are of divine origin, the understanding of legitimacy is also based on a divine command. Perhaps the beginning of the features that distinguish the modern state from the traditional state type is the definite difference in this understanding of legitimacy. The understanding of the legitimacy of the modern state is based on reason, the theory or principles put forward through reason. (Şeylan, 2003, p. 32).

"Here, this feature that distinguishes the modern state concept from the traditional has another important result. The legitimacy-based difference between the modern state and traditional state structures also points to the functions of the modern state. In the European feudal period, administration and economy did not need a central regulation. However, this structure began to change in the 16th and 17th centuries, first in France and England and then elsewhere in Europe. The monarchs succeeded in subduing the landed aristocracy. The subordination of military forces to kings, wars, the expansion of lands and the need for tax collection brought about the emergence of a royal bureaucracy. With the growth of bureaucracy, local government and justice in society also became more uniform. In this way, the modern state signifies a shift from a polycentric and pluralist power structure to an undivided, single, absolutist centre of power.

With all these mentioned, we can bring together the functions and features of the modern state based on legitimacy. A public authority (absolute sovereignty and monopoly of power), administrative organization (bureaucracy), public order and civic rights and freedom (law and security), tax collection (public finance/finance), and territorial integrity (with a legitimate authority to use physical force and violence) Administrative border/homeland) elements constitute the dynamics and functions of the modern state. In the following process, the nation-state emerges as a component of the modern state due to its transformation.

### **2.2.2. The Nation State from the French Revolution to the twenty-first century**

"With the institutionalization of the modern state with Westphalia, the existence of new political unions created new orders. State structures that provided national interests, organized based on absolute monarchies, acquired a certain dominance. The origin of the French Revolution can also be found in the excesses of absolute monarchies." (Sander, 2015, p. 161).

"The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen was signed, in which the king's powers were limited after the revolution. By the 1830s, a constitutional monarchy was implemented in France. As a result of the uprisings of the bourgeoisie against the king and the nobles, the opportunity to participate in the administration was provided, but a restriction on the general society remained. (Sander, 2015, p. 185).

In the second half of the 19th century, nationalism found the ground to gain the right to rule by taking the modern state's power behind it. Nationalism is based on the nation-state, which is organized based on the control and power mechanism of the developing industry and liberalism, emerged as the most important intellectual movement of this period.

"The clash of forces that brought continuity and change led to a new series of uprisings in Europe after the revolutions of 1830. Although the liberal movement made itself known in the uprisings of 1848, the uprisings in Italy, Germany and Austria were nationalist movements against foreign rule and empire. This period showed that nationalism, meaning conscious societies determine their future, is the most influential force on the European stage. Moreover, in this respect, nationalism became the logical outcome of liberalism and went hand in hand with it. According to liberal thought, all nations that are free and respect the freedom of other nations must develop their national values and well-being. Therefore, it is this nationalist force that will overthrow the governments that keep the various parts of the nation apart so that a comprehensive nation-state can be established." (Sander, 2015, p. 189).

With the developing industrialization, liberalism and nationalism, the political unity of the Germans and Italians at the end of the 19th century prepared the foundations of a new order and the First World War.

The general lines of the process leading to the Great War were like this for the nation-state. However, First World War, which revealed radical changes, brought a new dimension to the order carried to this period. For one thing, the institutionalization of nation-states and the complete dismantling of imperial structures is a brand new phenomenon in the world of the 20th century.

The main issue here is how the industrial revolution and the social transformation processes that followed it affected the institutional structure and functions of the state. The industrial revolution can be described as significant progress and breakthrough for humankind. It has led to continuous and dazzling developments in the field of culture, science and technology, as well as providing the material enrichment of societies. Nevertheless, unfortunately, it also caused the unhappiness and poverty of large masses of people. The tensions of freedom and equality, social inequalities and the First World War led the world to a terrible conclusion, the 1929 Depression. After this stage, the debates on freedom and equality in the social and political fields have given rise to different necessities. "From this point of view, it is not enough to qualify people in this way to be free and equal; they must be liberated by taking into account the social reality. This brings the concept of second-generation human rights to the agenda. Accordingly, the state will reduce social inequalities and liberate people with its socio-economic measures." (Şeylan, 2003, p. 84).

The most basic feature of the process after the depression is that the modern state, organized as a nation-state, has gained another new feature, namely the social state/welfare state. The classical understanding of economy with the assumption of the invisible hand, which lost its validity to a great extent since the 1930s, assigned the task of intervention to the state as an economic actor and made statist policies gain visibility. This is a phenomenon of interventionist capitalism involving a revision of classical liberalism.

