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How has the right-wing populism and identity surge in the 21ˢᵗ century undermined democracy and globalization

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HOW HAS THE RIGHT-WING POPULISM AND IDENTITY SURGE IN THE 21ST CENTURY UNDERMINED DEMOCRACY AND GLOBALIZATIONS?

INTRODUCTION

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War World, reasonably for many populaces worldwide hoped that to the end of bloody nuclear warfare threats and the beginning of a new aspiring era and hoped peace and prosperity be the way forward. Hence, despite some states' new challenges and state failures in the global south, globalization was still the new epoch's best takeaway, which resulted in some liberal theorist prophesizing the end of history (Fukuyama, F., 1992, p.56). The aspiring ideas were universal democratization with free trade underpinned by liberal thoughts.

In contrast, the notion is not without challenge. Systematic corruptions and culturally grounded pressures put the natives and, to some extent, believers in social democratic regimes who sought that the concept threatens statehood (Cooper, F., 2001, p.1). Hence, the new alternative of populism age, threatening globalization, is cropping up. The replacement preachers argue that globalization causes local inhabitants to fear their values and become subject to aliens' infiltration, resulting in losing jobs, opportunities, and cultures. A classic example of the new era can be the UK's Brexit to Trump to Macron to Erdogan. Even though Doni Rodrik (2018) argues that populism was growing slowly, there is not much literature available because of its newness.

Given the above contestations, this dissertation is interested in looking into right-wing populism vs democracy, which presumably pledges to undermine societal cohesion and hastens national borders. In premise, this thesis investigates "whether the right-wing

populism augmented by identity surge be the source of undermining democracy and globalization?"

Moreover, the study investigates a particular focus on the aspects boosting the surge the right-wing populism embedded within identity has affected democracy—besides, the views on globalization in the western world in the last few years. By looking at available literature and research in the public domain, the study examines how globalization has changed in the past few years. In so doing, the study first looks at the definitions of the contesting terms of the subject matter: right-wing populism vs democracy and globalization.

Therefore, the project explores how populism is overtaking globalization and causes fear and mistrust in the cohesion among communities. The project pays particular focus on the negative impacts that ethnic minorities could potentially encounter. In this regard, the project hypothesizes that institutions may become lenient to right-wing native majorities, which could augment equalities to be compromised. In answering the research question, the dissertation explores the following cross-cutting sub-questions:

- To what extent does populism hinder Western Europe's longtime embraced democracy or alter the recent globalization, which is the post-Cold War World product, affect the communal cohesions?
- To what extent do the authorities (in Europe and the west) overlook the demands from the native majorities and stick to post-WWWII welfare mechanisms?

In answering the questions mentioned above, this dissertation looks into the subject matter aspects: wright-wing populism, democracy, and globalization. In so doing, the study analyzes available published research studies and literature on this topic, analyzes the trends

in studies and literature focused on globalization, and answers whether globalization is on the verge of collapsing due to the surge of populism.

In unpacking the research, together with the introduction and conclusions, the thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter introduces the thesis, articulates the problem statement, and contextualizes the research and identifies research problems. This chapter emphasizes the increase of societal cleavage based on protectionisms augmented by corrupt elites, immigration, and cultural blending, to which antagonism becomes the outcome (Rewizorski, M., 2020, p.5). Chapter two intends to operationalize the literature review of the thesis—it theories Globalization and populism through literature study. In chapter three, the project aims to carry out research methods' analysis based on published research. Put it differently, the research strategy is based on the available literature reviews and administrative documents available in a public domain, including Brexit/EU documents and Trump's "crippling", as Ana Swanson of The New York Times (Dec. 8, 2019) put it and other relevant documentation. Chapter four will be the finding. This chapter demonstrates the nature of Europe's right-wing populism and whether or not the proposed surge of right-wing populism will affect societal cohesion and impinge on western democracy or potentially disturb globalization. Thence, chapter five will be the sums up the conclusion of the project.

1. *Literature review*

> *Globalization is a concept of the global age that encompasses interconnectedness of the world communities through trade and communication openly and predictably. It denotes border openings and flaw of goods and services without any form of hindrances (WHO website).*

Even though there are a plethora of newly available works of how populism, in general, and right-wing populism in particular threats to democracy, yet the phenomena are new, and the need for excavating further is necessary. Hence, there are still knowledge gaps, and this dissertation is to close such gaps by establishing that the democratic notion has achieved the extent of a global reach, considering that natives felt infringed, which resulted in the rise of populism. Therefore, this study examines the paradoxical clash between populism and democracy, which spill over to globalization.

The chapter opens up with the definitions of the concepts and terms subject to this thesis, followed by an analysis intended to close the knowledge gap of the subject matter. Hence, the chapter consists of three subsections: right-wing populism, democracy, globalization and analyses on how populism, cultures, and identity intermingle or clash.

