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The Relationship Between Nationalism and the Perception of Threat, A Study on the Sample of Turkey*

Milliyetçilik ile Tehdit Algısı Arasındaki İlişki, Türkiye Örneklemi Üzerine Bir Araştırma.

Mahmut Turan Ektiren**

Abstract: The main aim of this study is to provide an analysis framework on what affects the "perception of nationalism," the rise of nationalism, and how the reasons for this rise are perceived in society. Accordingly, it was investigated to what extent the rise of nationalism was associated with internal and external threats in the sample of Turkey. In the study, an analysis was performed using the relational screening model to determine the relationship between nationalism and the perception of internal and external threats. The quantitative data were collected using the scale developed by the researcher. The study population was Turkey. The participants were determined using the stratified sampling method. The participants were selected to correspond to the sample of Turkey in terms of socio-economic level. Among 7 regions of Turkey (2018-2019), one province from each region, namely the cities of Istanbul, Trabzon, Van, Mardin, Ankara, Izmir, and Antalya, were selected as substrata, and the data were collected by selecting people from these substrata using the random method. The data were collected from 1250 people on a voluntary basis. As a result of the analysis, it was decided that 1120 questionnaires were suitable for analysis. As a result: A relationship was found between the participants' self-perception of nationalism and their perceptions of internal threat and external threat. Furthermore, a relationship was also found between the participants' perceptions of nationalism, internal threat, and external threat, which are the sub-factors of the scale prepared. The relationship between nationalism and the perceptions of internal and external threats was found to be positive. In other words, the severity of the participants' perceptions of internal and external threats increased as the level of nationalism increased.

Structured Abstract: The main aim of this study is to provide an analysis framework on what affects the "perception of nationalism," the rise of nationalism, and how the reasons for this rise are perceived in society. Accordingly, it was investigated to what extent the rise of nationalism was associated with internal and external threats in the sample of Turkey. As can be seen when international studies are reviewed, studies on issues such as why nationalism still exists, why existing nationalism rises, what triggers this rise, why nationalism still maintains its importance, and why nation-states are important have been intensively conducted after 1990. When it is examined specifically for Turkey, it is observed that this aspect of studies on nationalism has remained weak. In this study, it was aimed to conduct research on this field, which seems open to nationalism. In this study, the participants' perceptions of nationalism and the dynamics affecting these perceptions were examined. While the perception of the constitutional arrangement, which was defined as a "democratic

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initiative" by Beşir ATALAY, who was the Minister of the Interior of that period in Turkey, and made especially for different ethnic groups in Turkey, and as a result of this arrangement, the perception of some segments in Turkey that it might lead to separation and might threaten public order/safety were determined as the perception of internal threats, the perception of the commitment of international companies to international law along with the process of globalization, Turkey's transfer of some of its sovereignty to structures such as international non-governmental organizations and international organizations, and considering the economic, military, and political effects of the globalization process as a threat was determined as the perception of external threats. In this study, the perceptions of internal and external threats were limited within the framework of these two elements. It was observed in the EU membership process that some segments in Turkey were seriously disturbed by the presence of situations included in the internal threat and sub-threat sub-factor. When the perceptions of internal and external threats are examined, it can be considered that the immigrant problem should be a fundamental threat, as in the EU countries. When the subject of this study was determined, the migration flow to Turkey had just begun. However, a dimension that would pose a threat to Turkey did not emerge. Despite the intense migration flow today, it still has not become a factor that will trigger nationalism as it is in the EU countries. In this context, the immigrant problem was not evaluated in this study as a dynamic that triggers nationalism for the sample of Turkey. In this study, the question "Is this disturbance a random disturbance or is it related to nationalism?" was basically attempted to be answered exactly. In this context, the relational screening model method was used to determine the relationship between nationalism and the perceptions of internal and external threats. The stratified sampling method was used to determine the participants. With the statements of Ali Yıldırım and Hasan Şimşek, the stratified sampling method is used when substrata or subunit groups exist in a defined universe. The important thing here is to study the universe based on the presence of substrata in the universe (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2005, p.105). The study population was Turkey. The participants were determined using the stratified sampling method. The participants were selected to correspond to the sample of Turkey in terms of socio-economic level. Among 7 regions of Turkey, one province from each region, namely the cities of Istanbul, Trabzon, Van, Mardin, Ankara, Izmir, and Antalya, were selected as substrata, and the data were collected by selecting people from these substrata using the random method. The data were collected from 1250 people on a voluntary basis. As a result of the analysis, it was decided that 1120 questionnaires were suitable for analysis. When the data were examined, it was observed that 54.8% of the participants were male and 45.2% of them were female. When the marital status was examined, it was determined that 35.6% and 64.4% of them were single and married, respectively. When the age variable was reviewed, it was observed that most of the participants (40.5%) were between the ages of 38-47. It was determined that while 37.6% of the participants were members of a union, 23.5% of them were members of non-governmental organizations other than unions, and 14.9% of them were members of political parties. Considering approaches to political issues, it was revealed that 7.5% of them considered themselves completely left-wingers, while 14.9% of them considered themselves right-wingers. A relationship was found between the participants' self-perception of nationalism and their perceptions of internal threat and external threat. Furthermore, a relationship was also found between the participants' perceptions of nationalism, internal threat, and external threat, which are the sub-factors of the scale prepared. The relationship between nationalism and the perceptions of internal and external threats was found to be positive. In other words, the severity of the participants' perceptions of internal and external threats increased as the level of nationalism increased.

