

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

University of 08 Mai 1945 / Guelma

Faculty of Letters and Languages

Department of Letters and English Language

جامعة 08 ماي 1945 / قالمة

كلية الآداب واللغات

قسم الآداب و اللغة الانجليزية



**The Politicization of Europe: The Re-emergence of Nationalism and the Rise of Anti-European Sentiment. Case Study: Germany**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the Master's Degree in Language and Culture.**

**The Board of Examiners**

Chairwomen: Mrs Bares Meriem (MAA)

Supervisor: Mrs. Ziaya Rima (MAA)

Examiner: Mrs Layada Radia (MAB)

(University of 8 Mai 1945/Guelma)

(University of 8 Mai 1945/Guelma)

(University of 8 Mai 1945/Guelma)

**Submitted by:**

**KAABOUZI Meryem**

**NAIDJA Ouïam**

**Supervised by:**

**ZIAYA Rima**

September 2020

## **Acknowledgments**

First, Our deepest thankfulness and greatest gratitude are to the one who should be praised first, to Allah who helped us in completing this research. Our best gratitude go to our best supervisor, Mrs. ZIAYA Rima for her help and her intellectual piece of advice, she really accompanied and guided us in the production of this work. She indeed merits our special gratitude.

Special gratefulness go to the jury members for their precious time in examining and evaluating this work. We would also want to show our appreciation to all the teachers of the English department.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to all those who contributed to the accomplishment of this dissertation from near or far.

### **Dedication 1**

I dedicate this work to my beloved people who have meant and still to mean a lot to me.

Words are not enough to express my gratitude and love to my darling husband “Issam” for his unconditional support, also to my dearest parents “ Hssen” and “ Houria ” whom made me the person I am today, may Allah protect them, they are my source of happiness and success in life for their support and encouragement during my academic studies.

My special thanks go to my beloved sisters: Souaad, Naziha, Nabila, and my unique brother Karim for their love and encouragement, without forgetting my little angels “Ilina”, “Sirina” and “Abd elmouhaymen” , my soul daughter ‘LOUJINA’, also to my sweet heart cousins Rayan and Chaima for their great interest and kindness.

I would like to dedicate my work also to all my family members, for my best friends too, whom I consider my second family especially my partner Ouia.

Thanks to anyone who helped and trusted me and proud of my Success.

Meryem Kaabouzi

## **Dedication 2**

I dedicate this work to all the people who supported and helped me in accomplishing it.

To my family, my mother Dalila my role model and source of inspiration, to my father Bahri without whom I would not be where I am today. To my sisters Wissal and Nada who means the world to me, who always support my decisions no matter what and finally to my beloved little brother Zakaria.

I would also like to dedicate this work to my friends Hichem, Biba, Hana, Sarah, Ines, Mido, and Jonas who were a great help and who gave me the courage to finish this work.

In the end, I would like to thank my friend and partner Meryem for her patience and support.

## **Abstract**

Since the creation of the European Union, state leaders, politicians and elites monopolized decision-making and excluded the European citizens, nevertheless, the last two decades (2000-2020) the Politicization of Europe changed the process of the European integration from being purely governmental to a more salience and supranational. The act of Politicization emerged political awareness among Euro citizens meanwhile; the European Union witnessed also a rise in the nationalist sentiment and Euroscepticism in parallel with Politicization in which the public positive views on the EU diminished gradually especially in countries such as the United Kingdom and Germany. The research clarifies the impact of Politicization in the European Union, and analyzes the causes and consequences of the Brexit in the UK and other member states of the European Union especially in Germany. Many European countries have experienced a rise in Nationalism and Euroscepticism, mainly after the Eurozone and the refugee crises, which led to the emergence of right wing political parties driven by nationalist feeling, these parties opposed the policies of the EU such as immigration laws, which, appeared to be disadvantageous to the European public. The present work argues an increase in Nationalism and anti-Euro sentiment because of political, economic and cultural issues. For instance, UK's and Germany's economy flourished because of the Brexit and immigrants covered the shortage in the labor markets of many EU member states.

## الملخص

منذ إنشاء الاتحاد الأوروبي، كان صنع القرار حكراً على قادة الدول والسياسيين والنخبة الذين استبعدوا المواطنين الأوروبيين، غير ان هذا لم يدم طويلا فقد أدى تسييس أوروبا في العقدين الماضيين إلى تغيير عملية اللادماج الأوروبي من كونها حكومية بحتة إلى أكثر شمولية. في غضون ذلك، برزت سياسة التسييس الأوروبي وأدت إلى نشر الوعي السياسي بين مواطني اليورو؛ كما شهد الاتحاد الأوروبي تصاعداً في المشاعر القومية والتشكيك في أوروبا بالتوازي مع التسييس الذي تسبب في تتناقص الآراء الإيجابية العامة بشأن الاتحاد الأوروبي بشكل تدريجي، خاصة في دول مثل بريطانيا وألمانيا. يوضح هذا البحث تأثير التسييس في الاتحاد الأوروبي، ويحلل أسباب وعواقب خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي في المملكة المتحدة والدول الأعضاء الأخرى في الاتحاد الأوروبي خاصة في ألمانيا. شهدت العديد من الدول الأوروبية ارتفاعاً في النزعة القومية والتشكيك في أوروبا، خاصة بعد أزمة منطقة اليورو واللاجئين اللتان أدتا إلى ظهور أحزاب سياسية يمينية مدفوعة بمشاعر القومية، حيث أن هاته الأخيرة عارضت سياسات الاتحاد الأوروبي مثل قوانين الهجرة التي بدا أنها تكون غير مواتية للجمهور الأوروبي. يدرس العمل الحالي نسبة زيادة القومية والمشاعر المناهضة لليورو بسبب القضايا السياسية والاقتصادية والثقافية. على سبيل المثال، ازدهر اقتصاد المملكة المتحدة وألمانيا بسبب خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي وقيام المهاجرون بتغطية النقص في أسواق العمل في العديد من الدول الأعضاء في الاتحاد الأوروبي.

### List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFD	Alternative für Deutschlands
Brexit	Britain Exit
CDU	Christian Democratic Union
CSU	Christian Social Union
EC	European Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EMU	European Monetary Union
EU	European Union
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
EURO	Europe
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GBP	Great Britain Pound
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PEGIDA	Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	United Kingdom Independent Party
USA	United States of America

## List of Figures

<b>Figure1.</b> Index of politicization, Source: Hutter, Swen, and Kriesi .”Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics.” .....	11
--	----



## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>Chapter One: The Politicization of Europe and the Brexit</b> .....	7
1.1. Politicization in Europe: Historical Background.....	7
1.1.1. Definition.....	7
1.1.2. The Origins of Politicization.....	8
1.1.3. Dimensions of the Politicization.....	10
1.2. Factors Contributing to Politicization of Europe.....	12
1.3. Consequences of the Politicization in Europe.....	16
1.4. The Brexit: a Historical background .....	18
1.4.1. What does “Brexit” mean? .....	18
1. 4.2. Reasons behind the Brexit .....	20
1.4.3. The Brexit Referendums .....	23
1.4.4. The Brexit Consequences .....	25
1.5. The Impact of Brexit on the EU .....	28
<b>Chapter Two: The Re-emergence of Nationalism and The Rise of Anti-European Sentiment</b> .....	31
2.1. Nationalism .....	31
2.2. History of Nationalism .....	32
2.2.1. The Rise of Modern Nationalism .....	32
2.2.2. The emergence of Nationalism in Europe.....	33
2.2.3. Nationalism around the world .....	34
2.3. The Re-emergence of Nationalism in Europe .....	35
2.3.1. The Eurozone crisis .....	37

2.3.2. The migration Crisis .....	37
2.3.3. The anti-immigration sentiment .....	38
2.3.4. Immigration and the Far-right parties .....	40
2.4. Euroscepticism .....	42
2.5. Nationalism in the United Kingdom .....	43
2.6. Euroscepticism in the UK .....	46
<b>Chapter Three: The Politicization, Nationalism and Euroscepticism in Germany .....</b>	<b>49</b>
3.1. Germany in the EU .....	49
3.2. Politicization in Germany .....	51
3.3. The Impact of Brexit on Germany .....	53
3.4. Reaction of German Political Parties in Post Brexit .....	55
3.5. Nationalism in Germany .....	57
3.5.1. Nationalism and Nazism .....	59
3.5.2. The Re-emergence of the nationalist sentiment and right-wing parties in Germany.....	60
3.6. Euroscepticism in Germany .....	62
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>67</b>

## **Introduction**

In the history of Europe and recent decades; the European Union might be considered as a unique supranational institution, it is characterized by its diversity and creativity, it is the only international association that has unified most of the European countries, and their common desire is to bring unity, harmony, and prosperity via the reconciliation of its member states. In order to achieve its goals, the EU witnessed a collection of historical decisions that influenced and reconstituted its services and decision-making. A series of treaties and referendums are held when it comes to the effect of the resolution on European citizens and their countries in addition to issues related to the transfer of authority within the EU. All those changes lead to the emergence of several crises and conflicts, the latter opens the doors to the politicization of Europe to take place and brought up a vigorous discussion concerning the course and the extent of such a recent mechanism.