1.1. The Concept of Populism

On the face of it, populism has opposing sides, among them right-wing and left-wing populism. The right-wing and left-wing populists have the commonality of describing the "other" to the oligarchies, the politicians, and political insiders and diversify other issues and thoughts. Both right-wing and left-wing populists require creating an atmosphere of antagonism between the 'people' and the 'other' and promise their followers that once the other is vanquished, there will be an abundance of recourses trickling down from the elites to the people (Panizza, P., 2005, p.5).

The populism subject has been increasing in the past few decades because of the fast-changing globalization and political landscape. Hence, we frequently see opposing sides in the political spectrum applying the term against each other to *denigrate statements and measures by* [other] *parties"* and using it loosely and incoherently (Mudde, C., & Kaltwasser,

C., R., 2017, p.1; Albertazzi, D., & McDonnell, D., 2008,p.3). Despite that, this dissertation retains several broad definitions from the literature. Francisco Panizza (2005) defined it as an ideology that presents "the people" –as a good force that *are locked into a moral conflict with "outsiders"* (Meyer, B., 2021, p.6). Hence, they envisage to put up such force against the elites portrayed as corrupt and selfish or based on being a particular class, ethnicity or nationality (Panizza, F., 2005, p4). More explicitly, Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell (2008) describe populism as:

> *"an ideology which pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous 'others' who are together depicted as depriving (or attempting to deprive) the sovereign people of their rights, values, prosperity, identity and voice"* (Albertazzi, D., & McDonnell, D., 2008,p.3).

Moreover, these movements are frequently led by charismatic leaders who claim to be the voice of "the people". Panizza points out that *"[a]n anti-status quo dimension is essential to populism, as the full constitution of popular identities necessitates the political defeat of "the other" that is deemed to oppress or exploit the people and therefore to impede its full presence."* (Panizza, F., 2005, p.3). To understand the right-wing, also known as nationalist populism, we first have to define populism as a concept and then look at the other types of populism, including left-wing populism and then look at the difference between left-wing populism and right-wing populism.

> *"It has been claimed that populist leaders manipulate their followers, blinding them to their true interests by a mixture of propaganda and charisma. And yet manipulation and ignorance are often in the eyes of the critic"* (Panizza, F., 2005, p. 29).

Left-wing populism, aka social populism, is an ideology that is closely linked with left-wing politics. It is also a movement that is anti-elite and anti-establishment that control the civil government. The leaders of social populism claim to speak 'for' the ordinary people. Social populism is the opposite of national populism, which linked with right-wing politics, and the leaders of national populist movements claim to speak to the people. Both left-wing and right-wing populists promise to give a voice to the people and stop influential elites who threaten their interest. The differences between these movements are who they consider the "elites" to be. National populist movements consider the government, bureaucrats, and politicians to be the "elite", while social populists consider the corporate elites as the "elites". *"but whereas the promises of left-wing populists (…) focus on limiting socioeconomic inequalities, right-wing populists stress the need to limit immigration and preserve national identity."* (Eatwell, R., 2018 p.47). The focus of this thesis is how right-wing populism affects democracy and social cohesions. Hence, this thesis will not deal with left-wing populism any further and will leave other scholars to elaborate. Henceforth, the term populism is synonymous with right-wing populism.

The right-wing, aka the national populism or the "people", are the native members of the nation and not the immigrants included. It also emphasizes traditionalism and paints immigrants and the elites as the "other". Therefore, national populist leaders strongly support restrictions on immigration and the tightening of borders.

Right-wing populists naturally characterize the elites as the "other". They view political, cultural and media establishments as the elites and accuse them of placing the privileges of the 'people' switched towards immigrants and companies of distant nations over the interests of "the people" (Panizza, P., 2005, p.3). Plus, corruption *"after a period of*

extreme stability, which was maintained not least by the existence of the Iron Curtain but of the Cold War," may have been augmented by the populist's argument (Hayward, J., 1996, p.4).

National populism has serious long-term potential, even if the popular argument against it being long-lasting is that national populism represents one last cry of rage from old white people in the west, that tolerant millennials will soon replace it. Goodwin and Eatwell say that progressive liberals point at how only one in four millennials approved of Trump's first year in office and pointed at how the centrist Emmanuel Macron had an extensive victory in 2017 (Eatwell, R.,2018,p.26).

However, plausibly, there are pushing factors for the populisms to arose. Jack Hayward (1996) argues that multiple factors propel populisms. These include inconsistency and lack of predictability of "*the class basis of political affiliation"* battered by partisan politics, which reduces the renowned traditional cultures that resulted in the political parties becoming so close to one another and baffling their traditional supports. Hence, *"Italy and of Japan…[a] countries which had virtually no chance of government for over forty years"* is an example; the legacy of the cold war, in which the EU was in a cosy political pact; and finally, the *"systematically corrupt"* significantly *"after a period of extreme stability, which was maintained not least by the existence of the Iron Curtain but of the Cold War."* (Hayward, J., 1996, pp.4-5). The counter to this is that when traditional parties refuse to hear and engage with the concerns of the populist, these movements would have the chance to be a long-lasting entity. Hence:

> *"right-wing populism is the consequence of the post-political consensus. Indeed, it is the lack of an effective democratic debate about possible*

alternatives that has led many countries to the success of political parties

claiming to be the 'voice of the people." (Panizza, F., 2005, p.56).

