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Corresponding Author	Yakup BULUT Prof. Dr. Hatay Mustafa Kemal University, Faculty of Administrative and Economical Science, Political Science and Public Administration Department ybulut@mku.edu.tr		
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Author / Authors	Yakup BULUT Soner AKIN	ORCID: 0000-0002-0838-4200 ORCID: 0000-0002-2403-8041	
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Avrupa Popülizmi ve Yerelcilikle Olan Bağları

Yakup BULUT¹
Soner AKIN²

ABSTRACT:

Localism is the process of redistribution or assignment of powers or functions concentrated in a central place or in a central authority. Today, localism is the allocation of responsibility, planning and implementation of change from the highest organizational level closer to the problem or area in which the activities are carried out. An example is the federal and federal fees that are shared with state and municipal levels of government. In the process of EU membership, many constituent powers implemented innovations such as alleviation of *statism*, populism and centralization, one of the basic values of previous periods, privatization of state-owned enterprises, and the establishment of a decentralized government style in state administration, advocating for conservative, nativist and traditional values at local, surprisingly in a populist style, promising a rapid economic development across regionalism, and thus maintained a relatively modern and prosperous level in integration period. In this study, the displacement of the relations of power over the localism, which is the return of the said integration processes, will be explained. The European elections of May 2019 were to be marked by the rise of populism. In order to approach an optimum ratio, the role of the urban power networks in the new era in social and administrative terms was discussed.

Keywords: Localism, Populism in Europe, European nativism

ÖZ:

Yerelcilik, merkezi bir yerde veya merkezi bir otoritede yoğunlaşmış güçlerin veya işlevlerin yeniden dağıtılması veya atanması sürecidir. Günümüzde yerelcilik, idari faaliyetlerin yürütüldüğü sorun veya bölgeye en yakın örgütsel seviyeden hareketle sorumluluk dağılımı, planlanması ve uygulanmasıdır. Batıda, eyalet ve belediye düzeyindeki hükümetlerle paylaşılan federal ve federal ücretler bunun ilk örneği olmuştur. AB üyeliği sürecinde, pek çok kurucu yetki, *devletçiliğin* azaltılması nezdinde popülizm ve merkezileşmenin azalmasıyla, önceki dönemlerin de temel değerlerinden biri olan devlete ait işletmelerin özelleştirilmesi ve devlet idaresinde merkezi olmayan bir hükümet tarzının kurulması gibi yenilikler ile uygulanmıştır. Şimdilerde ise AB’de yerel siyasette, şaşkıncı bir biçimde popülist tarzda muhafazakar, yerelci ve geleneksel değerlerin savunuculuğunu savunma eğilimi artmış; bölgeselcilikte hızlı bir ekonomik gelişmenin peşine düşmek ve böylece entegrasyon döneminden geri durup nispeten modern ve müreffeh bir seviyede kalma stratejileri yaygınlık kazanmıştır. Bu çalışmada, AB’de entegrasyon süreçlerine zıtlık arz eden ve iktidar ilişkilerinin yerelcilik üzerinde yer değiştirmesi olarak ortaya çıkan bu yeni tutum ve kökenleri araştırılmıştır. Mayıs 2019’da yapılan Avrupa seçimleri popülizmin yükselişiyle göze çarpmaktadır. Siyaseten temsilde optimum orana yaklaşmak için, sosyal ve idari açıdan atılan adımların rolü de burada tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yerelleşme, Avrupa’da Popülizm, Avrupa Yerelciliği

¹ Prof. Dr., Hatay Mustafa Kemal University, Faculty of Administrative and Economical Science, ybulut@mku.edu.tr

² Dr. Academician, Hatay Mustafa Kemal University, Faculty of Administrative and Economical Science, sakin@mku.edu.tr

INTRODUCTION:

