Populist Nationalism versus Globalization: Psychological Dynamics of the Rising Political Wave

Zübeyr Şakar*

Abstract

Globalization is a phenomenon with economic, social, and political consequences because of the spread of the market economy in the whole world. This phenomenon causes major consequences in the life of societies. Societies united economically with the globalization process, but seem to be socio-psychologically separated. These socio-psychological separations need to be addressed in the context of globalization psychology, nationalism psychology, and populism psychology. The study endeavors to understand the motivation of the increasing populist wave by presenting the psychology of the globalization process and the psychology of populist/nationalist movements that emerged as anti-globalization in this process. This study deals with globalization psychology in the context of individual, large group (national) and, small group psychology and tries to evaluate the results of globalization in the context of nationalism psychology and populism psychology.

Keywords: Globalization, Populism, Anti-Globalization, Psychology of Globalization, Psychology of Populism.

Küreselleşmeye Karşı Popülist Milliyetçilik: Yükselen Siyasi Dalganın Psikolojik Dinamikleri

Öz

Küreselleşme, pazar ekonomisinin tüm dünyaya yayılmasının bir sonucu olarak iktisadi, toplumsal ve siyasal sonuçlar barındıran bir olgudur. Bu olgu, toplumların hayatında önemli neticelere neden olmaktadır. Toplumlar, küreselleşme süreciyle birlikte iktisadi olarak birleşmiştir ancak, sosyo-psikolojik olarak ayrışmış gözükmektedir. Sosyo-psikolojik olarak ortaya çıkan bu ayrışmalar, küreselleşme psikolojisi, milliyetçilik psikolojisi ve ayrışma-kutuplaşma psikolojisi bağlamlarında ele alınmalıdır. Çalışma, küreselleşme sürecinin psikolojisini ve bu süreçte küreselleşme karşıtı olarak ortaya çıkan popülist/milliyetçi hareketlerin psikolojisini ortaya koyarak artan popülist dalganın motivasyonunu anlamayı murat etmektedir. Bu çalışma küreselleşme psikolojisini büyük birey, büyük grup (milletler) ve küçük grup(topluluklar) psikolojisi bağlamında ele almakta ve küreselleşmenin sonuçlarını milliyetçilik psikolojisi ve popülizm psikolojisi bağlamında değerlendirmeye çalışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küreselleşme, Popülizm, Küreselleşme Karşıtlığı, Küreselleşme Psikolojisi, Popülizm Psikolojisi.

*PhD candidate | Istanbul Medeniyet University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration | zubeyrsakar06@hotmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0003-3220-094X | DOI: 10.36484/liberal.1223945

Introduction: Psychology of and Symbols of the Globalization Process

Globalization can be defined as the disappearance of the concepts of time and as seeing the borders only in terms of economic, social, and socio-psychological aspects. The notion has emerged as a phenomenon since the 1990s, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Held, 1995: 268; Surowiecki, 2007: 172-173). The economic and commercial rapprochement has emerged as a result of the removal of borders in the production of goods and services in trading and economic activities. The rapprochement has deeply affected the communities formed by the economic and social life. This economic-based phenomenon is a mutual interaction process that raises awareness of society and social life on the one hand and is formed by globalization on the other.

The essence of the discourse of globalization includes an economic leap without borders and integration with different nations and societies. In addition, this discourse creates a vision of a universal identity consisting of world nations adorned with culture. The fall of the Berlin Wall is a symbol of this discourse. This symbol represents the transition from a multi-polar and multi-fronted Cold War Era world to a mono-polar, peaceful, integrative, liberating world (Archibugi, 2012: 9-10). Therefore, the fall of the Berlin Wall is a symbolic expression of the claim that the massacres, pains, and traumas disappeared in the modern era, especially the twentieth century.