Plausibly, we are at the beginning of a new era of political fragmentation rather than nearing the end. The description that right-wing populist support comes wholly from angry white men is wrong because it glosses over the fact that many young people are also open to the ideas of national populism: an ideology that is thought-provoking subjects in western democracies and scholars since the start of the 20th Century (Eatwell, R., 2018, pp.8-11).

Therefore, whenever a movement invokes the people's name and tries to appeal to a group that feels disenfranchised by the elites, it is safe to call the movement populist. In modern times politicians always claim to embody the people's will and speak directly for the people; this makes it hard to distinguish populist movements from non-populist political movements. Nonetheless, what makes populist movements different from the non-right-wing-populist moments is the antagonism that right-populist movements bring. Panizza (2005) writes that *"The populists are well aware that politics always consists of the creation of an 'Us' versus a 'Them'. In its extreme form, antagonism may include an element of physical violence."* (Panizza, F., 2005, pp. 5-6).

1.2. Right-wing Populism in the 21st Century Europe

The rise of the unanticipated electoral success of Jean-Marie Le Pen and Pirn Fortuyn in France's presidential election and the German parliament, respectively, in 2002 was an eye-opener for both the voters and politicians in the traditionally tolerant western Europe, and thus regarded as a threat (Mouffe, C., 2005, p.50, ed in Fransisco Panizza).

More to the point, the win of the Five Star Movement in Italy's election (2009), the USA Oval Office sworn in by Donald Trump (2016), Brazilian right-wing populist President Jair Bolsonaro's win (2018) and the UK's infamous exit from the European *have brought the word "populism" out of the annals of academic journals and into the headlines"* (Kyle, J., & Gultchin, L., 2018, p. 5).

Besides, the rebuff of President Donald Trump in acknowledging defeat and election results or at least show courtesy and follow traditional custom in attending the famous takeover ceremony of the new president and destructions of public properties to which his supports sought *"to weaken the institutions and norms that underpin liberal democracy, such as the rule of law, loser's consent and the peaceful transfer of power"* (Meyer, B., 2021, p.4). Congruently, these nativists organizations had the commonality of dismissing the 'other' from the *"political spectrum"* and means of the state (Jasper Muis, J., & Immerzeel, T., 2017, p.910).

Meyer writes that populism is the voice of modernity's past. He means that it is the struggle to maintain the kind of world the people subscribe to it knew (Meyers, T., 2020, p.71). It is not inherently anti-modern; instead, it wishes to hang on to a previous form of modernity. Many populists desire to preserve the rural society they grew up in. some aspects of populism he mentions are protectionism, nation firms, subsidies for well-connected industries, amateurish administration, and clumsy meddling with fields be left to professionals.

To sum up, right-wing populism is a new immigrant phenomenon in Europe, but the United States and Russia had had populism in the 19th century; Argentina sensed in the post-World War Two. Also, the old versions of populism were in confinement within state-level wherein the current phenomena have translational characteristics (Cox, M., 2017, p.10).

Michael Cox illustrates the anxieties of the European elite about the rise of this populism. He continues to say that:

> *"German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schauble has talked of a rising tide of 'demagogic populism', which if not dealt with frontally and decisively could easily threaten the whole European edifice. A Chatham House report came to much the same conclusion in 2011...The 'rise of populism in Europe'… remains the biggest threat of all to the continent's stability; a much bigger threat, …. than 'Brexit'.*

Meyers writes that populism causes stagnation in countries that are on their way to be modern or stops the further modernization of countries and gives an example of Argentina "Argentina was modern at least in term of its economic performance by 1900. It no longer is, because it could not manage the transition to the honest rational governance (...) and productive industry characteristic of third wave modernity" (Meyers, T., 2020, p.71).

1.3. Understanding Concept of Democracy

Democracy derived from the Greek word Demokratia. It is a mix of two words, demos which means the people and Kratos, which means the rule. Mixing these two words is roughly translated to *"rule of the people"* (Helena, C., 1999, p.1).

The word represents forms "*socioeconomic conditions as well as its entrenched state structures and policy practices"* of governance, trade, economy, ways of life intended to last long, and it is the accord for the most. It is a status that is the bedrock of the practice of many governments and international bodies, in which citizens (people) are the centre of decision makings with most importantly, *"elections fairly conducted and honestly counted".* Freedom

fighters and advocates for better life sought its attainment and hoped to benefit from it (Schmitter P., C., and Karl T., L., 1991, pp.2-6).

Hence, some other definitions of democracy are procedural democracy, liberal democracy, and social democracy. The procedural democracy definition recognizes the minimum requirement for upholding participatory competitive politics (Alkmar, M., 2005, p.19). That means the right to challenge and protect certain freedoms such as freedom of expression and the two more aspects of democracy: individual liberties and equality for everyone.