The popularity of the issue of decentralization results primarily from the effects it has been awarded. It is assumed that decentralization measures will bring about success in state modernization, generate economic growth and achieve success in combating poverty. As another form of "vertical separation of powers", decentralization and elected local governments should provide additional protection against the concentration of state power and support democratic consolidation (Cao and Luo, 2013: 8). However, the reality that opposes this optimism often looks different. In many cases, local elites can secure key positions in the decision-making process and represent a hurdle in expanding local participation. Under these circumstances, the question arises under which conditions decentralization measures can contribute to further democratization and increased participation. The postulates made by the classical representatives are similarly represented by the representatives of modern science. In modern political and administrative science and economics, decentralization has been considered a "theme of fashion" not only since the early 1990s (Nicola, 2011). Already in the sixties, the administration assumed the role of an engine of economic and social development according to modernization-theoretical premises. Their dysfunctions were classified as a drag on modernization. Too much politicization, bankruptcy and the lack of innovative and problem-solving abilities was regarded as a key factor in the poor development success. In this context, decentralization should serve to overcome the clumsiness of the national planning bureaucracy (Mewes, 2011: 43). Decisions should be taken where they show their impact. Knowledge of local conditions could thus contribute to more effective planning of government actions. Decentralization should not only promote development, because it reduces the bottleneck effects of planning measures and bureaucracies, but also helps to stimulate the economic activities of the local population (Schmidt, 1995: 75). Overall, economists and administrators hope that decentralization measures can make the economic planning processes and the governance of the state more effective. Theorists of political decentralization, however, do not speak of administrative and financial components, but use the notion of transferring political power to indicate the comprehensive process of change within the political system initiated with political decentralization. The decentralization process for Europe, however, shifts only the power of decision from higher to lower units of the state administration system. An opening to society does not take place, and the tendencies to autotomize the administration are thereby reinforced. Power is simply split up among different places of administration without establishing social control bodies. Today, decentralization seems to be identical to localism in political discourse as the boredom of the center's unifying policies. Localism, formerly associated with subsidiarity principle, which was a basic concept in European Union public administration mentality, is now part of the populist discourse. European societies, frustrated by immigration and European enlargement and wanting a larger and single-handed nation, support this trend by giving populist propaganda support and enthusiasm in elections (Boswell, 2003: 625). In this study, the transformation of the concept of localism and the new form of rising populism in Europe are discussed and interpretations are made about their origins and future within the framework of a theoretical discussion.

1. European Localism

European Union is committed to greater and deeper centralization today. Localism in terms of administration gained a new meaning in 1980's integration steps, but in 2010s, it has changed its route to be alone and being apart from the whole union in the hands of regionalist, indeed, rightist wing in politics (Bressand, 2011: 71). Today localism is a concept for standing on their own feet, however, decentralization began to reach the meaning as staying among the members of Union. Looking at its recent history, as a product of socio-economic change in Western Europe, it can be said that the modern state, which emerged as absolutist monarchy in the 16th century, fulfilled three basic functions unlike the past (Raeff, 1975: 1233). The first of these functions is that the state establishes an order to secure the market mechanism. This order ensured internal peace and security of the market and ensured that the commodity flow reached the cities and markets safely. To do so, the state had to break the forces of local power centers and nobles and subordinate them to the rules of central government. In addition to maintaining order and security, the second main function is to have public funding to run the army and the judiciary. The modern state needed a permanent army to ensure internal peace and security against the outside, and a judicial mechanism to impose sanctions on disruptive activities. For these, an effective administrative mechanism for public finance is required. This second function of the modern state thus necessitated the formation of bureaucracy in the modern sense. The change in the organization of the state on space in the historical process can be explained by the change in the "structural" and "functional" aspects of the state (Wendt, 1994: 389). The structural aspect of the state is its organizational appearance, embodied as public institutions and organizations. Basically, the structural aspect of the state refers to the organization in the field of legislation, executive and judiciary. State bodies can also be organized at national, regional and local levels. In this context, the first of two important developments affecting the organization of the state on space is the emergence of

organizations such as the European Union that transcends the nation-state, and the second is the concept of governance (Ansell, 2000: 286). It is the globalization that expresses the structure and functioning of the nation state under the influence of supranational organizations and global capital. For example, this effect will make it obligatory to enter the European Union and may also lead to the establishment of regional development agencies in the provincial organization of the state (Farole et. al, 2011: 1096). The second factor is the localization, which weakens the centralized nature of the structure and functions of the nation state.

Multi-level governance as a product of decentralization is a concept that emerges within the deepening and enlargement processes of the European Union and is generally adapted to the organization of management on space (Hooghe and Marks, 2001). This concept basically emphasizes the increase of managerial levels and the changing nature of the relations between them. Under this title, the emergence of the concept and the use of the state appear generally in a way that represents the new developments in the field of organization of the state, and partly are related to this situation or the variations in the provincial organization of the state which are seen in some countries being member or candidate. Rather than the integration of the nation-states that make up the European Union, it is more appropriate to speak of a union of multi-layered network of administrative units (Medhi and Tipper, 2000: 180). The new concept is based on the idea that the European Union is a political system. However, this system does not have an internal political system, central and local administrations as in classical state structures. Multilayered governance primarily emphasizes that the administrative field is multi-actor. Two important pillars of this emphasis are the supranational and subnational levels (Ágh, 2010: 21). These levels include the private sector as well as the public actors. In this context, multilayered governance refers to the change in the relations between the administrative layers. One of the sub-concepts included in the concept of administrative decentralization is authorization. This concept can be defined as transferring some of the central functions to some non-public legal entities, voluntary organizations or private sector institutions and in some cases to an autonomous public institution with limited control of the state (Wollman, 2004: 649). As with the breadth of authority, this concept does not remove the responsibility of the center; because decision-making remains central.