Secondly, the fall of the Berlin Wall is also a symbol of the collapse of borders and border-specific walls in the psychology of societies. The symbol is imagined with the concept of a ''new world''. In other words, this "new world" symbolizes a multi-national and supra-national order. The motivations of this new world are the slogans of reconstruction, prosperity, and socioeconomic development through integration. In addition, the disappearance of the wall and the ''no wall'' symbolizes the understanding of ''the individual belonging to the transnational and global'' in social psychology by putting the demo, that is, the household, into a universal meaning pattern (Volkan, 2013: 171-173). This symbolization process has psychologically removed borders as idealizing the imagination of an unlimited global world for the last thirty years. In this respect, the phenomenon of globalization has been able to exist with enormous technological and economic changes that humanity has not seen until today. Further, globalization is a phenomenon that ensured its socio-psychological existence, sustainability, and motivations and built its opposites on this occasion.

The main research question of this study is on the psychological causes of globalization psychology and anti-globalization movements. The study aims to discuss the relevant psychological dynamics with the hermeneutic method.

Contemporary Politics, Nationalism and Populism

Humanity has begun to unite all nations under the League of Nations (later the United Nations) since the 1930s. Today, with more than 193 members, the UN is an international organization with multiple functions. Some political scientists, commentators, and thinkers state that the nation-state concludes with globalization. They also say that corrupt rulers or elites work up this situation, the society becomes more polarized for some reasons, and the psychology of nationalism becomes complex (Archibugi, 2012:9). It may be beneficial to consider the rise of nationalism and populism in this context, as this rising tendency may reveal corrupt or problematic aspects of the political establishment. Defining nationalism and trying to understand the psychology of nationalism can help us understand the underlying psychological causes of today's issues and the problems related to globalization in the first chapter.

There are three basic definitions of nationalism in political science literature. The first definition is to belong to feel a nation. The second is the emotional attachment to this identity. And the third is to be concerned for the national interests. These definitions make sense of how a nationalist relates to a citizen of another nation (Richards, 2019: 45-46). There is also a constructionist definition that approaches nationalism's historical origins. This definition claims that nations emerge because of socio-cultural results. In particular, the theory of constructivism pioneered by Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner concludes that it is adorned with theoretical and practical contexts and cause-effect relationships and that cultural code and economic and social changes ''construct'' nations and nationalism and are artificial structurally. This definition of nationalism put forward by the constructivist theory argues that it is unnatural to some degree.

Hobsbawm also sees the concept of the nation as a part of the development of the modern era. Hobsbawm, who accepts that nationalism has developed since the 1789 French Revolution and emphasizes that the concept of nation has established a relationship with liberalism since this date, states that it is a phenomenon produced later on behalf of a historical necessity (1995: 56). Hobsbawm also contributed to Anderson's definition of nationalism as ''imaginary communities'' and defined it as filling the ''emotional gap'' that arises as a result of the destruction, disintegration, or elimination of real or

natural human communities and communication channels (1995:65). Arendt called this emotional gap the abolition of authority (2012: 127).In this respect, it can be stated that the concepts of nation and nationalism be artificial notions. These concepts can also be expressed that can be shaped by a chosen victory or a chosen trauma, as Volkan emphasizes, and tend to break in both directions (2013: 295-296). However, it needs to state that nationalism, which has psychological foundations that can bring archaic emotions such as myth, ceremony, image, and symbol to the forefront, still fills a substantial gap in political legitimacy.

Ethnicity-Citizen Classification in Theories of Nationalism

In the conceptualizations of the nationalism notion, exists a distinction between ethnicity and citizenship. The ethnic type of nationalism can be defined as a strong integration of shared values and a particular way of life that persists over generations in a community. Studies developed on the meaning of ethnicity are more closely related to essentialist conceptualization. Ethnicity is a genre and conceptualization that encompasses cultural elements such as ethnic communities (Richards, 2019: 47). Thus, the conceptualization of ethnicity can be seen as culture and region rather than blood or lineage. The USA, for example, is a strong example of associating ethnicity with culture rather than blood ties. But ethnic nationalism often tends to be squeezed into divisive and divisive concepts such as discrimination, xenophobia, and racism. For this reason, it is referred to as a pejorative concept by liberal and cosmopolitan schools.