The liberal definition upholds all the parts from the procedural definition and includes protections for human rights. It also contains an institutional dimension that adds to the *"collective decision making"* (Alkmar, M., 2005, p.20). This definition, as Magnus Alkmar (2005) also put it, comes with the concepts of accountability and constraints of leaders *"Liberal definitions include an institutional dimension that captures the idea of popular sovereignty, and includes notions of accountability, constraint of leaders, representation of citizens, and universal participation"* (Alkmar, M., 2005, p.19).

The last definition this dissertation considers is that the social definition maintains the institutional dimension of the liberal definition and the rights dimension from the procedural definition but increases the rights to include social and economic rights (Meyer, B, 2021, p.6).

For the above reasons, democracy is desired and is now widely seen as the best way for the national government to govern worldwide. Today the concept of democracy is a highly contested concept, which "since there is not now, nor is there likely to be, a final consensus on its definition or full content (Alkmar, M., 2005, pp.20-219). The idea that democracy is a

form of rule based on collective decision making is the only thing that is recognized and uncontested (Alkmar, M., 2005, pp.20-21). More features into this collective decision-making idea have caused much debate on what democracy is and what it should not be.

Before the industrial revolution, most powerful nations were monarchies and were all governed by hereditary kings and queens and "the power to govern was believed to be a God given right, and the state was viewed as the private property of the ruling family" (Lenski, G., 2015, p.283).

In modern times, we have gotten as close as we can to real democracy: the representative form, where we choose a few people who make decisions for everyone else. This is what people refer to as representative of liberal democracy, and "those chosen must account for their actions to those they represent" (Helena, C., 1999 p.77). In some instances, the people may or may not exercise decision-making by voting directly on their given issues. In this regard, Lenski (2015) writes that complex societies can never be utterly democratic as equal participation by millions of people facing a multitude of issues is impossible (Lenski, G., 2015, p.284).

In some circles, democracy and populism have a common ground. For instance, like the centre gravity populism is 'the true people' or the people, the 'people' is also the centre-point for the promoters democratic. Hence, the notion of '[g]overnment of the people, by the people, for the people coined and famously *"pronounced by President Abraham Lincoln in his 1863 Gettysburg Address, could easily be accepted by democrats and populists alike by for democracy is the 'people'* is the central pillar of the democracy (Albertazzi, D., & McDonnell, D., 2008,p.15).

Despite the different explanations within the democratic polities, let this be summed up with Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl (1991) quote of Robert Dahl to potentially be the litmus test for genuine democracy to have the following attributes and qualities:

> *(1) "Control over government decisions about policy is constitutionally vested in elected officials. (2) Elected officials are chosen in frequent and fairly conducted elections in which coercion is comparatively uncommon. (3) Practically all adults have the right to vote in the election of officials. (4) Practically all adults have the right to run for elective offices in the government. (5) Citizens have a right to express themselves without the danger of severe punishment on political matters broadly defined. (6) Citizens have a right to seek out alternative sources of information. Moreover, alternative sources of information exist and are protected by law. (7) Citizens also have the right to form relatively independent"* (Schmitter P., C., and Karl T., L., 1991, p.9).

Even though democracy is the only *"fundamental standard of political legitimacy in the current"* (Held, D., 1997, 251). Yet, there are fallacies that democracy is more efficient than other forms of polities, including economy, administratively, disciplined, consensual, stable (Schmitter P., C., and Karl T., L., 1991, p.14). The following subsection discusses the causes and effects of this overlap.

1.4. Concepts of Globalization

> *Defining globalization is a challenge because it simply means "a lot of different things to a lot of diffe*rent people" (Sabanadze, N., 2010, p.3).

Globalization is a term widely discussed and diversely described among scholars, policymakers as well as laypeople. Thus its concepts include economic interconnectivity among states and polities, processing transfer of systems and spreading knowledge across borders with integration, interdependence, multilateralism, and openness. (Sabanadze, N., 2010, p.4).

From the outside, the Union of Europe as being one polity, the flourish of communications and networking groups, and passably of ease in the global reach that we all experience is beyond doubt. Hence, the string of global connectivity.

The globalization concept became a crucial factor at the beginning of the new millennium. The WTO came into being, which resulted in the "*Doha Development Agenda*", whose initial focus was to undo the trade obstacles countries in the global south face, but thence extended to facilitate global trade (UKEsseys, 2018, p.1). UKEsseys (2018) continuous to cluster globalization into three aspects: economic aspect intended to facilitate the allow flow of trades across borders and nation-states; to share the burden of instabilities among nation-states, including refugee influx caused by political tensions and thus ponder that the one discomfort of the nation to be able to overspill others; and socio-cultures to intermingle.