Political conflict is the main component of politics, and politicization is defined as the extension of the spectrum of conflict inside the political system, while the politicization of Europe is an operation that takes different forms and manipulates significant doubts. As the EU consists of different policies due to the multiplicity of its state members, it is hard to make a decision inside the EU. The inherent dynamics of the political system determined by the emerging political parties of the European Parliament lead to various democratic troubles; it is one of the biggest problems facing the EU. With the absence of purely democratic policy, many Europeans got upset from the way the EU makes its decision, many discussions on the democratic shortcomings within member states, expansion, and a noticeable decline in the European election. Otherwise the unfair decisions against some member states for example the EU's decision to unify the working currency in the common market, for the UK it is impossible to abandon the Pound Sterling, it is one of the symbols of its sovereignty, so that the Euro crisis and other democratic problems lead to Brexit.

The EU's decision-making was traced from the Foundation of the EU, but it started to appear progressively with the Politicization of Europe especially at the Maastricht Treaty and the act of the Brexit. Several problems and crisis occurred among them: the economic crisis, the Eurozone, and the refugee crisis in addition to the Brexit referendum, all these problems boost to the re-emergence of nationalism in almost European countries after many years of stagnation, also a growing sense of anti-EU (Euroscepticism). The EU political system divided between proponent and opponent to the EU, proponents believe that the EU can regain its strength after the current crisis while opponents see that the continuation of the EU is just a tantamount to the continuation of various problems and crisis. From this platform, an important and confusing question is, does the politicization of Europe lead to a complete democracy or does it an effort to accelerate partition within the EU? In other words, was the politicization of Europe good or bad?

Before answering this question, it is necessary to understand the concept of politicization first, before getting involved in the large scope of the European politicization, which can give a better image on the politicization of Europe and its situation. For the sake of getting an answer to this question, it is necessary to have a global idea on the causes behind the politicization of Europe as well as its implications on EU member states and Europe in general. In this study, the complexities of the politicization mechanism are exposed within the European integration theories, that is in a politicized European integration identity politics has become significant than economic basics. Subsequently, identity politics served as a source of populism through the EU discussions on the issues of sovereignty and democratic deficiency that lead to the re-emergence of nationalism sentiment among member states.

This research paper discusses one of the most controversial European topics, the politicization of Europe and the re-emergence of nationalism sentiment. It has been a subject of many researchers over the years; it represents one of the most debatable issues in European

studies. It further examines the concept of politicization; a case study about Germany is analyzed deeply in relation to politicization, Brexit, and Euroscepticism. Specifically, it concentrates on the role of political parties in German politicization mainly the politicization of immigration. With the complexities of those multiple issues, other questions interfere like is the EU becoming fully politicized or not? What is the impact of Brexit on the EU in general and on Germany in particular? Do European parliamentary political parties behave in a way that enhances the EU's impression of an integrated political system?

The purpose behind this research is to examine the politicization of Europe as a new phenomenon and its contribution to the UK's from the EU. Likewise, the work assesses the effectiveness to help British citizens express their own sovereignty and benefits for their own country. That would also enable us to know whether this politicization had a positive impact on Europe or not. This current research intends to investigate the anti-European sentiment and the role of Brexit in shaking the European Union position. In addition, this study spots the light on the rise of nationalism sentiment in the shadow of politicization and the contribution of immigrants to its re-emergence and the reaction of the European public towards these unwanted refugees. This research also answer the following questions: How has politicization developed in Europe? Has the issue of immigration became fully politicized in Germany? And does the EU became fully democratic in the shadow of politicization?

The subject under dispute attracted the interest of many researchers and politicians, before undertaking this analysis and clarify its significance, it is important to state a literature review by highlighting a little about the major academic works that have already talked about the topic.

At the outset, *Politicizing Europe: Integration and Mass Politics* by Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande, and Hanspeter Kriesi is an edited book that investigates the politicization of Europe from theoretical and imperial terms in which contributors

improve and use a new index and typology of the concept, the book exemplifies immense values of original data which traces politicization from a comparative perspective over more than forty years, stressing on six European countries among them Germany and the UK from 1970 till the Euro crisis. The book also examines the different conflicts over sovereignty, public debate, and any events in the integration process, expressing that the European integration is really becoming highly politicized.

In their edited book named *Brexit and Beyond, Rethinking the Futures of Europe*, authors Benjamin Martill and Utas Staige, stressed on the important implications of the Brexit for both the country and the continent, moving to the long discussion of the issue in the UK; which highlights the causes of the vote and its consequences for next years and decades. This book oriented a future view points from a various analysis depicted from 28 leading scholars from a variety of fields.

About Nationalism, the philosopher Ernest Gellner, who is considered one of the most important contributors in the studies of Nationalism, in his book entitled *Nations and Nationalism* argued that Nationalism is an essential element to hold a nation state together politically and culturally, in one of his theories on Nationalism, Gellner claims that the industrial revolution is one the main reasons that created the nationalist sentiment and that the shift from agricultural to industrialization shattered hierarchy. Gellner also explained that Nationalism is the result of the intrusion of a foreign culture to scramble the native one hence it produces multiculturalism.

Another sentiment that emerged in the European Union was Euroscepticism, on this matter Anthony Forster, in his book *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics* indicated that Euroscepticism is a new political ideology that spread in the UK primarily because of the EU's policies and crises. Furthermore, this book describes the impact of the British Euroscepticism on the other member states of the European Union.

For better assistance to the research, it makes use of a qualitative method to go deeper into the issue, it is crucial to achieve the purpose of this study and to answer the questions of the research. The issue of politicization attracts all EU's citizens for the interest of encouraging this dissertation, the historical analysis will be also followed to assess the politicization of Europe and how it developed after the Maastricht Treaty without forgetting the discourse analysis which is very useful in the interpreting governmental speeches of some presidents, politicians and parliament members...etc.

The dissertation includes three chapters. The first chapter entitled "The Politicization of Europe and the Brexit". Clarifies the position of politicization in the EU in addition to its major consequence, which is the Brexit. Highlighting the opponents and opposed to the Brexit and the final decision about the withdrawal. The second chapter entitled "The Re-emergence of Nationalism and The Rise of Anti-European Sentiment" brings light to the issue of nationalism in Europe in general and in the UK in particular in that the process of nationalism lead to the re-emergence of that sentiment. The chapter also tackles to analyzing different levels of discrimination between members of the union that lead to such feelings. Then, the last chapter entitled "The Politicization, Nationalism, and Euroscepticism in Germany". It analyzes Germany as a pattern of many other countries. It tackles the issue of nationalism in Germany as well as the re-emergence of this sentiment then assesses the anti-immigration sentiment and the reaction of political parties concerning the issue of refugees. It clarifies the reasons behind this wave of nationalism sentiment as an ultimate for their politicization, while other countries did not involve, by using arguments behind supporting this nationalism sentiment and its impact on Germany and citizens.

## **Chapter One: The Politicization of Europe and the Brexit**

Recently, the European continent was the center of the crisis; this period brought a series of problems, so that this political change drove the European countries to create the European Union. It was the most suitable solution that may bring peace and welfare between its countries. In fact, it created a sense of uniqueness and common nationalism between member states. However, this sentiment was not shared among all Europeans the fact that it created a sense of hate between citizens from one country to another.