In the citizenship model of nationalism, there is no organic culture and tradition that the citizen should feel as a part of herself, as in the first cultural model. The link of citizenship corresponds to an inorganic structure that has emerged with modern theories, which is not cultural, but compulsory and has a legal relationship with the state. In the context of citizenship, the meaning of nationalism is to live respectfully to the law, state structure, institutions, and functioning and to participate, even minimally, in its democratic functioning. Everyone has the right to choose their country of nationality, provided that follows the country's rules. But there is no such option in the concept of ethnicity (Richards, 2019: 48). Ethnic identity and ethnic life are related to cultural codes, which are determined naturally, not by choice. The modern meaning of loyalty to the nation is artificial but functional, pragmatic, and rational rather than instinctive.

The Psychology of Nation-State Nationalism

The concept of citizenship emerged as an economic and social necessity. But, this necessity has emerged with the development of liberal rights, which paves the way for the transition between interclass and vertical mobility of the social and economic environment in which people are born. In short, notions of nationality and nationalism in the meaning of citizenship have been psychologically strengthened with liberal values, as the emergence of the concept of nation paves the way for individuals to become political subjects and pave the way for them with socio-political rights and freedom (Held, 1995: 268). In other words, nations psychologically accommodate their attainment of rights as individuals with the identity of the nation, and this phenomenon adds a cognitive and emotional attraction to the concepts. For this reason, nation and nationalism in the meaning of citizenship are psychologically strong, pragmatic, and functional. The definition reveals the psychological infrastructure of the concept of dignity in political psychology. As Greenfeld states, the concept of nation in England developed with psychologically based emotions such as dignity or reputation (Richards, 2019: 50-51). Greenfeld also emphasizes that it is not a coincidence that the concepts such as dignity and honor take on sociological and social-psychological meanings and that concept of the nation, the development of the nation-state, and the existence of nationalisms emerged at the same time as the existence of individual-property-based rights and freedoms (Richards, 2019: 51; Erişen, 2018: 55). It needs to be emphasized that these psychological dynamics exist in the development of liberal values such as rights, justice, equality, and human rights. Some of the main reasons why debates on citizenship and nationalism have escalated or become aggressive are the damage done to the dignity of national citizenship and citizens' rights. In short, the existence of the nation-state is related to technical, technological, economic, and sociological as well as psychological dynamics.

The destruction or damage of the concept of dignity can bring malignant nationalism or national populism to the fore by causing fracture and destruction in social psychology. When psychological feelings negatively based on dignity, called emotional capital, are destroyed; it paves the way for discriminatory trauma in social psychology (Richards, 2019: 52). This phenomenon, which Volkan calls ''chosen traumas and victories'', re-emerges in the economy, social, and political breaking moments. Volkan, who developed Freud's (1955) psychology and psychoanalytic theories, was also influenced by the identity formation theories of societies and made significant contributions to

political science and political psychology. Therefore, from time to time, political psychology has developed theoretically to make practical life meaningful.