"The welfare state emerged after the Second World War with a compromise between the working groups, employers and the state in industrialized and developed countries" (Şeylan, 2003, p. 93). As a result, a balanced and productive economic growth period has been experienced due to co-executing appropriate monetary and fiscal policies.

"Both statist policies and the welfare state have created experiences that enable the institutionalization of a modern nation-state. Therefore, it can be stated that nationalism, which has an important place among the currents of thought of the past, strengthens the infrastructure of the nation-state. In general, what nationalism means for the nation-state at the point of departure is the right of any geographical group that wishes to have an administrative unit to establish an independent state. (Sander, 2015, p. 189).

The nation-state model, which constitutes the state organization of a homogeneous or national-oriented political community movement, has opened the door to a brand new era by obtaining fruitful results from the democratization winds of the post-World War II period. It is said that this process, in a sense, has given birth to a new debate in terms of the existence of the nation-state.

### **3. Globalization In The Context Of Political Science And The Problem Of The Nation State's Sovereignty**

"The concept of sovereignty, which is the basis of the modern state, is insufficient to explain the social and political relations between countries today. In the classical sense, sovereignty refers to the absolute power of the country in its internal and external relations. However, in today's world, the nation-state has largely lost its power to be the sole actor in the decision-making mechanism. (Marko, September 2006, p. 2).

"The collapse of the Soviet Union and the US becoming the sole power expresses the basic political development of globalization; naturally, although the dominant political actor does not entirely abolish the nation-state, it transforms it to a great extent. (Kongar, 2001) "With this development, discussions have intensified on making the state, whose dominance was shaken, an effective and limited structure." (Özkıvrak & Diçiler, 2001, p. 1). "In this sense, globalization has emerged as a phenomenon where the potential importance and independence of the nation-state has greatly diminished." (Ohmae, 1990, p. 4).

"Depending on the concept of sovereignty, the regulatory power of nation states has changed in line with the globalization process. Within the framework of this change, the understanding of the helmsman, not the state that holds the oar, came to the fore, and this began to be defined as the "regulatory state".

In other words, the regulatory state; is the state that regulates the relations between the market and the individual (the arbitrator) in favour of the market. Therefore, it is seen that the regulatory power of nation states has been put into predetermined patterns with the globalization process. What is meant by the power of editing; It is the making of certain legal changes necessary to remove the barriers in the market and make the state a guarantor." (Buyer, 2010, p. 321).

Along with these developments and the new world order, it became necessary to define the concept of state policy on a different scale after the cold war process. It has become impossible for markets and the state to be defined and act outside the global economy, remaining only within its political boundaries. With the end of the traditional state model of the twentieth century, globalization has created its state with its unique forms and institutions (Drache, 1999, p. 1).

The nation-state, which held its sovereign right in its entirety, was the most fundamental actor in the international arena. There was a situation where his sovereignty was absolute, and he could have unlimited sanctions on individuals. However, the developments experienced as a result of globalization have caused severe changes in the sovereignty of nation-states.

With globalization, it would no longer be possible for nation states to make final decisions on their own. Nation-states could no longer make decisions based on traditional sources of legitimacy, not based on human rights, holding absolute sovereignty and in an authoritarian style. This new understanding placed too much emphasis on individual rights and freedoms. Nation-states could no longer ignore the differences among their citizens. He had to abandon the standardizing policies.

We can reduce the developments that ground the views on the loss of sovereignty of nation-states with globalization into four elements regarding their political impact. These four elements, economic liberalization, supranational institutions and organizations, civil society and localization movements (Cebeci, 2008, p. 71), constitute the process that opens up the values and institutions of globalization, as well as the sovereignty of the nation-state.

"After the 1929 economic crisis, besides the adoption of policies that increased the influence of Western liberal states in economic and social life, especially in the Second World War. After World War II, there was a great increase in the number of states governed by the socialist regime. In addition, it was observed that socialist nationalist regimes emerged in the third world countries that struggled for independence in this period. The imbalance between the north and the south, which was not on the agenda much during the cold war period when the bipolar structure prevailed, started to come to the fore with the end of the cold war period in the early 1990s. Global economic developments have created a southern hemisphere more dependent on the northern hemisphere." (Minister & Tuncel, 2012, p. 58).

With the end of the cold war, understanding the state's effectiveness in the economic field has also lost its functionality. The free market economy has also begun to reduce the effectiveness of states on their economies.