Notwithstanding that global connectivity through digitalization and communication is thriving worldwide, and it is in everybody's eyes, yet globalization is not free from critiquing. One of the works from leading critiques on globalization, Walden Bello and John Feffer resonate with how aspects of globalization as a *"greedy tool … meant to rev up national markets",* and promotes the trade and economy of the wealthy countries to flourish over the expenses of the poor and underdeveloped countries through the exploitations (FPIF, 2009,

p.1). While also weakening other cultures *"over the American and Western culture spread all over the world"* (UKAsseys, 2018, p.4).

Nonetheless, on the one hand, a result of communications, including easy transportations, digital networks and otherworldly connectivities, made the world a global village that everyone can witness and realize globalization. While on the other it had created considerable anxieties, including (1) inequalities whereby the powerful entities can exploit the weak, and (2) because of the spread of cultures and immigrants, it contributed some native inhabitants in the western world to feel the fear that their wealth is on grabs and thus be subject of share with the people with different cultures and religions of afar lands.

The thesis argues that the globalization and democratic aspect have contributed populism to growth and thus threatening the democratic culture of the western world, which is the topic of discussion in the upcoming section. The following section converses how has globalization/democracy on the one side and populisms on the other interact, and these interactions affect social cohesions.

2. *Methods of Research*

This research intends to operationalize theories of globalization and populism through literature study. The project aims to carry out analysis based on published researches. Moreover, this research's strategy will be based on the available literature reviews and administrative documents available in the public domain, including Brexit/EU documents and Trump's "crippling", as Ana Swanson of The New York Times (Dec. 8, 2019) put it. I will analyze available published research studies and literature on this topic and analyze the trends in studies and literature focused on right-wing populism on the one hand and democracy and

globalization on the other hand. While also answering whether the latter is on the verge of collapsing due to the surge of populism.

2.1. Research Design

This research is to establish the analysis of the three interrelated concepts that are the areas of this study: populism, democracy, and globalization. The research pays particular emphasis on how the populisms surge can impede Europe's social cohesion and threaten democracy, a social life that Europe pioneered. This research relies on works of available literature.

To understand the concepts of globalization, democracy and populism, I found it appropriate to conduct a literature exploration. The terms and concepts are already being studied thoroughly in the modern political environment in this field. I used keywords such as 'concepts of globalization and democracy' versus 'concepts of right-wing populism' on google-scholar and looked up books and articles on the above aspects. Hence, it was relatively easy to find sources and materials that answered the search questions looked at, and the result was contradictory sources.

This is because the topic I chose is a scorching topic right now, and many scholars are trying to figure out how to research this. However, because of the newness of the phenomenon, there are knowledge gaps on how populism impacts Europe's community cohesion to which this research intends to close.

The following books and journal articles are central to my dissertation text: National Populism The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy (Roger Eatwell, Matthew Goodwin, 2018); Populism and the Mirror of Democracy (Panizza, Fancisco, 2005); Cultures, Nationalism And

Populism (Thomas Meyers, Jose Luis de Sales Marques, and Mario Telo, 2020). Survival of the European (Dis) Union: Responses to Populism, Nativism and Globalization (Theodore, J., 2019), Populism Versus the New Globalization (Axford, B., 2021), Globalisation and Populism in Europe: The economic and political tasks of domestic institutions (Obermann, M., 2020), Backlash Against Globalisation and the Shadow of Phobos (Rewizorski, M., 2020). The Rise of Populism and the Crisis of Globalisation: Brexit, Trump and Beyond Author by Cox, M., 2018.

I read national populism, the revolt against liberal democracy (2018), written by Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin. This book spotlights how national populism is now a serious force and a movement we need to take a step back and study more profound, and it also showed how many had neglected the topic of populism and national populism specifically for decades.

Furthermore, it also gave me a sneak peek at how many scholars and people who study this topic might have some biases based on their political ideology. I chose to rely a lot on this book as it was one of the newest books about this topic. It was also one of the first books I read, so I used it to verify claims from the older books and journals I read. The book also gave very detailed statistics on who voted for Brexit and who voted for Trump, which was harder to find on the other books, so I relied heavily upon it.

In unpacking, aside from the introduction and conclusion sections, this research will consist of a literature review and analysis sections. The first part looks at aspects and types of populism and thence pays particular attention to the literature of right-wing populism. It then converses about the literature in aspects of democracy. After that, the research focuses the literature on aspect and descriptions of globalization. The second part of the research will

analyze how populism surge affects democracy and creates societal cleavage in Europe and how aspects of globalization were the cause of the populisms to growth.

2.2. Scope of the research

The research focuses on how right-wing populisms have affected and may be a threat to the values of coexistence founded by western democracy. Moreover, the research relies on available literature reviews concerning right-wing populism, democracy and globalization.

Timewise, the research is delimited to the period of the 21st century. That, however, does not mean it is only offering only the literature on works of the 21st century alone. Besides, geographically the research focuses on Europe and western Europe in particular.

3. Finding

"DEMOCRACY AND globalization go hand in hand. So say those impressed by the opening to the world economy of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe following the demise of Soviet-led authoritarianism" (Eichengreen, B., & Leblang, D., 1997, p.11).