The European Charter of Local Self-Government adopted by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe is the first multilateral legal instrument that defines and protects the fundamental principles that any democratic system of local government must respect (Mikheev, 2016: 620). The transition from a bureaucratic and centralized system to a democratic and autonomous mode of management requires a collective learning time of the new institutions by the social actors. The Charter is an international treaty. It therefore has an important legal value in that it obliges the signatory States to respect the principles it contains. It gives many items to conceptualize the local autonomy and communities covering the elites as well. Article 3, an interesting effort of legal conceptualization, states in its first paragraph it is meant by local autonomy within the meaning of the Charter. The principle of local self-government enjoys constitutional or legislative protection (Article 2). Article 7-2 of the Charter requires financial compensation corresponding to the costs involved in the exercise of the mandate, remuneration for work done and adequate social security cover. Article 6 (1) of the Charter lays down the principle of "administrative self-organization" by stipulating that local authorities must be in a position to organize their internal administrative structures with a view to adapting them to their specific needs and a concern for efficiency (Malloy, 2019: 107). The first paragraph of Article 4, entitled "Scope of local self-government", distinguishes basic and special purpose competences of local authorities. According to Article 5 of the Charter, "for any modification of the territorial limits, the local authorities concerned must be consulted beforehand, possibly by referendum where the law permits". With regard to human resources, Article 6-1 of the Charter provides, as we have seen, that "local authorities must be able to define the internal administrative structures they intend to acquire in order to adapt them to their specific needs to enable effective management. With regard to the means of financing, Article 9 of the Charter also lays down the principle of the autonomy of local authorities. In the first local elections after the Charter, the main issue concerned the replacement or renewal of the old elites. The politicization of municipal councils and mayors is variable across the Europe, now. In order to appreciate the degree of politicization of boards, one must take into account the possible presence of distinct groups (coalitions or fractions) within the board (Geddes, 2016). The reappointment of elected officials also became a function of the stability of the office and its president of all the European municipalities, from 1990s to 2000s, a function assumed by an elected representative, but never by the mayor. As in Western Europe, where there is no single institutional model, there is room for differentiation of experiences and ways of building local democracy. Each state builds its own system of territorial organization and its political society. At the level of local authorities, their articulation does not borrow mainly the path of politicization, but is expressed through more complex micro-social games and through other modes of organization, mainly associative. Article 8 of the European Charter of Local Self-Government regulates the right of the central administration to control local governments. Paragraph 1 of

the article stipulates that all kinds of administrative audits of local authorities may be carried out only in cases and methods determined by law or Constitution. Furthermore, Article 8, paragraph 2 of this Charter states that this audit may not only be a lawfulness audit but also a regularity audit. Along with the reform of local administrations; it is stated that internal and external audits will be conducted on local governments (Baltacı ve Yılmaz, 2006). It has been stipulated that this audit shall cover the compliance of the law and financial and performance audits of the works and transactions. Through these reforms, the authority's administrative tutelage authority has been transformed to a great extent and the judiciary audit, which provides auditing for compliance with law, rather than approving, stopping and changing the validity, which includes the supervision of appropriateness, has been satisfied (Rugge, 2003: 181). A closer look at the importance and attention given to decentralization by the political parties at national level in European countries reveals that decentralization has become a problem in these countries at different times and is the reason for different arguments reflecting the dominant values in politics. Culture in Europe expresses the inherent features of decentralization, and decentralized policies' own demanded aims are converting into new anxiety in local politics, which were used for propaganda in elections (Fiske, 1996). The Charter's articles as 5,6,8 and 9, seen above, which are mostly about the economic outcomes of being more decentralized, now as seen as the possible values which have high risks due to excessive expansion, immigration and supra-nationalist steps, as to populist discourse.