Keywords: Political science, nationalism, nation, internal threat, external threat, Turkey

Öz: Bu araştırmanın temel amacı, “milliyetçilik algısı”nı neyin etkilediğine, milliyetçiliğin yükselişi, bu yükselişin nedenlerinin toplumda nasıl algılandığına ilişkin bir inceleme çerçevesi sunmaktır. Bu doğrultuda Türkiye örnekleminde milliyetçiliğin yükselişinin hangi derecede iç tehdit ve dış tehdit ile ilişkilendirildiği araştırılmıştır. Araştırmada milliyetçilik ile iç tehdit ve dış tehdit algısı arasındaki ilişkiyi tespit etmek amacıyla ilişkisel tarama modeli kullanılarak analiz yapılmıştır. Nicel veriler araştırmacı tarafından geliştirilen ölçek vasıtasıyla toplanmıştır. Yapılan araştırmanın evreni Türkiye’dir. Tabakalı örneklem yöntemi kullanılarak katılımcılar tespit edilmiştir. Katılımcılar, sosyo ekonomik düzey bakamından Türkiye örneklemine denk gelecek şekilde seçilmiştir. Türkiye’nin (2018-2019) 7 bölgesi içerisinde her bölgeden birer il olmak üzere İstanbul, Trabzon, Van, Mardin, Ankara, İzmir ve Antalya şehirleri alt tabakalar olarak seçilmiş ve bu alt tabakalardan random yöntemi ile kişi seçimi yapılarak veriler toplanmıştır. Veriler gönüllülük esasına göre 1250 kişiden toplanmıştır. Yapılan inceleme sonucunda 1120 anketin inceleme için uygun olduğuna karar verilmiştir. Sonuç olarak: Katılımcıların kendilerine dönük milliyetçilik algısı ile iç tehdit, dış tehdit ve AB

algıları arasında ilişki bulunmuştur. Ayrıca katılımcıların hazırlanan ölçeğin alt faktörleri olan milliyetçilik, iç tehdit ve dış tehdit algıları arasında da ilişki bulunmuştur. Milliyetçilik ile iç tehdit ve dış tehdit algıları arasındaki ilişkinin pozitif yönlü olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Yani milliyetçilik düzeyi arttıkça katılımcıların iç tehdit ve dış tehdit algılarının şiddeti artmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyaset bilimi, milliyetçilik, iç tehdit, dış tehdit, Türkiye

Introduction

Nationalism is an ideology that centers on the ideas stating that the values, principles, achievements, and interests of its own nation are more important than individual interests and universal principles. According to Smith, the term "nationalism" is used in several ways to mean "the entire process of establishment and self-sustaining of nations and nation-states", "the consciousness of belonging to a nation and having aspirations and feelings about the security and welfare of the nation", "a language and symbolism of the "nation" and its role", "an ideology that includes a cultural doctrine about nations and national will, and also the prescriptions for the realization of national goals and national will" and "a social and political movement that will achieve the goals of the nation and realize the national will" (Smith, 1994, p. 119). According to Smith, although the ideology of nationalism has been defined in many ways, the main theme is mainly a predominant national concern. Nationalism is an ideology that focuses on national concerns and constantly attempts to increase their well-being. It is unclear what exactly the well-being used here means. However, it is possible to determine this well-being around three goals, which can be divided into three as "national autonomy, national identity, and national unity." (Smith, 2013, p. 20). Hobsbawm stated that he "used the term nationalism as a principle that essentially argues that the political unit and the national unit should be compatible, as is defined by Gellner." (Hobsbawm, 2014, p. 24). Except for this definition, Gellner states that "it is the establishment of an impersonal society which is held together by common groups rather than the complex structure of local groups and is composed of atomized individuals who can replace each other." (Gellner, 1992, p. 106-107). Gellner (1992) indicates that "the main problem of philosophy is industrialization". Nairin refers to this argument and states that "the main problem of modern philosophy is not industrialization but nationalism". According to him, German philosophy was related to Germany that was in a painful age of formation, British empiricism was related to the Anglo-Britons in hegemony age of free trade and primitive industry, American pragmatism was related to the spread of US democracy after it reached the western border, and French existentialism represented the stalemate in which the 1789 Republicanism had fallen after the defeat in the 20th century. In this context, the idea was not just related to the industrialization problem expressed by Gellner. The main issue was nationalism (Nairin, 2015, p. 42). According to nationalism, the political organization should be essentially ethnic in that it represents the interests of a certain ethnic group. On the contrary, the nation-state emphasizes an important element of political legitimacy by convincing popular crowds that it really represents them as a cultural unit (Eriksen, 2002, p. 154). Leca states that there are three claims of nationalism. The first of them is a nation equipped with a distinctive and unique character, the interests and values of this nation are superior to the interests and values of all other nations, and finally, this nation should be as independent as possible, which depends on the recognition of its political sovereignty (Breuilly, 1985; Leca, 1998, p. 15). Rocker states that "nationalism causes an artificial separation and division within the organic unity in which it finds its expression in man, and also, it yearns for an imaginary union resulting from just a wishful thinking." (Rocker, 2019, p. 256).