In some circles, As in the above quote, globalization is a subset of democracy. Nevertheless, globalization is theoretically a contested term by two major scholarly groupings. The former part among the scholars argues that the *"integrated global order"* and the latter argue that the new phenomenon is temporary and the only stateness is the way forward (Held, D., 1997, p.252).

3.1. How does globalization influence populism?

The process of globalization has brought new, more profound and continued growth in world wealth and growth of high performing economies. However, at the same time, this has

come together with problems such as imbalance of power and unevenness of economic growth and other problems such as the refugee crisis "people in developed countries, for example, complain that workers have taken their jobs in developing countries and that international refugees have derailed their lives" (Meyer, B., 2021, p.154).

A great example of this was Britain's referendum of withdrawing from the European Union. Everyone agrees that the refugee problem hugely influenced the referendum results. Some countries witnessed the phenomena whereby many of its people split into those who are support globalization and those who oppose it.

Another problem that has driven the west into populism is the gap between the rich and the poor. As Meyers writes, *"While the economy as a whole may have burgeoned remarkably, the poor do not feel that their situation is better because they compare it to that of the rich, their experiences and feelings differ profoundly from those of economic elites"* (Meyer, B., 2021, p.154). This phenomenon has resulted in many people having been left with the feelings of being unable to benefit. Moreover, some others even felt like they have endangered their prospects from the changes brought by globalization. This frustration is also amplified because traditional parties refuse to engage with these issues and have instead argued that this evolution is a necessary one with no other alternatives.

This frustration and angst have been used by populists such as Marine La Pen to appeal to the people who feel worried that globalization will take everything from them because many people feel that globalization threatens national jobs and companies. The *"People from lower-middle class and working class were twenty points more likely than the upper middle class to feel under threat from globalization"* (Eatwell, R., 2018, p.197).

The fear of globalization by the right-wing populists, which seem to be the turn of Europe now, made them behave in a way that causes concern about Europe's democracy. Michael Cox (2017) makes a catalogue of scholars and politicians who showed concerns about how right-wing populism is the biggest threat to the coexistence of European societies. The Cox collection also highlights that populism takes new treads, which changes its old nationalist character to a transnational one. Most significantly, Cox highlights assertions of the German minister, Schauble, who *"has talked of a rising tide of 'demagogic populism', which if not dealt with frontally and decisively could easily threaten the whole European edifice… Chatham House report came to much the same conclusion in 2011"* [and] *"The KPMG chairman, John Veihmeyer, [opined in late 2016] the 'rise of populism in Europe' was and remains the biggest threat of all to the continent's stability; a much bigger threat"* (Cox, M., 2017, p.10).

Consequently, these contralateral anxieties and fear from globalization met other predicaments, comprising the attention from the elite circles, including politicians from the traditional parties and media outlets whose approach has exacerbated the matter to the worst. For example, to appease the populist, the former president of the USA has claimed to be the chosen man that makes America great again and goes on:

> *"by saying things one is not supposed to say in polite company, taking pot shots along the way against globalism (un-American); the liberal press (fake news); parts of the judiciary and the intelligence agencies; climate change (a hoax); human rights (you've got to deal with the world as it is); the idea of democracy promotion; immigration; and of course the EU itself (BREXIT is a wonderful thing he opined after 23 June)* (Cox, M., 2017, p.11).

In the same token, Bernie Sanders, whose tone was way different and lenient to that of Donald Trump, has motivated Democratic supporters through populism. Jermy Corbyn claims to represent the *"many and not the few* [and] *Mrs May, sought to win votes of the white working-class"* (Cox, M., 2017, p.11). Cox also says that three narratives are competing on populism: (1) tactical intended for the *"demagogues [to] gain power and then hold on to it"*; (2) citizens feel fear for their *"identity born in more stable, more settled times"*, and (3) *"a great power shift"* from the west to east, which may be frustrating the west and create populisms (Cox, M., 2017, pp.13-16). The following subsection discusses what triggers populisms, followed by how its effects apply to societies.

3.2. How has the rise of the right-wing populisms influenced policies in Europe

Though right-wing populism is not a new phenomenon, now seems the turn of Europe aeon. Moreover, the phenomenon has influenced politics in western and eastern Europe alike.

For example, in western Europe, one year after its inception in 2013, the German right-wing populist party, Alternative für Deutschland (AfD, Alternative for Germany), has showcased the weakness of the traditional parties and elites who appeared to be leaning to more left, "unresponsive" to 'the people' by demonstrating against the "Euro crisis and in protest of the EU's bailout policies." In 2015, Frauke Petry, the new party leader, invigorated AfD party activities and staged demeaning messages against elites, media immigrants and xenophobia against Muslims (Thomas, G., 2016, p.3).