2. Localism or/ with Populism in Europe

Localism is basically the synonym of subsidiarity for UK policies. Indeed, the term as subsidiarity refers a management rationale on responding the needs in near local resources. Localism is not only related with management issue, but it covers the uprising value judgement for local items and actors, put forwarding them on agendas (Williams et. al, 2014: 2803). And lastly, decentralization is about, in this context, using the local or near acting, being far away from central units for power usage. In literature there was made an assumption that localism is a sub-school of European-American populism, and its ideology is according to him a combination of "ultra-nationalist, anti-leftist, and immigrant-bashing rhetoric" (Kaya, 2010: 88). There can be raised an example in which localism is a cultural or civic value rather than a value that supports ethnic understanding in national or local politics. Consequently, localism usually contains elements of populism and is a politicized form of racism. Populism generally manifests itself as radical criticism of the ongoing situation, but it does not have a strong political identity as a right-wing or left-wing movement (Stavrakakis and Katsambekis: 2014: 125). Populism has left-wing, right-wing, even center-leaning appearances, and this has not changed for the EU. Parliament elections are held by universal suffrage for all European citizens, taking into account the internal restrictions of each Member State (such as age or prison terms). The proportional representation is used in each European legislative districts (Rottinghaus et.al, 2003). The European Parliament members can't be elected nationally, they are locally in national or subnational constituencies.

In Europe, right-wing populism is an expression used to describe groups, politicians and political parties generally known for their opposition to immigration, mainly from the Islamic world and in most cases it has a Eurosceptic stance (Betz, 1993: 670). Populism right in the western world is generally, but not exclusively, associated with ideologies like neo-nationalism, the anti-globalization, the nativism, the protectionism and opposition to immigration. The ideas and feelings anti-Muslim and anti-Semitism serve as the "great unifying" between rightwing political formations throughout United States and Europe (Meer and Noorani, 2008: 207). Traditional views of the right, such as the opposition to greater support for the welfare state and a scheme of "more luxurious but also more restrictive internal social spending," are also described under the populism of the right and sometimes, they are called "welfare chauvinism. Regions of the EU where the demand for regionalization initially encountered opposition from the respective nation state were, in the 1980s, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland; the Brittany, Occitania and Alsace; the Basque Country and Catalonia, and finally South Tyrol (Hansen, 2017: 55). However, autonomous rights have now been granted to those regions on a large scale. The conception of a Europe of the Regions is based on the idea that in all states of the European Union Should give levels of statehood, which correspond approximately to that of a German state. Today, as a remarkable trend, there are examples of earlier, rational and technocratic structures in the world, including Europe or the United States, including populist politics in all regions, giving priority to an authentic people against dangerous foreigners, sometimes openly racist, sometimes on the borders of racism (Telò, 2013). We see the parties come forward. In the past, there was unity for the EU through decentralization, with the idea that local values would be valued. Now the European people, who have gained local consciousness, are struggling not to lose their heritage. Localism has been a trend that supports populist policies in the EU (Griggs and Howarth, 2008: 136).

Since its establishment, the European Union has faced regional differences both within the Union and within the member states. In order to eliminate the negative consequences of regional differences and to ensure economic integration, the Union has established the Regional Policy of the European Union (Anderson and Goodman, 1995:

609). The main purpose of the establishment of the EC, to increase productivity and accelerate economic development by creating a common market. However, while achieving this goal, economic activities were not evenly distributed among the member states and regions, they were concentrated in certain regions and thus development differences between countries and regions emerged. Regional differences at Community level are greater than differences at national level. In this case, the institutions led to failure, the local people to the complaints and politicians to populism. The effect of this triangle based crises is basically seen in latest elections (Keeble, 1982: 425).