England is the first place of emergence of modern nationalism in Western Europe. The fact that Protestantism was more effective in England can be shown as the reason for it. After England, the movements of nationalism also spread rapidly in France. Since England and France are multilingual countries, the coexistence of a common land determined by the jurisdiction of a common

sovereign authority rather than a language unity has come to the forefront in these places. Therefore, these examples of nationalism can also be called "patriotism" (Lewis, 1993, p. 332).

The French Revolution took place based on a revolt against injustice shaped by the slogans of " freedom, equality, fraternity". The practices that started during the revolution paved the way for nationalism to become a government policy. For example, French was accepted as the official language, and the use of languages other than French was banned. Education was extended to include all the people mentioned that day, and it was made free of charge and the curriculum began to be organized in accordance with the nationalist ideology (Hayes, 2011, p. 11).

In the 1920s, nationalism also began to be the subject of academic studies. The historical dimensions of the formation of nationalism in the interwar period were mentioned, and nationalism began to be analyzed from a comparative perspective. These studies became more diversified with the developments such as the end of the world war and gaining of independence by colonies after 1945. Contributions were made to the academic literature in areas such as nation-building and national discourse analysis, and these contributions were concentrated especially with the 1980s. The main discussion in this period was shaped around the question of whether the nation was an outcome of the modern age or an outcome of an ancient past. At this stage, while Ernst Gellner associated the development of nationalism with the transition from traditional societies to modern industrial societies, Benedict Anderson historicized the concept of nation and nationalism through the concept of "imaginary communities". Ethno-symbolists such as Anthony D. Smith and John A. Amstrong were also involved in the discussions on nationalism. Ethno-symbolists focused their attention on ethnic background and culture in their analysis of nationalism. After the 1990s, why nationalism was basically still so important, why it was always on the agenda, and what affected it began to be discussed (Özkırımlı, 1999, p. 202).

The main aim of this study is to provide an analysis framework on what affects the "perception of nationalism", the rise of nationalism, and how the reasons for this rise are perceived in society. Accordingly, it was investigated to what extent the rise of nationalism was associated with internal and external threats in the sample of Turkey.

After determining the dynamics that were considered to affect each other and basically affected the perception of nationalism, the hypotheses were established. In this context, the main hypotheses and their reasons were determined as follows:

$H_{1.0}$= There is a relationship between the perception of the rise of nationalism and the perception of internal threat in Turkey.

$H_{2.0}$= There is a relationship between the perception of the rise of nationalism and the perception of external threat in Turkey.

$H_{3.0}$= There is a relationship between the level at which participants position themselves as nationalists and the perception of internal threat in Turkey.

$H_{4.0}$= There is a relationship between the level at which participants position themselves as nationalists and the perception of external threat in Turkey.

There is an important issue regarding whether the threat involves realistic (material) or symbolic (non-material) damages to the group. The realistic threats include economic threats, threats to political power, and threats of physical harm. However, the distinctions between the types of threats are important because they may lead to different outcomes. For example, symbolic threats are a moral evaluation (e.g., contempt and disgust). The realistic threats tend to lead to feelings of insecurity and disappointment. Along with the lack of empathy for other groups, these results are likely to reveal feelings about nationalism and ethnic identity (Dimitrova et al., 2015, p. 33-47).