Jean-Marie Le Pen, France's Front National (FN) leader, like AfD, became famous through extreme right-wing rhetorics, including expectorating "with anti-Semitic elements." FN managed to cultivate the support of many among "middle classes, from small businessmen

and farmers, due to (neo-)liberal economic positions bordering on social Darwinism." Hence, under the leadership of the late Jean-Marie Le Pen, FN made some political achievements and remarkably reached "the first round of the 2002 presidential elections." However, when his daughter inherited from the party's leadership, she shifted the xenophobics "from antisemitism to an anti-immigrant, islamophobic position and a shift from economic liberalism to a policy of protection of the French people against globalization." She also had successes in the elections and increased popularity (Thomas, G., 2016, p.2).

In the UK, Nigel Farage, UKIP leader, became triumphant in the EU parliament and mounted pressure on the conservative government to change immigration policies and hold the famous Brexit referendum through the rhetoric of opposing the European Union and immigration (Thomas, G., 2016, p.2).

In Austria, the Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) leader Haider managed to attract and expand party influence and members by extending his FPÖ message of *"anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim"* the blue-coloured constituencies. In the 2016 Austrian election, Norbert Hofer, the FPÖ presidential nominee, mathematically received the most vote count though short of the required 50% to win, *"while the candidates of the conservative and social democratic parties which have dominated Austrian politics since the end of the war performed miserably"* (Thomas, G., 2016, p.3).

The influence of right-wing populism on Eastern Europe's policies is even more profound because of the inconsistency because of the vulnerabilities of the existing political parties. For instance, in Hungary and Poland, the right-wing populist incumbent governments of 2010 and 2015 curtailed media, squabble liberalist, and Poland marginalized non-Catholics (Thomas, G., 2016, p.3). The phenomenon is limited to Europe, notwithstanding.

Right-wing populism in Turkey is not a new phenomenon, but exploitation bolstered by the incumbent president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and *"rests on anti-elitism and nativism"* share similar characteristics to Europe's right-wing populism of 'us vs them' claim. However, the Turkish populism target and shows seething on ethnic minorities, including *"non-ethnic Turks – primarily the Kurds, but also the Armenian and Jewish minorities, and secular elites,"* whom they accuse of being "pro-western" (Yesil, B., 2020, p.338).

Make no mistake, notwithstanding. Turkey has a culture of populism, and Erdogan's populism is not a confined one. There are multiple organs asserting populists operating in Turkish territories, including *"rightist, leftist, Kemalist, neo-, ultra-, pan-Turkic, Islamist, etc.,* [because] *"nationalism is a key pillar of socio-political and cultural life in Turkey, making the protection of national unity and territorial integrity a priority above all else* (Yesil, B., 2020, p.338)*."*

To sum up, in comparison to older and other populisms, Europe's right-wing populism has its own oddities as it braises parties and political leaders, unlike its predecessors. Hence, the following subsection, however, looks at factors that are feeding populism to rise.

3.3. What has triggered the European populisms to rise?

The rise of Europe's right-wing populism has a linkage of aspects mainly concerning economic, social, and failures from political elites overemphasized by interest groups to gain particular goals within the society. It then goes on through rhetoric messages and propaganda that *"ranges from persuasive politics to a dangerous agenda"* and creates societal cleavages (Aiginger, K, 2020, p.38).

Karl Aiginger (2020) wrote that four factors shove the rise of Europe's right-wing populism. These include concerns generated by the velocity of the changes created by global connectivity resulting from some particular European countries' economic failures and cultural issues, which parts of native Europe's societies felt threatened and failures of the governance.

With respect to economic aspects, the 2009 credit crunch that resulted in uncertainties in the livelihoods of the working-class, the rise of unemployment, especially youth employment, the *"rising income inequality among individuals, but also increasingly across regions, is a driving force"* and inequalities between the communities inhabited in the centre and periphery to which peoples in the centre had had a better chance in accessing national resources paved the way for populists' messages be heard by working-class and vulnerable parts of the societies; the agrarian in particular (Aiginger, K, 2020, p.39).

Concerning aspects relating to the cultures influencing what is fueling right-wing populism rhetoric and messages include the speed and acceptance of the societal changes, among other things, gender equalities, sexual and relationships, immigration, political correctness, equal payment among the genders, and other aspects of social privacy intrude by the security sectors such as CCTV cameras and *"speed limits"* (Aiginger, K, 2020, pp.39-40).

Moreover, the tempo of changes in the ordinary European people generated by globalization and accommodated by democratic norms seems immense. For instance, generation after another, Europeans experiences a change of values and endurance of cultures and convictions that are different from their parents or grandparents (Aiginger, K, 2020, p.40). These clashes of ideas seem to contribute the breeding ground for the right-wing populist's advocacy.

Lastly, but not least, failures of economic and community pledges made by politicians during elections also contribute to the rise of the right-wing populists in Europe. Besides, the global interconnections favour the wealthy and thus, immigration and free movements of the trade from the afar lands cause threats of the small business and create the thoughts of immigrants as a predator competing with them with their shares and opportunities, including jobs and welfare. Hence, if anything goes wrong, the blame goes to immigrants (Aiginger, K, 2020, p.40). Even though Karl Aiginger (2020) factors contribute to explaining the rise of right-wing populism in Europe and this research found plausibly, the research does not argue that limiting these is the only factor causing the surge of populism in today's Europe.