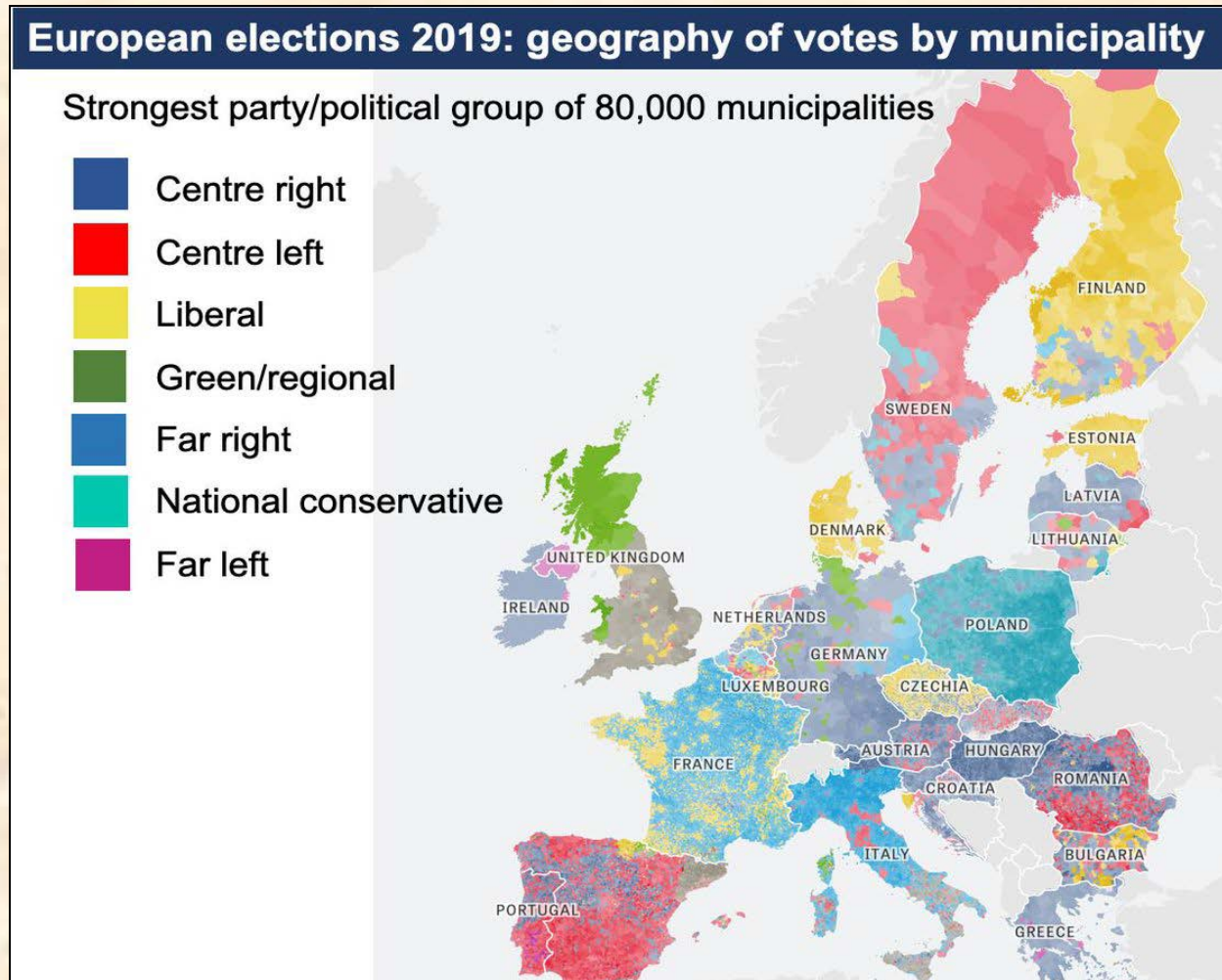


Figure 1. European elections' result in 2019: geography of votes by municipality (ZEIT, 2019)

As is seen in the above figure the center right and far right based political groups in EU, who mostly use populism strategy gained a high portion from municipalities as local voters after the recent elections in 2019. To be content, in a purely pragmatic way, to consider the party membership of the political groups in the European Parliament, possibly complementing it by their belonging to different partisan internationals. The behavior of the voters in the European elections are largely determined by domestic political issues and are in the party systems of different countries. At the regional level, participation rates in the highest European elections are often recorded in the largest metropolises or at least in their affluent neighborhoods than in the rest of the different countries. It is in Italy that the oppositions between participation rates are most striking at the regional level, between the north and the center on the one hand, and the south on the other, Rome occupying an intermediate position as is seen above (Reif et. al, 1997: 115).

One of the most well-known types of populism, which politicians use to make a united front and capture the majority, with non-ideological “public-oriented” discourses, is one of the most well-known types of populism. The movement of farmers who produce commercial crops and have fundamentalist economic desires is the 19th century. *US People's Party* (Wright And Carter, 1997) at the end of the period, as a peasant movements for livelihood conditions,

formations such as the Eastern European *Green armies or militias* in Eastern Europe after World War I (Gerwarth and Horne, 2011), fundamentalist agricultural movements formed by intellectuals who sadly romanticized the conditions of farmers and peasants working in harsh conditions, and the formations such as *Russian Narodnik* (Von Laue, 1954) have been found in history outside the European Union and are social events that show that populism affects localism.

Unless the decentralization approach for a unitary state gains a political nature and is a threat to the existence and survival of the state, such as mitosis, it may also serve as a reinforcing function for central government. For these reasons, the decentralization approach in management is advocated by a wide academic environment (Sewell, 2015). According to those who argue that a government that takes all decisions at the center will gradually become distant from the public, while it is necessary to establish a new administrative structure at the regional level, indeed, it demands the transfer of authority to these centers through one of the authority abandonment, authority width or decentralized/ subsidiarity based management styles (Ghemawat, 2005: 98).