Identities based on communities and nations are given meaning through relevant psychological processes. For example, every nation has minimal one chosen victory or trauma that gives them a sense of being a nation. In the context of the contemporary example, the Brexit process is significant to show how these psychological dynamics bring the concept of nationalism to the fore. It is meaningful that those who support Brexit refer to past wars against Europe in the Brexit process. The discourse of protecting pride and dignity developed in the Brexit process as if there were a case war against mainland Europe. Because the British who voted yes to Brexit voted in the referendum, thinking that the process would carry them to a new victory, just like the victories in history. A chosen war, just like a chosen victory, can affect politics psychologically. The feeling of humiliation, which is the opposite of the dignity concept is also an emotion that emerges ''chosen imaginary'' situation of victory or war. The humiliation emotion causes significant social problems in terms of political psychology and social psychology. These social dislocations turn into chosen traumas, as Volkan (2001: 86) emphasizes. National traumas create a sense of humiliation in victims or those who feel psychologically close to them. National identity is built on a trauma chosen over an event or a mythological defeat from centuries ago. As Volkan (2001: 90) stated, the massacre experienced in Bosnia after the dissolution of Yugoslavia based on Serbian nationalism's historical defeat against the Ottomans in Kosovo is an appropriate example of chosen trauma. There are many examples of psychological reflection on chosen traumas. Just as the heavy articles of the Treaty of Versailles signed by Germany strengthened Nazism, the hard conditions of the Trianon Treaty signed in 1920 affected the political power of a similar movement in Hungary. To give another example, for Americans, September 11 is a chosen trauma and, as seen in the example of Trump, feeds an aggressive nationalist populism. In this respect, a social traumatic event or case causes the irreversible destruction of feelings such as trust and honor and the emergence of feelings of humiliation and insecurity that lead to social psychological and political psychological consequences. In addition, this phenomenon tends to create confrontational or aggressive policies with other nations. Any humiliating traumatic event paves the way for this cycle. Because aggressive nationalism is findable in almost every nation based on a traumatic case experienced in the past. It is for this reason that those nations faced with humiliating cases in post-colonial countries may demand similar actions against the colonizers or those believed to represent them. The struggle for sovereignty

between Tamils and Sinhalese in the northern region of Sri Lanka needs to be evaluated in this context. For many Sinhalese, Tamils are the group trained and supported by the British during the colonial period. Also, the crux of Sinhalese-Tamil conflicts is Sinhalese's belief that Tamils approve of colonialism and humiliation. This situation shows the causes of a conflict that develops due to a chosen trauma for political psychology (Richards, 2019: 52).

The 1994 Rwandan genocide case contains similar features to the Sri Lanka case. Rwanda was a republic founded in 1962 under the leadership of Hutus. But the colonial Westerners supported the Tutsis against the Hutu and tried to dominate them in the country. Before the establishment of the Hutu Republic in 1962, this conflict was provoked from time to time by colonial Westerners, especially Belgium (Richards, 2019: 54). As seen in the examples of Sri Lanka and Rwanda, each of the provocations of ethnic nationalism by colonial Westerners has turned into a traumatic cycle. In this context, it can be said that the colonizers destroyed emotional capital by deepening the conflicting problems existing within the communities. The destruction of emotional capital and feelings of security and dignity; reinforces the sense of humiliation that leads to aggressive nationalism, discrimination, racism, conflict and civil wars, and the riveting of a chosen trauma with hatred. In these cases, how society, communities, their opinion leaders, and leaders perceive and share history, and how operated institutions and cultural codes; are based as well psychological reasons as sociological, economic, and legal reasons. While some of the traumas arising from social experiences occur immediately, some may occur two or more generations later. In any trauma, victims' children share the same or similar feelings as their parents. In this case, collective memory is formulated by these feelings (Richards, 2019: 55). Thus, trauma becomes a myth by being transmitted from generation to generation and becoming permanent. For example, there is a close relationship between Israeli national identity and the Jewish Holocaust, as the pain experienced is transferred from parents to children in this case. But at the same time, the attempt to establish the state of Israel through an international initiative has created devastation in the Palestinian national identity. Therefore, the Nazi genocide, albeit indirectly, terrifyingly caused damage to the national honor of Palestine.

Based on all these examples, it needs to be said that the feelings of trust and honor have a place in the psychology of nations and that these feelings cause positive or negative sociological and political consequences through victories or traumas (Richards, 2019: 13). It can be deduced from this that trust in the ''other'' in society psychologically reinforces the feeling of coexistence. Otherwise, traumas described as ''social fault lines'' may come to the fore.