Ultimately, the democratic initiative caused significant discomfort on the nationalist front from the first moment it took place in Turkey's agenda. Indeed, in his speech on August 9, 2009, the Nationalist Movement Party leader Devlet Bahçeli stated that the democratic initiative was the continuation of Sevres. Furthermore, he also mentioned in almost his every speech related to this issue that this process of initiative would lead Turkey to separation. According to Bahçeli, the initiative is separation, division. It has no other name (Sabah Newspaper, 2009). In the panel titled "Neither Initiative nor Separation, One Whole Turkey", Osman Durmuş, another name on the nationalist front, also said that the democratic initiative was a separation for Turkey (Milliyet Newspaper, 2010). Likewise, in the EU report prepared by the Nationalist Movement Party in 2009, by referring to the democratic initiative, it was stated that the process would lead Turkey to separation, as it was also stated by Devlet Bahçeli (MHP, 2009, p. 3-4). In this context, the fact that the perception of threat experienced in the "Democratic Initiative Process" would be associated with nationalism in Turkey is among the main claims of this study.

Nationalism in Turkey

The idea of nationalism, which emerged under the influence of the West in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire, stood out in many areas of the Republic of Turkey, which was established after the collapse of the empire. Especially after the exchange of minorities in the Republic of Turkey, its political legitimacy, based on the secular version of the "millet-i hâkime (dominant nation) understanding on which the nation system was based, on a country consisting of almost entirely Muslims, was based on secular foundations for the first time in history (Yıldız, 2001a, p. 210-234). The newly established nation-state was built on secular foundations, and religion and state were separated from each other in theory.

In fact, we can see the process of constructing Kemalism of Turkish national identity in 3 stages. In the period from 1919 to 1923, there was a dominant religious character, nationality was defined by Islam, and ethnic pluralism was adopted. Here, the fact that a more pragmatic approach was adopted is clearly observed when the later stages of the construction process are examined (Tunçay, 2011, p. 92-97). Along with the abolition of the caliphate after the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey and then the adoption of secularism, the religious elements in the identity process would be eliminated in a way.

In the period of 1929-1938, the national community was defined on the axis of ethnic origin. Common origin was taken as the unifying feeling. In addition to the common language and common culture criteria in the previous period, unity in blood was also sought. A legendary past was created since the ideal of the Republic remained weak as an ideal. The thesis of national continuity based on mythical and pseudo-scientific ancestry gained a structural value within the Turkish national identity (Yıldız, 2001b, p. 16).

The establishment of history based on the Turkish concept instead of the understanding of history based on the Ottoman concept also corresponds to this period. Thus, it was aimed to base the newly established nation-state itself on solid foundations as a discourse. In this sense, a thesis called the Turkish History Thesis was prepared by the Turkish Historical Society, which was established in 1930, and with the studies of Atatürk himself and some European Turcologists. According to this thesis, civilizations in the world are based on the Turkish civilization carried by the Turks who had to migrate from Central Asia, namely, from their homeland. Furthermore, another periodically important issue was the necessity of connecting this distant ancestral connection to Anatolia in some way. Only in this way, it could be said that Anatolia had always been Turkish, and the nation's nationalist feelings were strengthened by scientifically removing the grounds for the territorial claims of Armenia or Greece (Copeaux, 2006, p. 49).

Apart from the well-known language reforms, the efforts of the Kemalists turned to the Sun Language Theory, which attempted to "prove" the accuracy of the historical theses with linguistics.

The studies on this theory started in 1935 within the framework of the Turkish Language Association (TDK) and Ankara Faculty. Hasan Reşit Tankut, Başkır Abdülkadir İnan, and Yusuf Akçura were among those who produced the theory, and the influence of the Turkic languages coming from Russia also stood out in this area. The theory was explained at the Third Language Congress in August 1936. It can be summarized as follows: the first and natural language was born from the voices of the first humans reflected in nature, those who felt the need for a language for the first time among these people were the Turks, and they produced their first words to describe the sun, and all world languages came out of this mother tongue due to the migrations of the Central Asian peoples (Copeaux, 2006, p. 49-50). Such theories remained on the agenda for a long time and served as a trigger for nationalism.

Along with the 1940s, it was resorted to a junction that could be expressed with the concepts such as "western - nationalist" and "conservative - nationalist" in Turkey. This junction took part in the state administration in the 1940s and gained a place on the western/positivist side. In this period, Conservative/Nationalist intellectuals also led the nationalist reaction and reflex with the journals they started to publish or the organizations they founded. Nihal Atsız was at the forefront of the nationalist conservative intellectuals during that time. This nationalist reaction stood out as an effective opposition to the government of the time, rather than being against the state (Karpat, 1996, p. 25).