As an important actor in globalization in today's world, multinational capital is very important. The withdrawal of the state from the economy and the introduction of privatizations as a fiscal policy tool is an important convenience for multinational companies (MNCs) operating in different countries. Furthermore, the freedom of capital mobility and the regulation of the legislation in a way that supports this trend in terms of states is another factor in the effectiveness of multinational companies. "These structures, known as multinational and transnational companies, which are the subject of widespread research today, exist as the carrier actor of the capital flow of the globalization process. Although there is no full and clear explanation of the concept, the common features of multinational companies (MNCs) can be listed as functioning in more than one country, central control, a uniform policy for all company divisions, and undertakings controlling the functions of subsidiaries in various countries." (Tokol, 2001).

"Although the MNC's history is old, there is extensive information that they were institutionalized until the Second World War. While the geographical distribution of raw materials was important in the first years of the expansion of the MNC, the increase in global competition and the market share problem has been the main determinants today." (Tokol, 2001). The repulsiveness of the conditions in the country

where the company was founded, and the country's attractiveness that needs investment are effective in the multinationalization of MNC structures.

"The first reason for the attractiveness of the country where the MNC invests is that the receiving country has a large market. The second reason is the protective measures of the receiving country. The industrialization policy of the invested country for import substitution requires companies to invest in protecting the market in this country. Another reason is the receiving country's cheap labour and the advantages public authorities provide. In order to attract foreign investments to the country, the governments of developing countries, which generally have capital and technology shortages, do not employ protective labour law legislation for private capital, prohibit union and collective labour struggle, protect private investors with all kinds of privileges, tax exemptions and tax reductions, and do not take environmental protection costs. They can bring incentives such as free of charge for industrial zones." (Tokol, 2001).

"In the process of globalization, the free movement of goods and especially capital has also caused the governments in charge of nation-states to get the economy out of their control. As a result of the globalization of the economy, exchange rates have been systematically linked to each other, and accordingly, monetary policies have ceased to be determined at the national level. Furthermore, global capital has led to the erosion of the sovereignty of nation-states in the economic field through international organizations such as the EEC, the Customs Union, the IMF and the World Bank. (Minister & Tuncel, 2012, p. 58).

"The process of globalization has revealed many new economic, political, social and environmental problems that go beyond the nation-state scale and cannot be overcome by nation-states. These problems necessitated international organizations in many fields and strengthening these organizations. This situation can be evaluated as a state's transfer of its sovereignty to international and regional organizations -such as the UN and EU- from a legal point of view. A typical example is the weakening of sovereignty as a fundamental political concept in the European Union member states. As a result, supranational law emerges in the European Union as a "common law" that is above the national legal orders of the member states. This newly formed law is qualitatively different from customary international law. Unlike the traditional understanding, individuals are directly subject to supranational law, and this law imposes rights and obligations on individuals. In addition, EU law is primarily applied in conflict with national legal regulations." (Buyer, 2010, p. 325).

Europe's fragmentation and integration process has mainly provided stable and sustainable supranational solid political associations based on economic interdependence like the EU. However, EU member states had to transfer many decision-making powers that previously belonged to their governments on a national scale to EU bodies. Moreover, the strengthening of international organizations has led to the erosion of the sovereignty areas of nation-states.

The capitalist economic system caused by globalization has caused severe income inequality worldwide. As an outcome of this injustice, it has become inevitable for people in the world to face hunger and poverty in numbers that cannot be underestimated. This has caused severe migration and refugee movements around the world. Nation-states faced serious problems in the fields of economy and security in the face of these movements. In order to solve these problems, they cooperated with various international organizations. Unfortunately, this means that nation states give up some of their rights within the scope of their sovereignty.

"Another global value perceived as the erosion of sovereignty is localization. In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, the transfer of decision-making authority to the locals in many areas has also had a limiting effect on the sovereign right of the nation-state. (Minister & Tuncel, 2012, p. 60).

"With this process from an industrial society to information society, social groups that have come together for specific purposes will be a direct or indirect determinant in politics due to the importance of personal goals. In this process, the parliamentary-representative democracy system of the industrial society will be replaced by participatory and pluralistic democracy with the participation of local units and organizations, and decentralized and decentralized understandings and structures will come to the fore, unlike the centralized structures of the industrial society (Gormez, 2005, p. 53)



With the prominence of local units, participation is the primary decision-making paradigm, and the provision of pluralism in the administration appears as a process that seriously transforms the sovereignty of the nation-state.

"The globalization process, which started in technology and economy, which also affects social, political and cultural fields, on the one hand, covers the differences at local, regional and national scales with its generalizing feature, on the other hand, it provides the recognition of local characteristics on a global scale." (Minister & Tuncel, 2012, p. 59).