The Psychology of Populist Nationalism

As can be seen from the examples, although globalization has gained significant momentum and provided economic convergence for the last forty years, it has built new psychological borders and barriers, far from breaking down the walls politically (Houghton, 2018: 187). Since its emergence, globalization claims that societies have been close to each other, with their neighboring countries and countries in their regions, and then with the whole world. However, in the psychology of societies, there is a conceptualization of "us" and "otherness" just as in individual psychology. Thus, belonging and identity, in Volkan's words, show that large groups (nations) and small groups (communities) exist through a psychological process. (Volkan 2010: 39-40). Nations psychologically need "enemies" just as they need "friends".

Indeed, as revealed in anthropological research, humanity has always existed with large groups such as families, tribes, clans, or nations, and maintained its continuity by forming the "other" (Sherif, 1985: 262 and Volkan, 2013: 171-173). In other words, people call "us" to those who resemble or feel in the same group and "other" to those who are not, throughout history. One of the reasons why the modern state can remain strong for a long time is that the concepts of "ourselves" and "otherness" which are as old as the existence of human beings are the building blocks of the modern state. In other words, the ancient of concept of "us" in societies, anthropologically and socio-psychologically, is one of the strongest aspects of large group psychology. No matter how strong the economic side of globalization's creating a universal integration is, it needs to be said that the objectification form of large group psychology based on "us" and "otherness" is strong even today. For example, the disappearance of social and cultural borders is not as easy as the disappearance of economic and commercial borders, because when the history of humanity is examined, it is seen that all human societies can coexist with their opposites and that the sense of self has its legitimacy with the existential reality of its opposite (Sirin et al., 2021; Ditto & Rodriguez, 2021; Forgas & Crano, 2021). An important reason why the thesis of multicultural and polyphonic coexistence brought about by the globalization process is constantly in danger is due to this socio-psychological phenomenon. For example, the opposition to globalization has intensified for the last two decades. As well the widespread belief that globalization is the hegemony of Western Civilization as the claim that it destroys cultural diversity has become visible for the last decade. Many psychologically horrifying events, especially the Case of 9/11, boosted anti-globalization movements. But at the same time, various

discriminatory, exclusionary, and marginalizing policies also affect anti-globalization. The basis of social-psychological impulse and motivation underlying the hostility and opposition to foreigners, refugees, or ''others'' in many parts of the world, especially in Europe, is also related to these discriminatory and exclusionary policies (Moffit, 2020: 128; Kayaoğlu, 2003: 209; Aydın, 2022: 127). This phenomenon, which cannot be overcome by globalization, has dragged it into a psychological vicious circle in which social psychology is directly affected. In short, the pluralism and multiculturalism theses that emerged with globalization are facing the threat of nationalism, identity politics, xenophobia, and racism almost everywhere in the world.

From the past to the present, societies that put a psychological limit on the understanding of describing themselves return to their national (large group) identities, especially in times of crisis, within the structure of supra-nationalism, trans-border, and limitlessness of the globalization process (Volkan, 2013: 175-176). Although societies generally do not care about borders when there is no crisis, conflict, or grief, it is clear that physical boundaries are always significant in the capitalist economic system that creates, grows, and globalizes itself with crises.

In this sense, it is not a coincidence that the nationals have become more loyal to their identities in a globalization process in which have arisen economic and social crises, civil wars, hybrid wars, the threat of nuclear war, demonstrations of power in the international arena, injustices in international relations, climate change and global epidemics. The political, military, and socio-psychological developments experienced after the Case of 9/11 have blocked the way of concepts such as ''global citizenship'' and ''global state'' (Archibugi, 2012: 9-10; Held, 1995: 268). This series of heinous events, which started in 2001 and continues to increase, has led to psychological traumas that create the opponents of the phenomenon of globalization, and to psycho-political destructions whose damage is even incalculable. The globalization process has not been the driving force of the psychological impulse of individuals, communities, and societies for cultural integration, harmony, and coexistence, even if it displays economic integration. In the shadow of deepening social crises, increasing social polarization, conflicts, and civil wars, the globalization process carries divisive, intrusive, and exclusionary psycho-social dynamics rather than a cosmopolitan or international motivation (Volkan 2010: 41). For example, the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq has caused these countries and their neighbors to withdraw to their socio-psychological ''borders'' and ''zones'' and resulted in the further provocation of national identities. Psychologically, this situation has both increased anti-Western and