"Racism is the source of faith, which works in parallel with Islam in Turkey, of those who cannot reach the ideological views of the West, those who believe that they are oppressed, and those who feel that they are "despised" by a bureaucratic aristocracy which has no doubt continued to our time. In this regard, the fact that the racist groups mentioned themselves as a generation that grew up on "broom seeds" during the First World War in Atsız's first publication is not a coincidence. The only way to prevent racism from serving as an identity framework and a source of faith would be to establish a strong common culture in Turkey. However, unfortunately, in a deep sense, it is not possible to talk about a homogeneous culture in Turkey, neither twenty years ago nor today, with regard to accepting the values that penetrate into the daily life of people. In this respect, Atatürk's reforms did not work as desired. The authoritarian attitude of the citizens of the city and the citizens of the republic and the revolutionaries in their approach to the peasants played a great role in it (However, this is not the deepest problem, as it can be seen in our last paragraph). In a country where the peasant-urban separation has caused wounds for centuries, the common sense required that slogans such as "The peasant is our lord" should be put into practice" (Mardin, 2009, p. 347-355.).

In the 1960s, Alpaslan Türkeş was involved in political life after the coup and established MHP at the end of the 1960s after various political breakthroughs. Alpaslan Türkeş defined the understanding of Nationalism with the doctrine of Nine Lights. Türkeş adopted the principles of nationalism, idealism, moralism, science, socialism, peasantism, freedom and individualism, developmentalism and populism, industrialism and technicalism. The doctrine of Nine Lights essentially addressed national and universal problems in the fields of economy, politics, and culture. This doctrine later became the element that determined the basic thought system of both MHP and the idealist movement. In this work, Türkeş considered everyone who had the honor of being a Turk and who considered himself a Turk as a Turk (Türkeş, 1967, p. 6).

In Turkey, Nationalism was on the rise in the 1980s. In this period, it can be said that Turkish nationalism developed in parallel with the gradual initiation of internal disturbances caused by the Kurdish problem, especially in the country, and also, the nationalist orientation concentrated in the Balkans-Middle East-Caucasus triangle abroad. On the other hand, it can be said that the globalization process was also a factor that triggered nationalism. Especially with the collapse of the USSR, the fall of the Berlin wall, the collapse of bipolarity, and the emergence of the problem of border changes can be listed as the situations that triggered nationalism in Turkey.

After the military coup in 1980, the political order in Turkey changed. The coup text of the juntaists who carried out the 1980 coup and their later statements were aimed at the revival of Kemalism in the country where Kemalism gradually decreased. It is observed that the richness of the discourses on Kemalism and Atatürk's Nationalism and their applications emerged, especially at the beginning of the 1980s. Nevertheless, the organizations that were engaged in politics under the name of Nationalism and the Nationalist movement in Turkey essentially strengthened their ties with Islam after this period and brought discourses such as Turkish-Islamic Synthesis and Turkish-Islamic Ideal into the forefront again. It is stated that the main axis of the ideology of the Nationalist Movement in this period was Islamization. Furthermore, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of the Turkic Republics, Turanism began to be on the agenda again in Turkey and policies were shaped in this context (Bora&Can, 1991, p. 514-515).

Ataturk's nationalism' became the official discourse in Turkey after 1980. Accordingly, the idea of "Turkish-Islamic Synthesis" also gained a wide-perspective field of activity. When it is examined in this context, the Turkish-Islamic Ideal or Turkish-Islamic Synthesis started to form the main body of the nationalist movement, both theoretically and practically, after 1980. Although a few of the triggering elements of these discourses were coups, crises, and social movements, the 'neo-conservatism' movement, especially Reagan in the USA and Thatcher in the UK, also made a significant contribution (Şimşek, 1997, p. 161-168). Furthermore, it can be said that the globalization process that took place in the 1990s caused the nationalist thought to change its position in Turkey.

Method

It was attempted to determine nationalism and the perception of internal and external threats in Turkey using the scale developed by the researcher and its sub-factors. The reliability and validity analyses of the scales were performed, and then they were applied to the participants. Finally, the internal consistency coefficients of the sub-factors of the scale were examined, and Cronbach's α (.946) and Spearman-Brown coefficient (.937) for the nationalism sub-factor, Cronbach's α (.737) and Spearman-Brown coefficient (.722) for the internal threat sub-factor, and Cronbach's α (.856) and Spearman-Brown coefficient (.840) for the external threat sub-factor were calculated.