In the early 1990s, the European Integration became the focus of European controversy whereby the masses attracted their interest towards the European Union's political decision-making in addition to the increasing criticism over the outcome concerning the matter of democratic shortage. It seems that social contention had a strong relation with political decision-making; this growing contention was called "the politicization of Europe". The current chapter gives a historical background about the concept of politicization and its relation with the European Union; it further talks about the relation of politicization to the Brexit.

### **1.1. Politicization in Europe: Historical Background**

#### **1.1.1. Definition**

Literally meaning, the word politicization is defined as: "The act of making something political issue". Or "it is the act of making somebody/something become more involved in politics" ("Politicization"). Simply politicization is the process of becoming politically aware, in order words; it is the discussion of politics in public. The word politicization can be found in various context. Subsequently; to avoid generalization and obscurity, it is important to define the concept relying on distinguishable views of scholars and experts dissection about the concept. Politicization is the request or the permission for transforming a business from



non-political to political affairs (Zürn 50). While other scholar defines it as “Politicization thus refers initially to a process whereby the controversiality of joint decision making goes up. This in turn likely to lead to a widening of audience or clientele interested and active in integration” (Schmitter 166). From the previous quotation, we can define politicization as the progression of awareness and intensive debate about the decision-making. This operation refers to a large amount of the followership and actors concerns and inclinations about a specific issue. In brief, the politicization of Europe is the act of getting rid of being marginalized concerning the issue of integration. It is about transforming the issue of integration and decision making from the private sphere to the political one, making the issue more salient rather than hidden publically.

### **1.1.2. The Origins of Politicization**

Politicization grows as a chief notion in the European integration researches, from the mid-2000s, it became a debatable issue and various scholars contributed and published about it. It is not a novice concept that appeared nowadays, however; it is rooted back to the theories of neo-functionalism, which express the issue of European integration and eliminate the obstacles for free trade in Western Europe. The vogue of politicization inspired by two perspectives, the first is an effort made by theorists of multi-level governance which were a concept designed to prison and grasp the process of the supranational institution ‘EU’ and to smooth the dissection of decentralized decision making progression. Several actors were encouraged by the neo-functionalism to be aware about the collection of the EU treaties referendums, which lead to popular criticism. The second one is about the various contributions concerning the topic of the EU’s democracy where different European offers were discussed (Hurrelmann, Gora, and Wagner 43). European elite started to discover the secrets of the EU and they became more conscious than before, thus the politicization started to appear and flourish in the shadow of the European integration. Some countries practice the

politicization at a high grade, it is exclusively salient in Britain and France, elsewhere; with the Maastricht treaty other affairs become more politicized; in this period politicization was in its summit (Grande and Kriesi 281).

While the authority and power of the European integration became between the EU hands, politicization then is just a reaction to the inflation of the EU power. That is to say it is the outcome of political operations. From this spouted, we can say, that the notion of politicization has a relation with the EU political issues, of course we mean political parties, social groups, citizens' opinion, and mass media. For more clarification; politicization is the rise of polarization of views, concerns of citizens, and how much they are improved in public spheres regards to the EU issues (De Wilde, "No Polity" 566).

The manifestations of politicization can be classified into three prominent groups: the institutions, the decision making process and the issues. The first group is about the institutions' category that is made up of political institutions of multi-positions of the EU Government, European Commissions, European Parliament member states, the council of ministers, and the National Parliament. This category may turn politicized only if their parties win in their regulations which result salience of party political conflict.

The second group involved the decision making process, it includes the methodology, the principles and the activities. Politicization here fulfilled only if there will be a high impact of appointed politics in decision-making like the lawyers.

The third group included the politicization of issues; it is related to the rise of prominent and different viewpoints on special subjects. This issue is considered politicized only if it turns to a controversial debate in public opinions (De Wilde, "No Polity" 560-561).

The process of politicization is attributed to three different positions, which are the exposition of the scopes of conflict in the European Union system, the boost of the issue of legitimacy to change the path of the integration process. The objectives of these positions are

to convey the concept of politics to society in order to concentrate more on interested actors like political parties, mass media and citizens' involvement in EU politics and to center on the input part of the political protocol to make the issue more prominent in all over Europe. Substantially politicization introduces a specific modification in the European integration, which defied the basic assumption of major theories from what makes the issue of integration more salient and debatable (De Wilde, "No Polity" 560-561).

### **1.1.3. Dimensions of the Politicization**

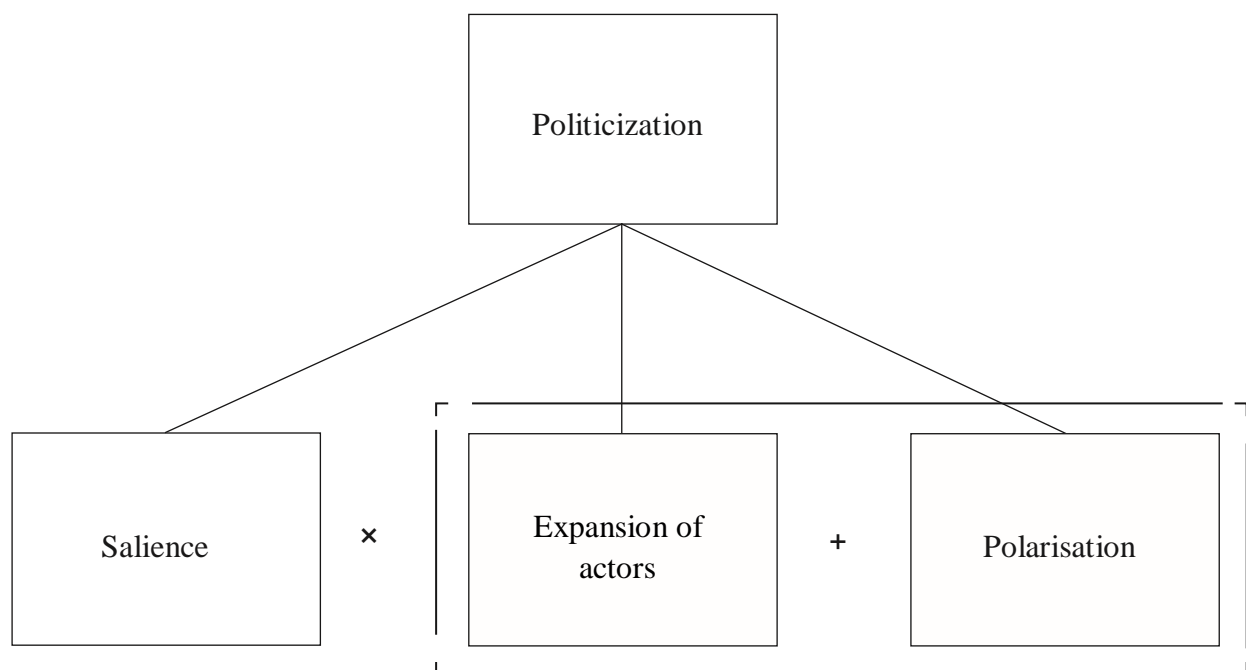
Politicization is divided into three dimensions, which are issue salience, actor expansion, and actor polarization. Yet, a certain concept can take the full form of politicization only when the issue becomes salient with a high amount of involved agents and introduced by political actors in public spheres.

Issue Salience: (visibility) is the most important dimension in politicization that we cannot relinquish. If the topic is provoked only by political leaders or few elites in public sphere, it cannot be considered as fully politicized, since the topic is not prominent enough by all public sphere (people) (Grande and Hutter, "European Integration" 8). Evaluation of salience is studied through the portion of statements on the current topic. It is considered as a rate from the global encrypted statements about the topic raised (Hutter and Grande, "Politicizing Europe" 1008).

Actor Expansion: Is the second dimension of politicization, it is related to the amount of agents' contribution in the discussion about a specific issue. If there are a few members of representatives participate in the discussion of the topic or only the elite class, this means that the area of struggle is restricted yet. To clarify more, for example when we talk about the issue of European integration process in relation to actor expansion, the stress is not on the existence of the executive and governmental actors in the debate, nevertheless; it is on the contribution of non-executive and governmental actors which become the center of the public

debate. Briefly, we can say that actor expansion is the access of parties and citizens that have no relation with the government and politics in public debate (Hutter and Grande, “Politicizing Europe” 1004).