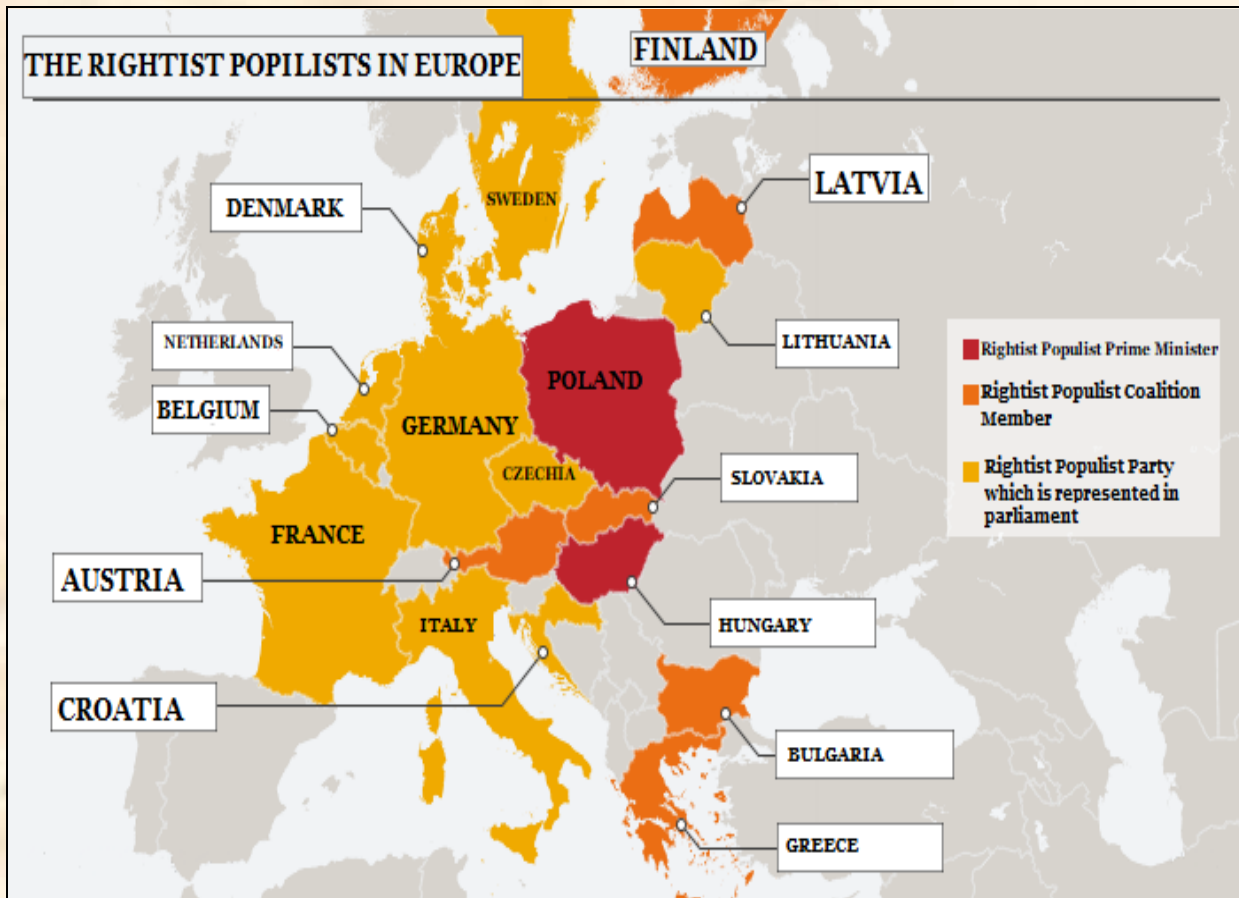


Figure 2. Rightist Populists ruling in Europe (DW, 2018)

In Europe populism generally has a Eurosceptic character, supported by rightist as is seen above map, showing the situation in the year 2018 for the month April, as to the German originated international broadcaster resource as *Deutsche Welle*. Right-wing populism stigmatizes the groups it considers dangerous for society, such as the least productive - generally foreign and believers of religions other than that of the majority culture and affirms the existence of conspiracies against the common good (Ruzza, 2019: 130). On the economic level, it normally supports a combination of liberal measures such as the reduction of taxes along with some interventionist measures such as protectionism. They also have in common a hostility towards immigrants, combined with xenophobic speeches. Right-wing populism contains programmatic elements that are part of its proposal, such as associating immigration with crime and the disintegration of the homeland, or the concern for citizen security (Betz, 1994: 111) In general, right-wing populism deploys welfare policies in the perspective of social control and citizen security and is characterized by the preeminence in its political discourse and in its electoral programs of the most easily

recognizable topics in right-wing thinking: the priority of security against equality, the tendency to criminalize and prosecute social problems and the construction of an exclusive nationalism, with ethnic or culturalism based dyes (Althoff, 2018: 342).