The nationalism sub-factor included questions about the rise of nationalism in Turkey. These questions were aimed at testing the participants' perception of nationalism. Furthermore, the question "How nationalistic do you consider yourself? Can you mark your positions in the table where 1 indicates the non-nationalists and 10 indicates the most nationalists?" was asked to the participants, and they were asked to determine their positions toward nationalism. The internal threat sub-factor and external threat sub-factors were the other sub-factors in the scale. The internal threat sub-factor included the democratization steps taken by Turkey during the European Union membership negotiations. The internal threat sub-factor was limited to this process. These democratization steps were perceived as a threat by some skeptical nationalists, and they indicated that the country would be dragged into separation. In this context, it was attempted to explain how the reaction to the reforms made in this period could be related to nationalism. The following statements were included in this sub-factor: "Turkey is under threat of separation," "The demands of different ethnic groups in Turkey worry me," "I find it inconvenient to broadcast TV in different languages and cultures," "Increasing terrorist incidents worry me," "I am uncomfortable with the presence of people belonging to different ethnic groups, whose numbers have been increasing in our country recently," "I see no harm in restricting rights and freedoms in situations where security is threatened," "I think that the right to education in every language should be given," "I think that TV broadcasting in different languages and cultures should be done more often," "The presence of people from different religions and ethnic groups around me is a source of wealth for me," "There should be schools providing education other than Turkish in Turkey," and "The state should provide economic support for the cultural development of different ethnic groups."

Concerning the perception of external threat, there were the following statements: The entry of foreign capital into our country bothers me," "Foreign films, broadcasts, and music cause cultural degeneration in Turkey," "Restrictions should be placed on foreigners' purchase of land in Turkey," "More budget should be allocated for national defense," "The state should give priority to supporting to domestic investors," "There should be a restriction on the entry of foreign goods into Turkey," "The priority for me is the goods produced in my country, even if they are more expensive," and "The main source of terrorist incidents in Turkey is external factors."

It was observed in the EU membership process that some segments in Turkey were seriously disturbed by the presence of situations included in the internal threat and sub-threat sub-factor. In this study, the question "Is this disturbance a random disturbance or is it related to nationalism?" was basically attempted to be answered exactly. In this context, the relational screening model method was used to determine the relationship between nationalism and the perceptions of internal and external threats.

In relational screening models, relationships between variables are basically examined either as a correlation type or a comparison type. "In correlation type relational screening, it is attempted to determine whether variables change together and if there is a change together, how it happens. However, in comparison type relational screening models, at least two variables are found, and groups are formed according to one of them, and it is examined whether there is a difference between them according to the other variable" (Karasar, 2009).

Participants

The stratified sampling method was used to determine the participants. With the statements of Ali Yıldırım and Hasan Şimşek, the stratified sampling method is used when substrata or subunit groups exist in a defined universe. The important thing here is to study the universe based on the presence of substrata in the universe (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2005, p. 105).

The study population was Turkey. The participants were determined using the stratified sampling method. The participants were selected to correspond to the sample of Turkey in terms of socio-economic level. Among 7 regions of Turkey, one province from each region, namely the cities of Istanbul, Trabzon, Van, Mardin, Ankara, Izmir, and Antalya, were selected as substrata, and the data were collected by selecting people from these substrata using the random method. The data were collected from 1250 people on a voluntary basis. As a result of the analysis, it was decided that 1120 questionnaires were suitable for analysis.

When the data were examined, it was observed that 54.8% of the participants were male and 45.2% of them were female. When the marital status was examined, it was determined that 35.6% and 64.4% of them were single and married, respectively. When the age variable was reviewed, it was observed that most of the participants (40.5%) were between the ages of 38-47. It was determined that while 37.6% of the participants were members of a union, 23.5% of them were members of non-governmental organizations other than unions, and 14.9% of them were members of political parties.

Considering approaches to political issues, it was revealed that 7.5% of them considered themselves completely left-wingers, while 14.9% of them considered themselves right-wingers.

For the question "How nationalistic do you consider yourself? Can you mark your positions in the table where 1 indicates the non-nationalists and 10 indicates the most nationalists," it was observed that while 22.5% of the participants marked 10, 7.1% and 8.5% of them marked 1 and 5, respectively.

For the question "How would you describe yourself?" while 19.9% of the participants responded as Sunni Muslims, 19.2% of them responded as the citizen of the Turkish Republic, 15.7%

of them responded as alevists, 12.1% of them responded as Turks, 12.1% of them responded as Kurdish, and 11.4% of them responded as Muslim Turks, etc.

Results

This section of the study includes the results on the perception of nationalism in Turkey. The data obtained from the scale prepared for the study were examined and presented in this section.

Table 1: Participants' answers to the question "How nationalistic do you consider yourself? Can you mark your positions in the table where 1 indicates the non-nationalists and 10 indicates the most nationalists?"