disrupted the processes of globalization and integration in the last two decades (McDermott, 2004; Yaşın and Başbuğ, 2016: 136). Eventually, the invaders in Afghanistan and Iraq both had to accept the failure of their operations and withdraw, leaving the political order to their natives who radicalized. Based on these examples, it can be easily said that the destructions in the psychology of society wake up radicalization and radical movements in every group.

Conclusion

Since globalization is an economic and technological-based phenomenon that forces societies and their cultures to change, it also causes a culture shock in social psychology. While globalization, along with technological and economic developments, causes the loss of many traditional values, it endangers the psychology of individuals and society. The globalization process is affected by the intricate structure of international relations. This process has been a period in which traumatic events, phenomena and processes existed due to the pragmatic and Machiavellian political realities of international relations based on national interests. The structures of international relations and many international organizations, especially the United Nations, favors the political pot calling the kettle black, raising the political traumas of the relevant process. Thus, individuals and society come closer to the psychology of loss and grief. Due to the complexity of this process' loss and grief psychology, there are consequences in social psychology that make national boundaries sharp, revitalize national identities, and increase populist motivation. In conclusion, radical movements in the Middle East and populist separatist movements in Europe are both psychologically related to anti-globalization in their essence.

Therewithal, climate change, environmental problems, and the COVID-19 pandemic, which started in 2019, have created new social actions and movements against globalization and have caused the opposite results of the feelings and motivations of the masses with coexistence. The psycho-social-based dilemma and paradox of globalization lie at the root of many political, economic, and social issues experienced today. For example, in many parts of the world, especially in the European continent, populist movements, and racist, Islamophobic or discriminatory political parties have come to power in recent years.

Therefore, contrary to what globalization promises, individuals and societies are not intangible in a global identity in times of crisis, grief, or chaos, but they cling to the values that make them ''us''. Because, in terms of social psychology, in social and economic crises, in cases of grief, such as war and

terrorism, unity, coming together and cohesion are possible for individuals and the societies they form with people who are not far from them. For example, in the COVID-19 pandemic, it has been observed that societies act with a psychology of introversion, and grief in almost every social field except economic life, and phenomena that can be described as sighing and relief in social psychology such as solidarity, unity, cohesion and sharing the pain. Indeed, societies are in a behavior of chronic introversion and withdrawal by attributing the traumas they have experienced in the past to the problems they have experienced in today's globalization.

Another example can be given by the attitude of the European Union towards asylum seekers, migrants, and refugees of Middle Eastern origin. In a world where xenophobia, anti-refugee, and populism are on the rise, the EU; exhibits an exclusionary and marginalizing policy. It needs to be emphasized that this has a psycho-political counterpart. This policy-making process, which externalizes what is culturally, traditionally, religious, lifestyle, and socially different from oneself, can be expressed with the above-mentioned theoretical, practical, factual, and conceptual schematizing and externalizing large group motivations and impulses. It is the result of a socio-political and psycho-political structure. The psychological barriers of cultural and traditional historical separation and ''otherness'' bring forward the subconscious sense of ''ourselves'' in societies and weave this for economic and political reasons. Returning to the relevant example, the EU's attitude towards refugees from the Middle East and this populist policy-making process supported by a part of the public can be considered as an expression of a historical subconscious. In this respect, globalization and liberal democracy seem to be under threat a psycho-social externalization, polarization, and marginalization impulse in national politics, under the cover of economic and international competition. The most reasonable solution to this issue seems to be to provide an ambiance of tolerance that increases the psychological impulse of multiculturalism and to get rid of prejudices. Moreover, unless the global system is reformed, it would not be prophetic to expect traumatic political events to continue to increase throughout the world.