Actors’ polarization: The third key dimension of politicization is actors’ polarization. The latter means the strength of the struggle between contrastive actors with the same intensity about specific topic (1004). It is just a supplement to the two previous dimensions of politicization; we cannot consider a topic as a fully politicized only because it is highly prominent in public debate among a wide number of representatives. However, those representatives must have a diverse situations and viewpoints. For more clarification: polarization is the key concept of intensity of conflict where the tension of the clash in which opposes are entirely different in their opinions. Having only a few opposing views are not sufficient to express an intensively politicized topic; it is totally the opposite (Grande and Hutter, “European Integration” 9-10).



**Fig.1.** Index of politicization.

Source: Hutter, Swen, and Kriesi. "Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics." Cambridge University Press, 2016.

With the three dimensions, politicization of an issue is fulfilled only with the presence of the three dimensions. Nevertheless, how can connect these three dimensions all together to score the volume of politicization of a definite issue?

Politicization = salience  $\times$  (actor expansion + polarization) (Hutter and Grande, "Politicizing Europe" 1005).

From this equation, although salience is not enough alone; but it is an important stipulation of politicization, it is the center that cannot replace by any other dimensions. Its integration with the other two dimensions is very important, in particular the fusion of salience with the total of actor expansion and polarization. In addition to the three dimensions of politicization, the issue can not be considered 'politicized' unless it is announced in the media and other public forums (De Wildes, "No Polity" 568).

In the process of analyzing the politicization of Europe, it is important to deal with the four connected phenomena which are: firstly; the rise of EU politics and policy in public sphere, secondly, the expansion of the branched divisions among voters that caused intensive controversies in public debate and thirdly; the prevailing party politics encountered hardness with the division. As it is clear from the electoral damages. Finally; the arousal of competitor parties that profit from the voters' division and the fragility points of prevailing parties.

## **1.2. Factors Contributing to Politicization of Europe**

From the 1980s, the EU witnessed a great revolution in politicization, after many years of depoliticization (to be far from the realm of politics). This prominent transformation is due to various factors among them we have:

The reason behind the EU politicization is the strength of the EU since the mid 1980's. Moreover; the collapse of the Soviet Empire and the confrontation formed by

Germany through unity. Furthermore, what made the EU much more powerful is the collection of agreements and treaties held from 1986 to 2007, (Maastricht treaty, Amsterdam, Nice and the Lisbon treaty), as it enlarged its validity further the economic branch. Moreover, the EU started catching control over multiple domains like the national and international security to become the dominant power in Europe. As a result, it begins to interfere in citizens' life to be the main objective of political criticism. Therefore, the EU becomes a prominent topic in public debate from one side. From the other one, the rise of the EU power took place in the great recession period (unemployment, overmuch of energy cost), where the EU can no longer take advantages in the aftermath of the upheavals that brought many critics to the EU in public sphere (Kaelble 195). In this case, the European citizens started asking for the benefits for their own countries in which the issue becomes much more clear and debatable in public sphere.

Geographical expansion plays an essential role in the politicization of the European integration. The EU power spread; where it moved from regional western power to a continent authority. Whereas in the early 1990s, some amendments took place as a result the country of Central Europe, Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU, in addition to the negotiation about Turkey's accession. With these modifications in the EU, the European citizens started calling for their continent borders and setting standards for democratic governance. In the light of the economic crises, poor members pose a danger to the EU and obstruction in decision making at both levels. So the wide discussion concerning the borders as well the European principal and values boost to what is known as politicization of the EU (196).

The surge of globalization in America and East Asia impressed Europe in 1980s in various fields (trade, investment, and management, exchange of knowledge, culture, and even media). With this wave, Europe is more attached to the universal market to be stronger than

before especially in business affairs (196). Thanks to globalization, the issue of the EU becomes more prominent not only in Europe, but in the universe too via mass media and national networks which played a great role in the contribution of the politicization of the European integration.

The major source of politicization is the authority transfer. That is to say, the power of Europe was transformed from domestic level to European one so that the decision-making will be under the EU's hands. Furthermore; the Maastricht treaty of 1992 through which the EU members states expanded their powers beyond economic affairs. That is why authority transfer is considered as a driving force of politicization in Europe (Grande and Hutter, "European Integration"26).

Another source of politicization is the change in the EU decision-making that led to the intensive conflict between members of the EU about its control and rise the case of the lawfulness of EU authority (De Wilde, "No Polity"572).

The process of the European integration and its decision-making creates a series of conflicts, which are considered as the main sources of the EU problems. Conflict over sovereignty is more permanent in the EU; the supranational institution of the EU challenged the national sovereignty as it transfers the supremacy from nation states to the supranational institution, also the disagreement over strengthening of domestic and economic budget coordination as a result of the euro crisis (Grande and Hutter, "European Integration"14). Identity conflict is formed by the expansion of the EU, whereby it contains of twenty-eight different identities. The fear is about the loss of their national identity, religious principles and culture analogy inside the EU. Here the struggle is about if they could preserve their own identity or not (De Wilde, Leupold, and Schmidtke 17). Concerning the last conflict is the solidarity conflict; it was born because of the division of financial resources between members of the union. Collaboration in the EU is not based on solidarity between member states rather it is about

exchange of services, that's why the conflict was take place (Grande and Hutter, "European Integration 15). The issue of politicization asserted the political conflicts, so that they required a high level of politicization to be solved.

'Eurocepticism' also have a crucial role in the politicization of Europe; it produces a high volume of Euroceptic citizens and political parties that impeach the advantages of the EU, and oblige advocates of the integration especially elites, which expose justifications and explanation about the importance of the EU and the European integration whether it is compulsory or eligible. Another role is to link the EU's accomplishments to the majority concern rather than special concern and this intensive debate from Euroceptic boost to the politicization of the European integration. As a result, European citizens split between proponent and opposed of the European integration (De Wilde, "Democratic Renationalization" 20).

The mass politics where the EU issues become prominent in public sphere that is due to political actors whom express the EU affairs in public debate. As a result, Europeans were dissatisfied, most of them decided to boycott the polling stations. Like this, the European integration becomes a salient issue in public sphere. That is how political authority transfers into mass politics. This latter involves a high degree of politicization in order to manage the EU processes (Grande and Hutter, "European Integration" 26).

The last reason is the national referendums, which play an important role in politicization process; it serves as stimulation of politicization, because in such debates it is very difficult to be controlled by authority. They produce a high level of politicization; in return, they encounter the risk of both opposed and proponent that may lead to a loss of control in decision-making (Grande and Kriezi 289).

To sum up, the deeper reasons for politicization in Europe are still current and the mentioned factors are just preliminary factors for analyzing the concept. Since the tackled



driving forces of politicization are not fully under the control of the European integration authority. Moreover, the real problem is the rise of EU authority is going on until today, which needs a high grade of politicization to avoid collision and problems between state members.

### **1.3. Consequences of the Politicization in Europe**

The impact of politicization process differs significantly from national to international level, moreover; it is still a debatable matter. It is deemed as both an occasion and danger for the European integration. To make a clear taxonomy about its negative and positive impact, many researchers made deep investigations about the outcome of politicization. Among those outcomes, we have:

European citizens become more conscious about what happened in the EU process, especially after the Maastricht Treaty that leads to their disaffection about the issue.

Consequently, they obstruct their project path between contestation and asking for more clarification about the integration using the political conflict. In brief, European citizens were satisfied by the idea of politicization as it serves their needs and makes things clear, whereas the EU government was opposing it because it reveals their hidden plans, goals and obstructs the path of their decision-making (Kauppi, Kari, and Wiesner 5).

Politicization leads to the collapse of 'Permissive Consensus', when European citizens accept the integration plan as an inevitable affair. With such a manner, the elites conducted the integration process in secret far from the public. Consequently; with the growth of politicization, everything was changed and citizens centralized the integration process decisions in public debate (Giandomenico 2).