Valid	Frequency	Percentage
1	93	8.3
2	91	8.1
3	67	6
4	71	6.3
5	97	8.7
6	99	8.8
7	132	11.8
8	130	11.6
9	173	15.4
10	167	14.9
Total	1120	100

The question "How nationalistic do you consider yourself? Can you mark your positions in the table where 1 indicates the non-nationalists and 10 indicates the most nationalists?" was asked to the participants, and they were asked to score between 1 and 10. When the data were examined in this context, while 8.3% of the participants stated that they were non-nationalists, 14.9% positioned themselves completely as nationalists. Furthermore, it was observed that while 22.4% of the participants positioned themselves between 1-3, 23.8% of them positioned themselves between 4-6, and 53.8% of them positioned themselves as 7 and above.

Table 2: The Results of Pearson's Correlation Test Showing the Relationship Between Internal and External Threat Perception Sub-Factors in the Scale and Positioning Oneself as a Nationalist

Dimension		Internal Threat	External
How nationalistic do you consider yourself?	**R**	.205**	.229**
	P	.00	.00
	N	1113	1114

The question "How nationalistic do you consider yourself? Can you mark your positions in the table where 1 indicates the non-nationalists and 10 indicates the most nationalists?" was asked to the participants, and they were asked to score between 1 and 10. It was observed that there was a relationship between "How nationalistic do you consider yourself?" and internal threat subfactor and external threat subfactor ($p<0.01$). When the correlation coefficients were examined, it was observed that there was a low level of relationship. In this context, it was observed that both the perceptions of internal threat (we defined it as democratic initiative) and the perceptions of external threat were related to nationalism. In this case, it was observed that the hypotheses, there is no relationship between the level at which participants position themselves as nationalists and the perception of internal threat in Turkey ($H_{3.0}$) and there is no relationship between the level at which participants position themselves as nationalists and the perception of external threat in Turkey ($H_{4.0}$) were rejected and there was a relationship between the perception of internal threats and the perception of external threats and nationalism.

Table 3: Mean and Standard Deviation of the Items in the Nationalism Sub-Factor

Dimension	Item	N	Mean	sd
Nationalism	11	1120	2.83	1.28
	21	1120	3.11	1.35
	23	1120	3.64	1.54
	25	1120	3.86	1.21
	29	1120	3.16	1.48

When the participants' responses to the statement, "I think that nationalist discourses are increasing with each passing day (11)," included in the nationalism sub-factor, were examined, it was observed that they responded at the undecided level (2.60-3.39=I am undecided). It was observed that the responses to the statements, "I have observed that the use of symbols such as flags, pictures, and badges belonging to an ethnic group has increased in daily life (21)" and "Nationalism has become more and more ethnically based (29)," were also at the undecided level (2.60-3.39=I am undecided). However, it was observed that the statements, "The tolerance of people from different ethnic groups toward each other is decreasing with each passing day (23)" and "With the spread of security concerns, terrorism and hate speech, serious polarization occurs between different ethnic groups (25)," were responded at the level of I agree (3.40-4.19=I agree) by the participants.

Table 4: The Results of Pearson's Correlation Test Showing the Relationship Between the Nationalism Sub-Factor in the Scale and the Internal Threat and External Threat Sub-Factors

Dimension		Internal Threat	External Threat
Nationalism	R	.171**	.410**
	P	.00	.00
	N	1120	1120

The result of Pearson's correlation test showing the relationship between the nationalism sub-factor and the internal threat and external threat sub-factors is presented in Table 4. As a result of the analysis, a significant relationship was found between nationalism and the internal threat ($p<0.01$) and external threat sub-factors ($p<0.01$). It was observed that the relationship between the nationalism sub-factor and the external threat sub-factor was higher compared to the internal threat sub-factor. Although the level of relationship between the nationalism sub-factor and the internal threat sub-factor was low, the hypothesis "There is no relationship between the perception of the rise of nationalism and the perception of internal threat in Turkey ($H_{1.0}$)" was rejected, and the relationship was found to be present. Moreover, it was observed that the hypothesis "There is no relationship between the perception of the rise of nationalism and the perception of external threat in Turkey ($H_{2.0}$)" was also rejected. In essence, it was observed that there was also a relationship between the sub-factor of perception of nationalism and external threat perception sub-factors.