3. Is regionalism a new way for populism?

In Europe, then, in the mid-modern period, beginning around the 1960s and 1970s, critical regionalism emerges, placing the central concerns of modernity in a context of quotations, free from historical aspects but sees itself as an organic continuation of the local vocabulary of forms, thus distinguishing itself from the strict modernist currents that underlie a comprehensive universality of its expression (Eggener, 2002: 230). Regionalist populism is the populist decisions of the ruling groups in the guise of regionalism to provide political support. Of course, the concept of regionalism in populism should not be used without a clear definition of what it is. It is the necessity of democracy to fulfill the demands of the people and to meet their expectations. There's nothing wrong with that. If the decisions that meet these expectations of individuals are made, although it is known that the behaviors of individuals in accordance with these decisions can accumulate and cause a crisis in society, it can be claimed that populism can be made. European integration is thought to have an impact on separatist movements in the context of regionalization. However, there were other factors behind the demands for secession, apart from the regional policies of Europe. It is also necessary to look for the main reasons for the separation of the Scots and Catalans in the conflicts arising in their history and in the sharing of today's economic resources (Victoria, 2019: 580).

Regionalism, in politics, is the ideology and political movement that, while accepting the existence of a superior political power like the nation, seeks the specific defense of one of its parts, a region that is distinguished by its homogeneity based on ethnicity, the ideological and the cultural. The regionalism corresponds to a grouping phenomenon of countries geographically close, which aims to facilitate trade between them. It differs from multilateralism. The multilateralism is a concept used in the field of international relations. It is defined as a mode of organization of interstate relations. It involves the cooperation of at least three states with the aim of establishing common rules. It mainly concerns the institutionalized form of these relations. For the EU, in principle, the central states are the points of contact, but in the European treaties, the concerns of the regions within the EU with the institution "Committee of the Regions" the anchoring of the subsidiarity principle and the support of the Euro regions are given much consideration (Gal and Brie, 2011: 281). In addition to the new localism, the forms of political communalization include populist and regionalist movements. These very different phenomena need to be differentiated in order to make their overlaps and interactions transparent. While the often "Eurosceptic" populism is more a political communication style, some of the regionalist movements see themselves as engines of wider European integration. Throughout Europe there are now nationalist, populist and regionalist movements. Even two mother countries of democracy in Europe, France and the Netherlands, are today characterized by nationalist and populist currents (Brubaker, 2017: 1999). In France, the Front National celebrates electoral successes and sets the topics; in the Netherlands, politicians also drive the public debate with a kind of populist liberalism. In Germany too, new populist movements are emerging. In fact, the recurrence of populist waves in systems supposed to meet the demand of the people in a context of freedom and the search for the common good, questions. The subject is hot in Europe, where several countries are experimenting with the success or even coming to power of parties qualified as populists; but it concerns more or less all continents (Rydgren, 2015: 422).

4. National Populism in Europe and its effects at local

Populist leaders claim that the central parties are similar and cannot provide solutions to the problems of the people, whereas the real alternative is their own parties and their own parties are best defending the interests of the local people. Both nationalist and populists often prefer to hold referendums. Sometimes these referendums started to be seen even at the city level. Minority rights and the balance control mechanism are at the background. Nativism, that is, the protection of local people's rights and interests, is also reflected in the West as anti-immigrant or exclusionary policies towards ethnic and religious minorities. In spite of the efforts of EU countries to develop a common refugee policy, especially after the refugee crisis, these efforts seem to be fruitless. The refusal of EU countries to accept refugees has led to the growing of the refugee crisis in EU countries. Populists are anti-elite and anti-pluralist, while at the same time claiming to represent only the people themselves. Completely excluding populists is not a correct response since it means reacting to exclusionary populist policies in their own way. Populist parties claim to be the voice of the real people and position themselves against the elites of the order. The elites may include intellectuals, important business figures or politicians at the chosen center. Such parties have authoritarian tendencies and often have charismatic leaders and the majority's wishes are in the foreground. The economic losses and the feeling of

insecurity caused by the 2008 economic crisis, the immigration crisis facing Europe in 2015 and the securitization of immigration, prepared the ground for the rise of far-right parties as well as their participation in coalitions. Along with the racist, Islamophobic and xenophobic populist discourses used in European politics, the process has become increasingly articulated (Kedikli and Akça: 2018: 10).