CONCLUSION

Right-wing populism is not a new phenomenon globally. For example, the United States had experienced a century before whereby countries in American Latin tested during the post-WWII. However, Europe's right-wing populism, though it has similar characteristics of 'us vs them', is far-fetching, and its ramifications may impact democracies that Europe relish and, by extension, affect globally.

The collision of right-wing populism on the one side and democracy and globalization on the other side seem to be inevitable in several areas and issue. First, an essential tenet of democracy is inclusivity, liberty, freedom of expression, serving people equally without prejudice. In contrast, the belief in "us vs them," which is the main principle of right-wing populism, contradicts democratic values. More importantly, both democracy and right-wing populism target "the people" to be their focus. On the one hand, democracy aims for people through the foundation "by the people for the people." While on the other hand, right-wing

populism is also based on "the good people", which is white inhabitants of any particular country according to their standpoint. The collision of these paradoxes is hardly avoidable.

Second, the threats of right-wing populism currently go towards immigrants, particularly Muslims and ethnic minorities. Populists regard these groups as a threat to European values and bring their lands unfamiliar cultures and religions different from their parents. The fear of this can aggravate the call of right-wing populism linked with negligence of the political class plays the most prominent role. In contrast, because of the democratic values, Europe has been the promised land for almost everybody that felt being oppressed globally. These contradictions also cause right-wing populism and democracy to remain at a distance and irreconcilables.

Third, freedom of movements for the people and goods is a core issue for the European Union, which also seen by many as an exemplary example of globalization, and the realization of the democratic pledge exacerbates right-wing populism's anxieties and creates them to have more fear for getting employments and overriding their cultures.

Fourth, The above paradoxes also bestow the attraction for some western politician who may have been the heroes for many of the European populists. Social media, which is an aspect of globalization, has also helped the right-wing populism ideas reach globally. The former president of the United States, Donald Trump, who uncustomarily become a tweet warrior and dubbed mainstream as 'fake news,' is an excellent example of the interactivities between the right-wing populism and globalization tools.

Right-wing populism seems to have influenced Europe's centralist parties. Hence, such parties may have felt their position threatened and thus tried to accommodate the right-wing

populist's messages. Also, right-wing populist felt their policies and calls might go stray and thus voted for centralists parties.

The USA's 2020 record election turnout, which resulted in a record of more than seventy million people voting for President Donald Trump, who has not even the winner of the race, was remarkably an eye-opener about how democracy is significantly challenged. Another example can be some European politicians and perhaps leaders seeking power and political gains through populism. For example, as Michael Cox wrote that: "*Those who planned Brexit in the UK had a much better grasp of politics than their opponents. Meanwhile, across the Atlantic, the populists (unlike their critics) had a very clear plan*" (Cox, M., 2018, p.13). One classic example is how the UK prime minister Boris Johnson changed the side from remain to leave when the Brexit debate was progressing. For instance, Jessica Elgot, published in the Guardian Comments (16 October 2016), revealed that *"an Unpublished newspaper article written by foreign secretary before Brexit vote argues in favour of staying in single market."*

These factors are not the only factors that cause democracy with globalization to collide against right-wing populism in today's Europe. The credit crunch of 2009 and economic uncertainties and the failure of their pledges by politicians also have a significant breeding ground for the right-wing populism to rise in Europe, notwithstanding.

Therefore, how does Europe reconcile her democratic values begs the answer. Even though this answer is before every academician and policymakers that operate in political science and international relations discipline, and the need for remedies is paramount, this thesis is no different and sought the following suggestions as a way forward. First, one of the major factors that fuel right-wing populism messages and rhetorics is politicians failing to fulfil pledges. They are making some of the unattainable promises only to maximize their

significance. Therefore, democratic advocates need to change this culture and thus acknowledge that it is vital that politicians pledge attainable promises.

Second, economic experts, other academicians, and politicians make assurances that the integration of communities makes societal cohesion and benefits individuals rather than antagonisms among societies.

Third, the mainstream media act reasonably and try too hard to avoid fueling commentaries that are harmful to parts of society, such as xenophobics, bigotry and anti-Islam rhetorics, which are also detrimental to the democratic norms, and instead to balance and proportionality among communities. Hence, to rationalize issues that are the interest of all but can be interpreted as material for right-wing populism.

Fourth, ethnic minorities and new immigrants, including those with religions that are new to the inhabited country, to appreciate the cultures of the new home and try to understand the feelings of the host natives. Again, media, politicians, and academicians are to play a positive role in linking civilizations. In this regard, new immigrants and people with different cultures also retain anxieties towards how the peoples of the new home would perceive. Therefore, these fears should not overtake potential harmony that can benefit everybody.

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