References

Archibugi, D. 2012. "Cosmopolitan Democracy: a Restatemant", *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42(1): 9-20.

Arendt, H. 2012. " Otorite Neydi?", içinde: *Geçmişle Gelecek Arasında*, Çeviren: Bahadır Sina Şener, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

Aydın, G. Ş. 2022. "Suriye Savaşı'nda Avrupa Birliği (AB)'nin Mülteci ve Sığınmacı Siyaseti", *Liberal Düşünce Dergisi*, 27(105): 107-134.

Ditto P. H. & Rodriguez, C.G. (2021). Populism and the Social Psychology of Grievance. Forgas, J.P., Crano, W.D., & Fiedler, K. (Eds.). *the Psychology of Populism: The Tribal Challenge to Liberal Democracy*. New York: Routledge.

Erisen, C. (2018). *Political Behavior and the Emotional Citizen: Participation and Reaction in Turkey*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Forgas, J.P. & Crano, W.D. (2021). the Tribal Challenge to Liberal Democracy Forgas, J.P., Crano, W.D., & Fiedler, K. (Eds.). *the Psychology of Populism: The Tribal Challenge to Liberal Democracy*. Routledge.

Freud, S. (1955). Group psychology and the analysis of the ego. *In The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*, James Strachey (ed). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Held D. 1995. *Democracy and the Global Order*, Standford University Press, Standford.

Hobsbawm E. 1995. *1780'den Günümüze Milletler ve Milliyetçilik: "Program, Mit ve Gerçeklik"*, Çeviren: Osman Akınhay, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul.

Houghton, D.2018. *Siyaset Psikolojisi*, Çeviren: Hüsamettin İnaç ve Duygu Şekeroğlu Bilge Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Kayaoğlu, G. A.2003. "Kitlenin Psikolojisi Ya da Sosyal Psikolojinin Kitlesi: Kitlede Yeni Bir Anlayışa Doğru", *Kurgu Dergisi*, 20: 205-218.

McDermott, R. (2004). *Political Psychology in International Relations*, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.

Moffitt, B. 2010. *Popülizmin Küresel Yükselişi: Performans, Siyasi Üslup ve Temsil*, Çeviren: Onur Özgür, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

Surowiecki, J. 2007 *Kitlelerin Bilgeliği*, Çeviren: Osman Deniztekin, Varlık Yayınları, İstanbul.

Sherif, M. 1985. *Sosyal Kuralların Psikolojisi*, Çeviren: İsmail Sandıkçıoğlu, Alan Yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Sirin, C. V., Valentino, N. A. & Villalobos, J. D. (2021). *Seeing Us in Them: Social Divisions and the Politics of Group Empathy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Volkan, V. 2001 Transgenerational Transmission and Chosen Traumas: An Aspect of Large-Group Identity. *Group Analysis* 34, 79–97.

Volkan, V. 2005. *Körü Körüne İnanç: Kriz ve Terör Dönemlerinde Geniş Gruplar ve Liderleri*, Çeviren: Özgür Karaçam, Okuyan Us Yayınları, İstanbul.

Volkan, V. 2013. *Divandaki Düşmanlar*, Çeviren: , Alfa Yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Volkan, V. 2010. *Politik Psikoloji*, Çevirenler: Birsen Ceyhun ve Abdulkadir Çevik, Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, Ankara.

Yaşın, F. ve Başbuğ S.2016. "Prof. Dr. Philip Zimbardo ile Kötülük Psikolojisi Üzerine", *Nesne Psikoloji Dergisi*, Cilt: 4, Sayı: 7, 131-146.