Politicization also gave the opportunity to stand out from the rest concerning European issues, as with the politicization, they can now compete for the haggling held in Brussels at the domestic level, it is an exceptional consequence that is visible in various

common countries of the EU. To explain more we have the following example: In national election of Australia in September 2008, social democratic leader and other two extremist parties of anti EU integration thieve votes during the campaign in order to win more voices. It is a concrete example of the power monopoly of European affairs for the benefits of the political parties (2). In this case, politicization gives leaders the chance to be superior than others even committing illegal business without supervision.

With the birth of politicization, a recent unidentified grade of political power called ‘international institutions’ was imposed by European institutions (De Wilde and Zürn 142).

Politicization leads to a recent way of decision making in the international institution, where the decision of affairs was decided by them. This shift leads to many obstacles and inconsistencies in international collaboration, it also unlocks the chance for both recent kinds of universal policies and more aspirant forms to make the decision in the international institutions (Zürn 49).

The decision making of the international institution weakens the old gap between national and international politics. For example, it denotes an ambivalence about the core out of democracy and the resolution of unpoliticized area of western societies (Zürn 48). In other words, with the glory of politicization of international institutions, an increasing level of international politics took place (De Wilde and Zürn 140).

Politicization of the EU procreates motivated commission to run the instant public services and its benefits in contemporary high profile initiatives. The investigations indicate that bureaucrats are within the commission too. Whom usually depicted as the faraway members in the EU system of government, they are conscious about the result of their decisions, so that they adapted them according to their own interests in the context of the European integration. As a result, it can develop supranational ebulliences for non-governmental organizations too to do the same (Rauh 363).

Last and not least, the investigations of many researchers came out with the conclusion that politicization is both good and bad. There is always a division in the viewpoints, while politicization is a good thing for those who are interested in legality, legitimacy, and rightness, it is considered as a bad thing for those whom are concerned with the government's performance, because it struggles their process of decision-making (Shmidt 1031). The most important thing is that the issue of European integration and EU decision making became highly politicized in recent years, this later had a great impression on the position that the EU member states play in the integration process, taking the case of the Brexit as a major consequence of the high level of politicization in Europe. It is a reaction against the inflation of the EU power and globalization in addition to the willingness to reassert the UK sovereignty. It is also the conclusion of the EU vague revolution leastwise until the Italian polling of March 2018. The remaining controversial question is whether politicization still a good or a bad thing with the shade of the Brexit?

#### **1.4. The Brexit: a Historical Background**

##### **1.4.1. What does "Brexit" mean?**

Brexit is a mixture between two words: "Britain" and "exit", as it was derived by analogy from 'Grexit'. That is to say, "Greece" and "exit", the word refers to a hypothetical withdrawal of Greece from both the Eurozone and the EU. The term Brexit may have primary been used in regard to a possible withdrawal of the UK from the EU (Fantaine 2).

While the United Kingdom decided to become a member in the EU. The admission process was difficult due to the peak and the restriction on making supranational decisions. The UK's relationship with France was the biggest hurdle. The UK applied for entry twice in 1961 and 1967; respectively it was rejected by France where the decisions were in the hands of Charles de Gaulle. The president's concerns were multiple. Whereby he considered Britain as the Trojan harvest of the United States, in which it allows America to penetrate the

common market through the UK. In addition, he was anxious about the British nuclear power in relation to the special relationships between the US and the UK concerning NATO. The UK was unable to get involved in the European Economic Community (EEC), until De Gaulle resigned. The UK continued negotiations and was able to enter on January 1, 1973 (Daugėlienė and Puskunigis 270).

The history of the UK with the EU has been identified by contradiction since the beginning of the EU project. It remained neutral when the six countries agreed for the unification. Such a decision was about the fear of losing both sovereignty and power. In addition; the UK thinks that the EU is just a project to boost the European economy that had nothing to do with politics, however, it had. Two decades later, the UK joined the EU to gather the benefits of economic membership and gain a governmental expression at the heart of the union (Mix 4). The accession of the UK strengthened the EU, further as economic relations were transformed with the third world; the region was expanded to include the Caribbean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, and Africa. In addition to the increasing proportion of countries at the summit of the union's regulation of trade favors (Murray-Evans 493).

Britain became one of the supreme props of the EU; it was deliberated as a second biggest economy, the third most populated country, the fiscal core. As it is an effective budget member, and the lion's portion of European carry on investment (Benjamin and Staiger 2). However, in the 23 of June 2016, the UK oriented to the decisive vote to determine whether Britain should remain in the EU or withdraw from it (Benjamin and Staiger 1). This decision should be negotiated because the UK has a multi-relationships, it is not a matter of one single country. UK was a member of the United Nations Security Council, the council of Europe, the Commonwealth of the nation, NATO and many other organizations (Mix 1).

After 47 years of membership within the EU, the UK's withdrawal was in the 31 January 2020. It is a turning point in the history of the UK as well as the EU. It is probably to revise its transnational position and its future perspectives concerning the UK-EU ties and interests (Mix 3). However, what are the real reasons behind the Brexit? Is it related to the issue of regionalism? Or it is the result of fluctuations of its inconsistent democratic system. Could it be mainly due to the Euro crisis? Or are there other deeper emergencies and factors?

#### **1.4.2. Reasons Behind the Brexit**

The British' exit from the EU described as the 'the tip of the iceberg', it indicates a great disappointment about the prevailing policy of the EU, as it resulted imperfection in economic and financial integration (Benjamin and Straiger 7). From this standpoint, the UK confronted various problems within the EU. Most of them are caused by crises, therefore it decided the secession. From those problems and reasons, we mention:

##### **1.4.2.1. Euroscepticism and Legitimacy Crisis**

Euroscepticism shifted away from marginalization to be the center of political attention after the Maastricht Treaty, this period witnessed the unpopularity of the EU, where national allocations of taxes were discussed at the summit of the financial crisis of 2008. These actions pushed politicization to play an important role in the undermining the EU as a non-political organization state (Benjamin and Straiger 9). Legitimacy crisis is the unavoidable result of the integration process. The origins of the EU's legitimacy crisis came from the inability of its associations to create electorate trust and deliberately channel discussions and oppositions in a positive manner in which it is the only solution to stop the 'destructive excess' that identified nationalist movements in all Europe, it was a major contributor to the Brexit referendum. The success of Eurosceptic parties in Austria, France, Greece, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, and the UK in 2015-16

accompanied with a drop in the EU's legitimacy of production, so the call for 'more Europe' is no longer suitable in the era of popular mistrust (Benjamin and Straiger 10).

#### **1.4.2.2. Structural Problem with the Eurozone**

It is much related to the above problem 'legitimacy crisis' which is the most serious problem that generates other serious crises. The aspirer and imperfect European Monetary Union (EMU) leads the continent to an economic recession from its impacts, unemployed youth, poor southern Europe, a strong crush between creditor and debtor countries... etc. The trouble is that the EMU was enlarged instead of being protected. At the same time, the EMU was succeeded in imposing severe restrictions on regional financial policies in which domestic legislative bodies have been deprived from public policy and relaxed democratic control of policy making at the local standard. The notable problems in the euro zone are caused by a lack of integration, since the currency union must be coupled by financial unions and banks. Moreover, a powerful politico confederation able enough to make reliable decisions, and the lack of any of them means that was not constructed on a strong based. In the light of these problems and damages, the UK preferred to withdraw and exit with minimal damages (10).

#### **1.4.2.3. Migration and Refugee Crises**

Because of the massive waves of migration in Europe that led to the poor management in relation to inside migration problems, that is to say: The activity of people from one EU member state to the other. There are approximately 1.2 million British immigrants residing in the EU countries, while there are 3.0 million immigrants residing in the UK (Hawkins 25). The reduction of wages in UK was the consequence of the large wave of migration after the 2004 'big bang' accession, besides the appearance of what's named 'gig economy' which refers to common workforces climate in which impermanent positions, short term engagement and independent contracting is commonplace. The major stimulus that pushes

the inflation of populism, the rise of Euroscepticism and the anti-European sentiment concluded with a series of problems and crises the most important one is the Brexit referendum (Benjamin and Staiger 10-11).