"The process of globalization creates two cultural images simultaneously. The first is to reach the upper limits of a particular culture. This upper limit is the world. All heterogeneous cultures dissolve into the dominant culture that spans the world. The second image concerns the compression of cultures. The global field, which includes increasing cultural mobility and complexity, constitutes the second pillar of the globalization of culture. The basic dynamic of the globalization of culture is essentially the homogeneous perception of technological developments and economic events in world societies. (Pustu & Yücel, 2006, p. 123). Recognition of regional and local cultures through these developments and their involvement in the global process through integration. New identity formations have social demands and expectations from states. On the other hand, one-dimensional state structures or national states must recognize local powers in regional issues and policies.

In terms of the state, the premises of globalization reveal a new understanding of management. We can say that this understanding is the most crucial effect of globalization on the nation-state: the concept in question is the concept of governance. As we have seen above, bringing civil society to the fore, ensuring the effectiveness of local powers and privatizations force the change of the nation-state paradigm with the concept of governance. In its primary sense, governance refers to the necessity of non-governmental organizations, the private sector and local governments to produce public policies and make decisions in the country's administration. A fragmented administration approach tends to undermine the legitimacy of the nation-state based on absolute sovereignty.

In today's world, demands for freedom and democracy are developing towards participation in the administration. Including segments of society in this process and bringing local demands to the agenda is one of the important debates of today's globalization order at the state level. In this framework, the political and sociological basis of the nation-state will continue to be among the important topics of discussion today and in the future.

"They can go through the process of globalization and their culture as they strive for, and these local populations can be fully cultivated at the right time, broadly complemented in the personality/cultivation goal. In classical and modern applications, what is represented by exemplary representations is expressed. The existing one is designed not to be included in the new system. (Ateş, 2007, p. 38).

"The environmental issue has become one of the most critical issues associated with globalization, especially since the early 1990s. Problems such as global warming, air pollution, nuclear and chemical wastes, drought and flood disasters, problems related to biodiversity and species extinction, acid rain, sea, lake and stream pollution are related to the globalization process. (Bayar, 2008, p. 30). These problems are common because they directly concern the globe and pose a hazard. However, on the other hand, the states cannot take any measures and impose sanctions on this situation alone. In this context, international organizations come into play. Thus, states have to transfer their sovereignty to higher regional or global organizations in terms of environmental policies.

The phenomenon of globalization has undoubtedly created significant effects on technology. Technological developments in economics, communication and other fields appear as an output of globalization. In the economic sense, the development of technology has rapidly increased industrialization and has opened the door to unemployment in this framework. In addition, large international companies have started to market technology and move more freely within the borders of states. Furthermore, the development of communication technologies has increased the mutual interaction of people worldwide. As a result of this intense interaction, which means the disappearance of physical borders, international organizations have increased rapidly, and these organizations have become an actor in the international arena alongside states. Finally, the development of technology has caused significant risks in terms of security. In order to solve this problem, states had to resort to

international cooperation. If we look at the effects created by the development of technology, it has awe-inspiring results on the sovereignty structures of the states because it has shown its effect in all areas.

#### **IV. Conclusion**

In this study, the problem of the transformation or validity of the nation-state is based on the concepts of localization, civil society, effective state and governance. The problems that are thought to be faced by the nation-state or the state as a political actor are developing around these concepts.

Globalization was strengthened in such a liberal process of change. We can show economic change as the most important starting point. The regulation/loosening of commercial quotas, customs walls and taxation in front of the circulation of capital has brought about an economic order called 'global integration. These new regulations undoubtedly affected and transformed the state/nation-state. Leaving the economy and production area to the market/companies/private sector, realizing legal regulations that will strengthen the market, and ensuring the efficiency of the market by reducing public expenditures and public expenditures are considered among the functions of the state in this new liberal period. In a sense, there is a change in quality from the state that produces and spends to the 'effective state'.

This structure of the state, which cuts public expenditures and ceases to be the only determining power in economic policy, is also reflected in the field of social policy. Here, the neoliberal economic and political paradigm prefers the civil society mechanism to be effective. Especially in today's world and in Turkey, civil society's structural development is essential for this new order.

On the other hand, the process of harmonization and integration with international and regional organizations has become a determining factor in both the economy and the policy-making process in the 21st century. Organizations such as the EU and the United Nations are influential in countries' political and economic decision processes. One of the important issues in these processes is localization. In today's world, the neoliberal understanding of globalization proposes strengthening the local government as an actor, which is characterized as a more democratic and faster management and service approach than a homogeneous political society and central government structure based on a single power. Almost all international organizations support this issue. This, in turn, affects the nation-state's absolute sovereignty and centralized power.