Conclusion and Discussion

In this study, nationalism in Turkey and the dynamics affecting it were examined. The main argument of this study was that nationalism was affected by the perceptions of internal and external threats in Turkey. Here, the perception of nationalism was divided into two in the study. The first one was the participants' perceptions of how nationalistic they felt, and the second was their perceptions of whether or not nationalism is on the rise. While the perception of the constitutional arrangement, which was defined as a "democratic initiative" by Beşir ATALAY, who was the Minister of the Interior of that period in Turkey, and made especially for different ethnic groups in Turkey, and as a result of this arrangement, the perception of some segments in Turkey that it might lead to separation and might threaten public order/safety were determined as the perception of internal threats, the perception of the commitment of international companies to international law

along with the process of globalization, Turkey's transfer of some of its sovereignty to structures such as international non-governmental organizations and international organizations, and considering the economic, military, and political effects of the globalization process as a threat was determined as the perception of external threats. In this study, the perceptions of internal and external threats were limited within the framework of these two elements.

A scale was developed to test the main hypotheses of the study, and it was subjected to a number of tests so that it would be reliable and valid. Then, the scales were applied to the participants determined by the stratified sampling method, and the hypotheses were tested. The results obtained in this context were as follows:

A relationship was found between the participants' self-perception of nationalism and their perceptions of internal threat and external threat. Furthermore, a relationship was also found between the participants' perceptions of nationalism, internal threat, and external threat, which are the sub-factors of the scale prepared. The relationship between nationalism and the perceptions of internal and external threats was found to be positive. In other words, the severity of the participants' perceptions of internal and external threats increased as the level of nationalism increased.

Within the scope of the Copenhagen criteria and EU harmonization process, some reforms in the field of minorities, freedom of expression and thought became taboo in Turkey, and it was observed that there were changes on some issues. These changes were discussed by the public for a long time and kept their place on the agenda. They were perceived by some skeptics as an issue of national security or even separation, and they attempted to influence the public in this regard. Especially in the process during which the concept of "Turkishness" was discussed, serious reactions on the nationalist front were encountered, and changes were accused of separatism. Indeed, in his speech on August 9, 2009, Devlet Bahçeli claimed that the democratic initiative was a tool for the implementation of scenarios on Turkey. Furthermore, Bahçeli argued that Turkey would be dragged into a disaster if it was not interpreted correctly. Moreover, in the panel titled "Neither Initiative nor Separation, One Whole Turkey," concerning the democratic initiative, Osman Durmuş, one of the other representatives of the nationalist front, stated that "This state is a national nation. The name of the nation that founded this state is the Turkish nation." In the EU report prepared by the Nationalist Movement Party in 2009, the reforms were criticized by referring to the democratic initiative, and in the continuation of the report, it was stated that these conditions put by the EU before Turkey could be put before a country defeated in the war, and it was stated that it meant the revival of Sevres.

Considering the sample of Turkey, it was observed that subjects such as proudly telling and glorifying the past, especially in the legends that have existed since the foundation of the Republic, and ruling the world in a period of history, were intensively discussed. This situation features that a Turk is not inferior to someone living in the developed countries that dominate the world today and that Turkey is not inferior to those countries and is superior in many respects. In the historical process, this phenomenon of being superior on the nationalist front in Turkey has continued to exist as an element of competition. The long-term non-admission of Turkey to membership by the EU has led to the perception of exclusion. When it is considered in this context, this perception of exclusion and the above-mentioned image conflict with each other, and it is considered that it can come to the forefront as an important factor in the emergence of nationalist reflexes in the aforementioned competitive environment because when such crises occur, the victories won in historical periods are constantly shared, especially in environments such as social media, and these issues are mentioned in discussion platforms.

Furthermore, considering the relationship between nationalism and the perceptions of internal and external threats, it is observed that a significant relationship was also found in many similar studies conducted in the world, as well as in many studies in the literature because communities that consider themselves under threat generally tend to come together. In this regard,

in cases when Turkey feels threatened internally or externally, it is observed that other political thoughts are generally left aside, and the groups stay focused on one thought. It is observed that the first frontal attack in this focusing was mostly made by the nationalist front (MHP and recently the IYI party). It is frequently observed in the sample of Turkey that other parties come together around this group as the magnitude of the threat increases.

When the perceptions of internal and external threats are examined, it can be considered that the immigrant problem should be a fundamental threat, as in the EU countries. When the subject of this study was determined, the migration flow to Turkey had just begun. However, a dimension that would pose a threat to Turkey did not emerge. Despite the intense migration flow today, it still has not become a factor that will trigger nationalism as it is in the EU countries. In this context, the immigrant problem was not evaluated in this study as a dynamic that triggers nationalism for the sample of Turkey.

Although Turkey allows much more immigrants compared to the EU countries, the fact that immigrants do not cause a nationalist fluctuation in Turkey, as in the EU countries, can be attributed to many reasons. While there may be some people who explain this situation by the fact that the MHP, which is in a position to mobilize the nationalist front, is a partner of the power, it can also be explained by the fact that the effect of immigrants on the order in the West is greater than in Turkey. It is considered that this situation should be a new research subject.

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