David Cameron failed to fulfill his pledge during the 2010 elections in regard to decreasing the number of immigrants to tens of thousands annually. But he strengthened his promise to pledge a net reduction of immigration to Britain to less than 100,000. Nevertheless, he failed for the second chance. The large-scale migration put great pressure on the country, which had a major effect on public utility from social housing, education, medicine ...etc. (Somai and Biedermann 147). Other Europeans think that the Brexit is the result of the poor arrangement of the EU concerning the issue of refugees; it is assumed that it was a threat of local terrorism. It is the conclusion of the explosion of the Middle Eastern and North Africa countries and the failure of the authority to classify the Islamic minorities as a great danger that leads to the aggravation of matters and it causes many problems (Benjamin and Staiger 11). Like the societal trauma which witnessed a significant increase in racist attacks and xenophobia in the country in addition to racially motivated killings (Corbett). The refugee crisis that shakes the EU is just a concrete example of how to impose global migrations. Because of the terrorist accidents, Europeans are hesitated to welcome refugees in addition to the increase of the anti-European sentiments and the sense of hate towards those emigrants, as they accompanied with local political revolution especially in the UK due to the high amount of emigrants, which lead to the rebellion and the demand for the Brexit.

Far from the governmental crisis and problems, citizen's opinions and interests that pushed the UK to the referendum of 2016 are also important to notice, which was shaped by three important factors.

Calculations about perceived costs and benefits of integration: where citizens take into consideration the economic outcomes of the single market either for their own benefits or for their country, as it differs depending on how the country's citizens view themselves either winners or losers in the project.

Community considerations that relate principally to social identities: it is about citizens who contribute in domestic identity and the sense of nationalist sentiment being obviously more Eurosceptic than those who adopted mixed identities.

Cues or heuristics that voters use when forming opinions about the EU: elector's references consist of images of party leaders and other salient politicians and elites as well as party affiliations and ideological preparations (Hooghe and Marks 436).

These three factors are the outcome of the outgrowth of politicization about the EU process and decision-making. In fact, there is a high level of politicization in public spheres, which made the EU project more salient, which boost British people to take a decision about their situation within the EU and the proclamation for the Brexit.

### **1.4.3. The Brexit Referendums**

Throughout the history of the UK within the EU, the British government held two special referendums to assure its position in the EU. The first referendum was in 1975 under the membership of Margaret Thatcher, whereas the second referendum was on 23 June 2016 under the leadership of David Cameron.

In the first referendum of 1975, the British election of 1974 has modified the government, the puzzling thing is that the recent government has claimed for a British membership referendum, which was famous by the Common Market or EEC membership referendum.

The real reason behind the referendum is that the British people need to introduce their viewpoints and positions about the crucial affair related to their freedom (Chochia et al. 116).



On 05 June, British people were asked to answer by yes or no about the following question: Do you think that the UK should stay in the European Community (the Common Market)? Political parties such as the conservative party powerfully answer by yes to stay in the EEC with 67 % votes in favor, but the labor party led by Harold Wilson answer by no by 32%. The party membership believed that the country would face many problems under the ECC project (Chochia et al. 122).

The referendum of 2016 is very different from the previous one. The EU has enlarged into twenty-eight members, the integration was deeper than before between member states to repair the running problems, also; the supranational authority increased after the hold of each treaty. That resulted a single currency despite the fact that the UK was not involved. In addition to the role of media in politicizing the issue, politicization played an important role in making the issue more salient than before, it is the chief distinction between the two referendums, in the first event; the majority said yes for the remain. Whereas in 2016 media suggested diversity in view points and interests of the public in addition to the cleavage among members of political parties and several public politicians asked for the withdrawal of the UK (Chochia et al. 123).

The Brexit referendum was the culmination of many years of domestic cleavage in the British conservative party concerning the EU. British Prime Minister David Cameron assures to hold a referendum about the Brexit, if they won in the election of 2015, indeed, they won. As a result, the referendum has to take place as David Cameron promised (Hobolt 1261). Simultaneously, the polling day was on 23 June 2016, and it was the promised day when British citizens took the decisive decision about the secession from the EU. More than 33.5 million people were attending the referendum. About 17.41% million people preferred the exit whereas 16.4% million preferred the opposite (they wanted to stay within the EU). This

indicates that 51.9 % of electors supported the withdrawal by contrast 48.1% supported to remain.

The four districts of the UK voted with different proportions, England voted for the exit with 53.4%, Wales the same by 52.5 %. While Scotland and Northern Ireland voted to stay at the rate of 62.0% and 55.8% respectively. As England form 84% of Britain's population, and Wales too. The result of the referendum was the Brexit with 51.9% to 48.1% (Somai and Biedermann 138).

Such a fateful referendum may generate internal conflict among the UK political parties concerning the Brexit referendum. The UK political sphere was divided into two parts; the first part consisted of the conservative and United Kingdom Independent Party (UKIP), and the other part consisted of the labor and the liberal Democratic Parties. The conservatives support the withdrawal from the EU, the UKIP too with 88 percentage points for the exit, whereas the Liberal Democrats party and the Labor Party were in favor to stay within the EU. They were totally against holding the Brexit referendum because they thought that the UK withdrawal from the EU would be a big mistake, consequently, they tried to make its happening impossible (Hobbolt 1270).

The UK's decision to leave the EU was an unaccustomed political incident, sine no other nation stated the withdrawal from the EU. It also called the disintegration referendums since it has challenged the international institution for the first time. The sentiments that led the plurality to vote for the exit are wining more power across Europe, but it does not mean that the Brexit has only a positive impact; in fact, it has both positive and negative consequences on the UK and on all the EU members.

#### **1.4.4. The Brexit Consequences**

The Brexit would be an unexpected phenomenon that happened through EU history with unavoidable consequences on all spheres. The result of the referendum by leaving the

union was a shock not only to the UK elite but also to the other EU member states. Many economists discussed the issue of Britain's exit. They considered the Brexit as one of the crises that the EU suffered from.

#### **1.4.4.1. The Divorce Coast**

There is a major disagreement about over the costs of the divorce from the EU ranging from 15 billion to more than 60 billion Euros it contains of the financial obligations that must be settled including the financial obligations to be paid legally after the exit, pledge of retirement for union officials, emergency liabilities like loans to save Ireland in addition to the commitments to support the EU investments project.

The UK is the second biggest donate to the EU budget after Germany. This means that the EU will face a shortage in the fiscal budget after the Brexit, on the other hand, the EU must pay to Britain for its financial share in the EIB (European Investment Bank) (Chang 9-10).

#### **1.4.4.2. Economic Consequences**

Because of the diversity of currencies in the EU, markets became more interconnected, especially in the Eurozone; that lead to many problems within the single market, so the UK decided to exit regardless of the consequences. So the puzzling question is Does the Brexit affect only UK or the whole EU? In fact, it is not determined yet, moreover; it is related to the type of policies pursued by the UK after the Brexit.

Britain's exit from the EU reduced the relations between the British pound and the euro. It is exactly what the EU expected in the wake of the Brexit, Britain witnessed a breakdown of the pound in fiscal markets, to levels not seen since 1980. The Pound Statistics indicate that during the referendum period, both pound and euro began to lose their strong influence, which was a mighty bilateral during the period of economic integration. As for the impact, there is no effective implication after analyzing the exchange rate outside the area of the euro. There will be predictions about which sort of economic relations adopted by the

UK's withdrawal concerning the EU. Also, the decrease in uncertainty during the referendum period relies on the economic circumstances of the Brexit. Perhaps it is the first reason behind the failure to restore the relation as was before the Brexit. The reduced loss of both sides Great Britain Pound (GBP) and EUR has implications for individual investors, the countries directors and also for dealers who have to take care about universal trading (Alvarez-Diez, Baixauli-Soler, and Belda-Ruiz 479). Britain withdrawal from the EU is considered as a major change in the country's economic ties, as it moves away from the integration even with its closest countries with the possibility of opening up opportunities for negotiation to conduct its commercial deals.