The most important concept in the new management formula is governance based on these management propositions and features. This concept refers to validating a fragmented and cooperative management approach from a special power in solving economic and political problems and policy making. Involving local governments, non-governmental organizations and the private sector in decisions in political, economic and social matters that concern almost the whole society, and within this framework, the policy and service production activity based on dialogue constitutes the mainstay of the new management process.

All these new phenomena are the arguments of today's world and the international system, which are on the agenda, especially after the 2000s and are open to development. However, considering globalization's opponents and supporters, we can also see that it has a dual meaning. Some support the new management approach by discussing the necessity of applying these arguments due to a natural process. However, when the other hand, when we consider their opponents, they claim that each of these arguments is based on political reasons and conflict of interest, and therefore to the detriment of humanity.

Perhaps some of the opposing or advocating views can be credited, but it is necessary to mention the existence of a contradictory situation in today's world. The developmental/progressive ideology has always characterized the concept of progress within the framework of new concepts, new theories and programs. Developing and constantly renewing technological opportunities – we can also call it a transportation and communication revolution -, the development of small and medium-sized capitals, the opportunity of accessing these opportunities by the segments of society, and the rise in their expectations and demands in this framework are the results and products of the understanding of development. However, we see a return to the basic values and ideas of modernity in the world today. Fast technology, growing companies, and transportation opportunities have brought productivity, convenience and advantages into our lives. However, on the other hand, it also paved the way for

negative changes that will affect people's lives in the long run. Today, while we talk about advanced technology and targets and new approaches, we are also talking about basic and traditional principles and issues according to today's world, namely fundamental rights, protection of human rights, and ensuring freedom. People are now emphasizing fundamental rights in government on a broader political ground. It demands a greater say in the administration to this extent.

Let us take this issue from a political point of view. In today's world, it is discussed how meaningful and functional the nation-state is. Concepts such as governance, decentralization and civil society mentioned above make great sense in this respect. The fact that a considerable part of the society has the right to speak in the administration means the unity of civil society and local administrative organization, namely the concept of governance. This form of government affects the nation-state's basic sovereignty and its central power's validity. This can also be interpreted as applying a fragmented management approach to a fragmented social structure.

On the other hand, the concepts of human rights, civil society and fundamental freedoms are brought against the feature of being a legitimate monopoly of violence. The existence of shared hope and goals for the same purpose and future may no longer be meaningful for today's world. We can talk about the existence of more individualized people who want to protect their freedom and who have a vision of the future to this extent. Therefore, there is the existence of the masses that have eluded the unity of the nation-state's partnership, feelings, goals and destiny.

While not forgetting these developments, on the other side of the coin, the nation-state still stands before us as a structure that has not lost its feature of being an actor in a sense. Supranational mergers do not constitute a situation to destroy the borders between countries. In a sense, although regional and international/supranational organizations that express the measured transfer of sovereignty are solid and effective, we still see the state as the sole implementer of the approaches or practices suggested by these structures to countries. In addition, the reflections of globalization lead to the globalization of the phenomenon of terrorism. Until recently, the existence of terrorist organizations had a regional or state-level character. Today, the whole world is disturbed by the phenomenon of global terrorism. The use of expanding technological opportunities and the function of reporting through the media's large communication channels give terrorist organizations a wide range of action. In a world where violence is widespread, it is very likely that security-based politics and the nation-state, which accepts this as one of the primary references, will come to the fore and find an area of dominance.

When we move on to the specifics of Turkey, today we talk about a new constitution and a new political system. The power to ensure the continuity of Turkey as a nation-state is being discussed. Of course, this possibility from a social point of view is debatable. It can be asked how an ethnic group or a minority will accept this constitution and system and how social cohesion will be ensured. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the existence and potential of the terrorist act will come to the fore as a reflex of the nation-state.

Undoubtedly, there are many debates on the nation-state. However, it must be said that we are in a very early period to reach a definite conclusion from this point. Therefore, the interpretations that the nation-state has no meaning or will continue to remain in the past.

Today, it can be expected that the nation-state in the world will continue on its way by using the democracy paradigm from this aspect. However, it is not thought that the discussions based on its existence and non-existence will significantly affect the nation-state.

As a result, researches make the effects of Globalization on the sovereignty of the Nation-State undeniable. Concepts such as internationalization, civil society, decentralization and liberalism that emerged as a result of globalization have undoubtedly had an impact on the concept of sovereignty in the traditional sense. This effect is also considered as a negative effect since it appears as a limitation of sovereignty.

### **Kaynakça**

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