



## **Hoş Geldin Kültüründen Popülizme**

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### **Öz**

*Dünya üzerinde her yıl milyonlarca insan savaşlar, iç çatışmalar, zulüm, şiddet olayları ve hak ihlalleri nedeniyle yaşadıkları yerleri terk etmek zorunda kalmaktadır. Ülkelerindeki iç savaştan kaçan Suriyelilerin yaşadıkları zorluklar, Almanya halkının mültecilere yönelik bir “Hoş Geldin Kültürü” oluşturmaya ve Almanya kapılarının mültecilere açılmasına sebebiyet vermiştir. Ancak, savaşın uzaması ve mültecilerin popülist söylemlere konu edilmesi sonucunda bu Hoş Geldin Kültürü zamanla erozyona uğratılmıştır. PEGIDA ve Almanya için Alternatif Partisi gibi popülist söylemleri kendi çıkarları için kullananlar kendilerine gün geçtikçe daha fazla sempatican elde etmektedirler. 2017 Federal Parlamento seçim sonuçlarına göre aşırı sağ Almanya için Alternatif Partisi Federal Parlamento'ya ilk kez girerken popülist söylemlerini Parlamento çatısı altında yürütmekte ve araştırmalara göre oyunu arttırmaktadır. PEGIDA ise mitinglerine daha fazla katılımcı çekmeye ve adını Almanya dışında da duyurmaya başlamıştır. İçeride gördüğü destek popülist söylemler sonrası gittikçe azalan mülteci yararına politikalar, Avrupa Birliği'ne üye ülkelerin Almanya'yı bu konuda yalnız bırakmasıyla daha da fazla tartışılır hale gelmektedir. Popülistlere karşı içeride oy kaybeden ve dışarıdan da istediği desteği bulamayan Alman Hükûmeti kendisini bir kısır döngü içerisinde bulmaktadır. Bu döngüden çıkmak için önerilen alternatiflerin hayata geçirilmesi ise popülizm ile yıpratılmış Hoş Geldin Kültürünün sonu anlamına gelecektir. Çalışmanın amacı; popülist söylemlerin, uzun vadeli, geleneksel söylemlere karşı etkisini Almanya vakası üzerinden incelemektir. Bu inceleme sonucunda özellikle mülteci krizleri, yabancı düşmanlığı gibi yakın dönemdeki gelişmelerin popülist söylemlerin etkisini artırarak aşırı sağ partilerin oylarını arttırmasında etkili oldukları gözlemlenmektedir.*

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: 03.09.2018

Kabul Tarihi/Accepted : 23.05.2019

DOI: 10.17134/khosbd.640368

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**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Hoş Geldin Kültürü, Popülizm, Mülteci Krizi, PEGIDA, Almanya İçin Alternatif.

## From Welcome Culture to Populism

### Abstract

*Every year millions of people in the world are forced to leave their places because of wars, internal conflicts, persecution, violence and violations of human rights. The difficulties faced by Syrians who escaped from the civil war in their country have caused the German people to create the Welcome Culture for refugees. However, as a result of war and refugees being subject to populist rhetoric, this Welcome Culture has eroded over time. Those who use populist rhetoric such as PEGIDA and the Alternative Party for Germany for their own benefit get more supporters day by day. In 2017 Alternative for Germany entered the Federal Parliament for the first time in history, and now the Party runs populist rhetoric under the parliamentary framework and increases its vote share according to new researches. PEGIDA has begun to attract more participants to its rallies and to announce its name outside Germany. Support for politics for the benefit of refugees is becoming debatable, as a result of populist rhetoric inside and European Union countries leave Germany alone in this regard. The German Government while losing its vote share to the populists, finds zero support from the outside, is now in a vicious circle. Implementation of the suggested alternatives to get out of this cycle will mean the ending of the Welcome Culture deteriorated with populist rhetoric.*

**Keywords:** Welcome Culture, Populism, Refugee Crisis, PEGIDA, Alternative for Germany.

### Giriş

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## **Almanya'nın Popülizmle Yüzleşmesi**