#### **1.4.4.3. Political Consequence**

After the news published the British execution from the EU, Prime Minister David Cameron decided to retire from his post, respecting the people's decisions and viewpoints about the future of the UK, and appreciating all who supported him during his term, stating that the new position of the country needs a new leadership. Where Queen Elizabeth II appointed Theresa May as a Prime Minister as successor to David Cameron. Therese May is from the supporters of the Cameron policy and opponents of the Brexit, she is from the Conservative party like former Prime Minster David Cameron. As she stressed that Brexit was a hard confrontation for any president to occupy Cameron's position in the conservative leadership because of the dire consequences of the Brexit and its aftermath, which required a strict and firm leadership to control the state from the different subsequences (Rashica 33).

The ventured of the Brexit is very dangerous; they may cause the great cleavage of the UK, the union that lasted 300 years. The referendum results indicate that Scotland and Northern Ireland voted in favor of staying within the EU. Most of the disaffection was from the Scottish people. This dispersion in the referendum hypothesized that within another five years there will be no UK, Scotland will be independent and a member of the EU. In 2014,

Scotland organized a referendum in regard to its independence from the UK, but the results were 55.30 % in favor of the remaining section from the UK. The minister of Scotland Nicola Ferguson Sturgeon stressed that if the Brexit will take place, there will be a second referendum about the Scottish independence. Since the Brexit may harm the future of the Scots, especially in the field of economy. The British government has requested the including of Scotland in the Brexit plans, but this request was refused by the pro-European manners of the Scottish people. And if Scotland organizes a second referendum, Scots will express their annoyance about the Brexit and ask for their exit. The fear from the UK's separation increased after the EU pledge for the Northern Ireland to become a member in the union after the Brexit by either the uprising or the agreement by respecting the global legitimate system (35). Despite the large and negative consequence of Brexit in the different sectors especially the economic and the political sectors, the UK decided to leave the EU. These results may weaken the position of the United Kingdom as a strong power in the world. Regardless of the impact of the withdrawal on the EU, the Brexit also effected the EU in such a negative manner.

### **1.5. The Impact of Brexit on the EU**

It is difficult to evaluate the implications of Britain's exit on the EU since we are not conscious of the prevailing relationship between the UK and the EU after the divorce. Surely, the Brexit pushes the member states towards the EU 27 despite the quality of the transition may vary between diverse sections, where the EU adopt institutional and logistical guarantees for the safety of the unique market. Some analyses indicate that the soft Brexit will have more implications than the hard one; fewer companies will be transformed consisting of UK's affairs in both fiscal and trading sectors. However, those transformed companies would wastage the proximate representation in Brussels (De Ville and Siles-Brügge 2).

What do we mean by soft Brexit and hard Brexit? Soft Brexit means that the UK leaving the EU but maintaining its membership in the European Economic Area. Since it is a member of the EU, this allows it to be a member of EEA too. This advantage enables the UK to reach and deal with the single market. This position places the UK similar to Norway. It is not a member in the EU but they can share goods and business with each other (Armour 57). While hard Brexit means that the membership of the EU stops permanently, including the EEA, as the UK and British citizens stop their benefits under the treaties of the EU, it directly became the third country, this indicates that the UK will not be able to rely on the liberty of association even the right of the EU Neath the fiscal legislative utilities (59).

The doubt about the outlook relationship between the UK and EU is the first factor that leads us to predict the effect of Brexit on the EU, it depends on the amendment in the attitude of both societal and institutional actors, it may also lead to a shift in the EU predilections and strategies as well as changes in the intensity of defending positions or making alliances; an example of such adjustment is that the reorganization of the European Parliament without the British Conservative Party (De Ville and Siles-Brügge 3).

Finally, it is clear that the politicization of Europe has played out a major role in recent decades. Thanks to politicization, the European integration issue becomes more salient, it grows to be clear and debatable in public spheres. Saliency is a key pillar in politicization; it is systematically related to the high level of politicization of actors as well as citizens. Politicization leads to the reintroduction of the concept of identity, nationalist and anti-European sentiment among Europeans. As a result, Euroscepticism takes place where it strongly spread in Europe especially in UK. Heightened awareness, saliency, Euroscepticism, and identity, all these elements are factors that shaped the politicization of Europe in the shadow of the European integration that leads to the big deal of the Brexit and the re-

emergence of nationalist sentiment in Europe in general and in the UK and Germany in particular.

As there is no unique politicization in Europe, it differs from one state nation to the other, where we find three diverse styles of politicization, concerning the time and the degree of politicization. Those three patterns are summarized in Sweden, UK and Germany.

Politicization in Germany is totally different from the other EU member state. Where the rate of politicization is relatively down in the post-Maastricht period, but later on it becomes approximately politicized in the elections of 2005 in which the political parties are ready to awaken the 'sleeping giant' of the European integration.

## **Chapter Two: The Re-emergence of Nationalism and The Rise of Anti-European Sentiment**

In the last decade, Europe was standing against several problems that menace the continent's unity and identity. In this chapter, we investigate the re-emergence of Nationalism in different European countries, and the rise of Anti-European sentiment encouraged by conservative and far-right nationalist parties, especially after Britain decided to leave the European Union. Those populist parties have a great influence over Euro citizens and gaining more and more supporters every day thanks to their anti-immigration policy that aspires to toss out immigrants and refugees, mainly non-Europeans and tries to frame them as an economic and cultural threat.

### **2.1. Nationalism**

The concept of nationalism is hard to indicate since it has several definitions, but we cannot talk about nationalism before defining the word nation and taking into consideration its relation to ethnicity. According to Anthony D. Smith, a nation is a given community that shares the same history, territory, myths, memories, and most importantly a common culture (39). De Etienne Balibar stated in his book *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* that the term nationalism is hard to define because it is impossible to serve solely and it must be in a certain context. For instance, ethnocentrism, patriotism, populism... (38). As mentioned, there is no universal definition for Nationalism; some argue that Nationalism is a fundamental process that forms a connection and a feeling of loyalty and belonging towards a certain territory, which gathers people with similar cultural characteristics, and others argue that it is a governmental ideology, encouraging a sense of patriotism through a forced military service and idolizing national heroes. Nationalism appears in different areas; such as schools, public education is one of the main spaces to spread nationalist ideas among the rising generations (Green 02:38-02:56).



Nevertheless, what most definitions of Nationalism settle on is that it can be defined as the process of creating a nation-state that unifies people under the same cultural identity. Colin Flint argues that Nationalism has two faces; first, Top-down Nationalism is a united nation with a sense of loyalty to oneself identity, however; Bottom-up Nationalism refers to a nation-state with hegemonic characteristics that rejects otherness (106-107). Nationalism is a sentiment or a feeling of belonging to a particular territory or a group of people who share the same language, culture, race, or religion. On the other hand, Nationalism is portrayed in symbols that are glorified by people. Such as flags, events, national days, heroes and so on, but at the same time, Nationalism has a negative meaning because it divides and classifies humans based on their ethnicities and what nation-states they belong to, and that is why some scholars perceive it as a form of racism.

## **2.2. History of Nationalism**

The beginning of Nationalism –which is debatable- dates back to the Renaissance during the 1600s in Europe, where the war took place between Protestants and Roman Catholics for years because of their religious differences, thus they signed treaties to maintain peace in which both nations recognized each other's existence and respected territorial boundaries (Mayall 04).

It occurs that the debut of Nationalism was triggered by religion, which unified a group of people; both religious parties developed a national conscious and sovereign identity based on their faith. Here each group felt some sort of supremacy over the other, which led to constitute nations with shared values and common laws that everyone followed.

### **2.2.1. The Rise of Modern Nationalism**

The emergence of Nationalism as a political and a cultural concept followed several aspects; one of the main factors is the industrial revolution. According to Ernest Gellner, nations secured their power by becoming industrial and enforcing their economy but that

cannot be achieved without a cultural analogy of the citizens, because in this case nationalism protects the nation-state from alienation and otherness. To Gellner, that era's Nationalism was a motive towards liberalism, democracy, political awareness of citizens, and calling for social justice (73). That is to say, the transformation of nations to industrial societies created a new cultural connection between workers who at least needed a shared language to communicate and this reinforced the idea of a common nation and the sentiment of Nationalism, which was absent before the industrial revolution. Also, the fact that the public was ruled by a ruler who does not speak the same language or who has a different religion but that changed after the industrialization where the population became more receptive to their social and economic situation.