As a negative term, a localist began to refer to xenophobia in Europe as opposed to the multicultural society, or especially to Muslim immigrants and to extreme nationalism (Ahedo, 2010: 689). In other words, we can define it as defending the attitude of mono-culturalism in which others from different countries and cultures are excluded. At this point, it is worth remembering that the local dimension reflects an anti-globalization, nationalist and protectionist view as well as the social dimension. As a version of nationalist populism for local level at most, the nativism is an ideology or political thought and social defending or favors those born in the land itself and therefore rejects the emigrants foreigners coming from outside. Nativism is one of the expressions of demographic nationalism where foreigners are never well received either by the whole of society or by any of the ethnic groups of that society when considering foreigners different from them, by geographical origin, religion or any other socioeconomic trait (Kaya, et. al, 2019: 3). Some populist parties find local political gains sufficient, while others compete with other parties at the national level. Looking at the rhetoric they use during competition, it is seen that the concept of people has a more ethnic meaning than the other parties. For an ordinary party, the people are equal citizens, while for populist parties, the people are the same community, one of us, not the others, a superior community. This point of view is more especially in extreme right parties.

CONCLUSION:

Following the Second World War, the European Union project, supported by the Marshall Plan of the United States in the field of economy and security, brought peace and prosperity to the continent of Europe, which has been grasped for centuries with war and competition, plus political alliance. The European Union, with a population of approximately 510 million, is the largest economy in the world (Karagiorgos et. al, 2019). The European Union is defined as a rising superpower because of its global influence. Populism was one of the most frequently discussed issues in the election campaigns that took place both in Europe and the USA. In the last elections in Europe, the so-called populist leaders were subjected to this classification in the context of anti-order, rather than the quality of political ideas. While the ideological shifts between the center right and the far right are in the focus of populism, it is remarkable that populist politicians maintain close relations with Russia (Archick, 2016). Some political parties in Europe, which are fed by populism, which contain protest and conservatism in nature, accept their communities as homogeneous. They see themselves as protecting the interests of both this structure and the people in this structure. From this point of view, they argue that they should stand out in political representation.

Populism is a method of popularizing its own political arguments by strengthening and mobilizing its own support mass by creating another or an enemy. The common feature of the anti-elitist political parties or leaders in Europe, which advocates and mobilizes the “oppressed” mass of the oppressed people against the rich and upper class elites in South America, is the common characteristic of the parties that are identity politics within the framework of xenophobia in terms of Europeanization or indigenusness in European countries (McKeneely, 2011: 23). While one side represents the rightist and fascist, the other side represents the leftist, Marxist and Socialist ideology, both examples claim that it is the real people, that the non-ones are not indigenus and serve contrary to the interests of the real people. Therefore, the common point that brings both marginal political currents together is the discourse of elite opposition, indigenusness and nationality. Therefore, the main discourse that populists use is based on the polarization of the real people and the other, even if they have emerged for different reasons and social dynamics.

An important part of populist discourse is the created political atmosphere. Rallies attended by thousands of people, heated speeches, enthusiastic slogans of voters, tools such as simple language used here, are some of the basic elements of populist discourse that enable people to integrate with politics. This situation has been observed intensively in Latin American countries, and in recent years it has increased in countries such as Germany, France, Netherlands, and Austria, where politics have little focus (Filc, 2015: 273). The most obvious example of this is the publicly heated speeches, intense slogans and banners adorning the streets during the election periods and organizing regular and intense demonstrations almost every week.

Right populists are observed to be intense especially in areas where foreigners live very little. According to the German example, it can be said that even the central and liberal parties resorted to populism during the general election campaigns in 2017 (Taggart, 2004: 277). One of the main arguments of almost all political parties should be mentioned that triggered the commitment and impact on Turks in Germany of Turkey's politics idi.bat the Islamic opposition's existential fears brought about by demographic decline with the decline in fertility in European countries that Turks in Turkey living in Germany. According to the populists, elite policy-makers, lobbyists and EU bureaucrats who determine the future of Europe come together in Brussels to identify the real people, namely the sole owner of Europe, on issues such as immigration, adaptation and fiscal policies that are not in the interest of the people they represent.

We see that racist and xenophobic rhetoric has been exacerbated as a result of the immigration of workers to Europe since the 1960s and the asylum of millions in Europe due to the wars in the Middle East in the last decade (Hall, 2000). A few centuries ago, mass production, mechanization, new means of transport, industrialization and urbanization, which led to the transformation of societies, were rejected by the peasants, and the traditional peasant society did not abandon the rule of rural order to urban life and the traditional peasant society reacted against the innovation. Today, as a result of globalization, waves of immigration are changing and the ethnic structure of societies is changing and non-indigenous people are becoming hostile.

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