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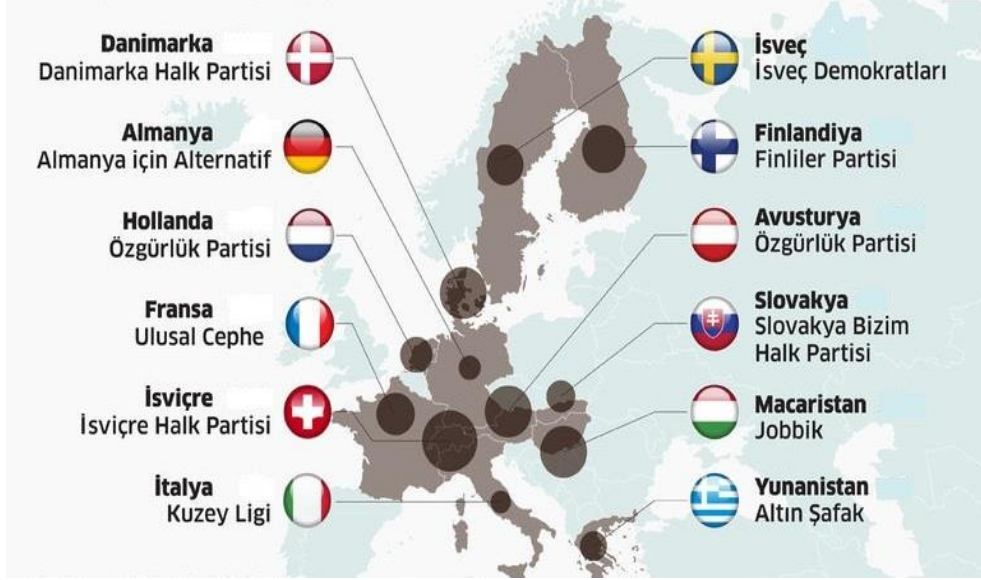
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**Kaynak:** POSITIONSPAPIER der PEGIDA. (2014). 0

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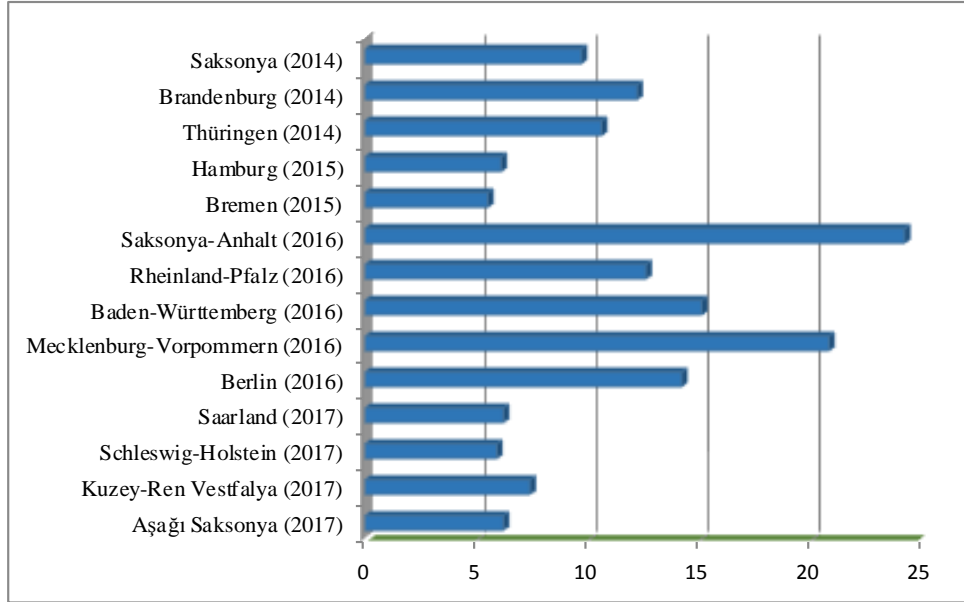
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Eyalet Parlamentosunda yer alan AfD

Tablo 3:



Kaynak:

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**Extended Summary**

Millions of people are forced to leave their country because of wars, internal conflicts, persecution, violence and violations of rights. 5 million Syrians have left their country and seek refuge in different territories just to save their lives. In the early phases of the Civil War, Syrians chose to pass the borders to seek



refuge for an interim period in the neighboring states like Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan. However, with the extension of the Civil War, Syrian refugees could not return to their country. The prolonging war caused Syrian refugees to spread from

phenomenon: Populism. This article takes populism into consideration to thoroughly analyze the shift in German perception on the Syrian refugees.

Populism, as a term, was born in the 19th century, in United States. It then grew up to its maturity in Europe passing through three phases. The first phase was in the 1970s, when the populist fronts were created in Denmark, Norway,

phase exposed itself in Sweden, Finland, Italy, Austria and the Netherlands. Marine Le Pen and Heinz Christian Strache use populism in the third phase in France and Austria respectively. The latest elections proved that extreme right parties in Europe have more supporters than before and thus a new populist phase is before us. In practice populist parties use exaggerative discourse to influence people. Therefore, populist parties are opportunists that benefit from simple events with the help of exaggerative discourse. However, people might still have a positive perception of populist parties, alongside a negative perception. Populist parties attract people, who think that other parties do not represent their viewpoint on political issues. These people have a positive perception of populist parties, which seem to understand their sensitivities about issues, such as refugees that come to their country to seek asylum. Extreme right populism, in this regard, uses an exclusionary discourse depending on otherness to get more supporters. In Germany, the far right parties started using such an exclusionary discourse, particularly after the refugee crisis, to show their opposition to what Germany (and

The Welcome Culture is the term Germany uses to define the general support given to refugees by German people. The harsh conditions refugees faced, causing the deaths of innocent people such as the three years old Aylan Kurdi, made German people ackno

past experiences about immigrant workers who were not born in Germany but willing to be German helped changing German perspective on refugees coming to Germany. In 2015, 6 out of 10 German people admitted that they were no longer

afraid of refugees, and 9 out of 10 German people stated their disappointment with the violent protests held against the refugees. According to 2015 researches 95% of supporting refugees.

Populism could not find a way if these positive images on refugees could remain so. However, the prolonging Civil War in Syria has not allowed refugees to return their home. Within time the German Welcome Culture started to become a burden no other country wants to share. Apart from the apparent external unwillingness, the internal opposition against the refugees becomes more visible

(AfD) Party. PEGIDA started public opposition against refugees with a small group of 400 people, in 2014. In 2015, after the terrorist attacks in Paris, 25,000 people marched with PEGIDA. The Movement is now attracting more and more supporters from different countries and chan

by using an exaggerative discourse. Although the Movement does not call itself as an Islamophobic movement, it claims that German culture and tradition might erode because of Muslims and refugees.

The internal demand for refugees to adopt the German culture becomes a

chanting the national anthem before the matches and retired from the national team because of fan protests and harsh criticisms against him. The reaction against such a successful figure, who was considered a hero in 2014 and an outsider in 2018, proves how dangerous and infectious populism can be. On the other hand, AfD showed that populism can also be very beneficial for political parties.

AfD benefited the most from the anti-refugee discourses in the German politics. In 2017 elections AfD received 12.6% of the votes to be the first far right party in the German Parliament since 1949, when the first German elections were held.

more and more people seem to support AfD since the last elections. According to the researches AfD may be the second largest party in the next elections, as the party seems to lead the opposition against the government and its policies toward refugees.

Those criticisms against its policies force the government to search for support not only from inside, but also from the outside. While politicians such as the Federal Minister of the Interior Horst Seehofer support policies inside Germany, Angela Merkel seeks for alternatives, which will involve European

partners. However, such alternatives may come with a higher price than expected. European states, rather than sharing the burden, try to find ways to deal with the European Union, thus they try to convince North African states to help them. Although North African states have not approved European plans yet, such plans may be the last nail in the coffin for orders for refugees.

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