Another aspect of the wave of Nationalism that emerged in Europe was because of the enlightenment's new perspectives that changed the political and ideological scene especially after the napoleon wars and the revolts in the USA. Therefore, the validity of law became questionable in the eyes of the public; for instance, the belief of the divine right of kings started to fade and replaced by the idea that laws must be passed through people's needs (Mayall 537-538). Thus, at the end it resulted in the upsurge of the middle class during that period with their desire to re-structure society, which was an aspect that aided the spread of nationalist ideas of popular sovereignty and cultural homogeneity by overthrowing monarchs and absolute rulers.

### **2.2.2. The Emergence of Nationalism in Europe**

The emergence of nationalism is traced back to the 1600s in Europe and more specifically in England, in which a developed consciousness rose between the English crowds to protect the sovereignty of their landscape. That same consciousness moved to France during the French revolution and finally spread around the world.

England was the first in achieving Nationalism in Europe and that was in the sixteenth century when religious groups conflicted, the French followed not long after by a revolution that ended social groups system (Greenfeld 06). Elie Kedourie argued that the resistance against the French occupation under the rule of Napoleon marked the rise of German Nationalism (qtd. in Peters and Tatham).

A few decades ago, the map of Europe was different, mainly in the central and eastern parts of Europe. Countries regained their sovereignty with the decline of Communism such as the Ottoman Empire and Russia, while other countries disappeared especially in the period between the First and Second World War (Peters and Tatham 16). Nationalism reached its peak point with the outbreak of the First World War however, this time it was prevailed by imperialism, the nationalization process continued until the Second World War meanwhile, Fascist ideas were thriving. Lauren Fielder, an assistant dean for graduate and international programs at the University of Texas School of Law, explained that the emergence of the Nazi party as a result of ethnic Nationalism backed by far-right ideologies such as the United Kingdom's Independence Party (UKIP) and the French Front National Party, which promote the belief of racial purity and the supremacy of the white race (216-217). A wave of racism and anti-Semitic sentiment was highly remarked generally in East Europe (Peters and Tatham). In other words, during the second part of the nineteenth century and with the widespread of nationalist ideas around Europe, a stream of racism flourished against minorities of other races and ethnicities such as Jews and Africans, especially after the appearance of the right wing and fascist parties primarily in the United Kingdom and Germany.

### **2.2.3. Nationalism around the world**

Nationalism influence was not exclusive to Europe but it spread all over the world, colonized countries in Africa and Asia rose against colonization after reaching the sense of

national identity, which was essential in their fight for freedom. Those nationalist movements were not successful until the end of the Second World War. The most recognized nationalist movements were in India, the Middle East; Arab versus Jewish nationalism, and Africa.

Many Africans fought in the war and were aspiring to be repaid by independence but that was not the case (Postel-Vinay). Namely, after Europe, nationalist movements expanded to touch numerous nations around the world mainly, the ones who were oppressed and under imperial powers, which was an essential, factor in achieving unity thus independence.

Nationalism re-emerged again in the world, the best example is the USA's election in 2016; President Donald Trump won the elections even though he is known for his racist and sexist behaviour. The main points that he focused on in his campaign were limiting immigration and stopping illegal immigrants from Mexico by building a wall in the southern borders (Postel-Vinay). This means that US citizens developed an anti-immigration sentiment after the huge numbers of refugees and immigrants fleeing into the country and slogans such as “Make America great again” gained popularity referring that the US was great before the newcomers and it will be again after stopping them.

Another example is Russia that is under the rule of President Vladimir Putin who is a nationalist and populist as ever, Putin as a conservative called for the restoration of traditional virtues. Another case of the re-emergence of nationalism around the world is Turkey; President Erdogan showed a few times his intention to rebuild the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, India, Philippines, Japan, Brazil are all experiencing a new wave of nationalism (Fielder 223). Therefore, this rise of nationalism around the world resulted in both positive and negative consequences, liberation movements but also racist and discriminative ideas.

### **2.3. The Re-emergence of Nationalism in Europe**

Europe was bleeding after two long destructive wars, which required a quick solution to rebuild the old continent, European integration was fundamental to preserve peace and rise

the continent politically and economically, especially with the looming of new powers in the world such as the United States of America and Russia.

Many economic and political institutions were founded, most of them were successful and beneficial to the member countries, one of the most influential organizations in Europe and the world is the European Union which unified the currency; the EURO for all members (Herrin and Peters) except the UK. European integration was not just economic and political yet it brought the Euro citizens closer by the free movement policy; that allowed Euro people to travel to any country member with no Visa. Recently the situation has changed, euro citizens started to believe that European integration was a mistake because of the crises that the European Union has been facing in the last decade, which led to the re-emergence of Nationalism.

Before discussing the direct crises that were a reason for the new growth of Nationalism, it is fair to talk about Globalization, which is more or less another factor that helped raise the nationalist sentiment among Europeans. The changes in ethnic and cultural demographics due to migration, the escalation in economic unfairness, and the sense of the absence of national sovereignty, these issues are seen as consequences of globalization. Globalization or internationalization can be defined as the integration of the world economy, politics, and culture (Feketekuty). Globalization is a phenomenon or an ideology that appeared in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is also known as the new world order. This phenomenon refers to the political, economic and cultural changes that happened in nation-states, those changes that allowed the existence of multicultural societies, and gave more rights to minorities especially in Europe that is known for its democratic governments. Which eventually lead to –besides other reasons- the rise of nationalism among Europeans. Nationalist movements perceive this phenomenon of internationalization as one of the

reasons for the economic and refugee problems and hold it, as it is their duty to protect the European citizens from the consequences of globalization.

### **2.3.1. The Eurozone Crisis**

The Maastricht treaty or the European Union treaty was signed in February 1992 in Maastricht; the Netherlands is an agreement where several European countries decided to unify the European currency from their national currency to a new common one known as the Euro. This treaty also empowered the European Community (EC) relations and the European Parliament authority. Nevertheless, in 2008 the EU's economy faced a sort of regression in light of the fact that some member states such as Greece and Italy left in a disastrous situation.

The Eurozone crisis also known as the European sovereign debt crisis is one of the most challenging problems that faced the European Union; it is a series of debts and balances of payment issues. It started with the unification of the currency to open a single free market in Europe but the bad management and the excessive lending of money led to inflammation and finally the debt crisis, mainly effected several Euro countries; Spain, Portugal, Greece, Ireland, and Cyprus (Frieden and Walter 377). This crisis changed the attitude of member states and citizens of the European Union towards European integration because its main purpose was cooperating and assisting the members in need but the reality was not as expected, therefore, the Eurosceptic sentiment was spotted.

### **2.3.2. The Migration Crisis**

Another threat that faces the European Union and the European integration, in general, is the huge numbers of immigrants and refugees coming from Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia around 2009 right after the debt crisis. A great number of immigrants cross the Mediterranean Sea illegally or seeking refuge. This crisis had a great impact on the

European political scene and was a vital reason for the re-emergence of Nationalism, the far-right populism, and even the Brexit.

According to Jeanne Park, an author and director of Brennan Center for Justice, there is a difference between a migrant and a refugee, the former is someone leaving their homeland for economic reasons such as North and Sub-Saharan Africans. The latter is someone who lives in a region of conflict that puts their life in danger hence they have the right to have asylum, for example, Syrians and Iraqis who fled the war. “All refugees are migrants, but not all migrants are refugees.” (Park).

With the Eurozone crisis, adding the refugee crisis, EU leaders and policymakers find themselves in a hard situation, the Brookings Institution’s Senior Fellow Khalid Koser said, “We used to think of migration as a human security issue, protecting people and providing assistance. Now we clearly perceive—or misperceive—migration as a national security issue” (qtd. in Park). Therefore, there had been regulations and laws that try to restrict the increasing amount of migrants. First, Dublin Regulation, which states that refugees must remain in the first EU country they enter, yet many countries allow them to pass to other member states. In France, Italy, and Greece illegal immigrants and refugees are being put in detention centers, which had been reported for human rights violations.

In Bulgaria, they built a fence around the borders to stop illegal immigrants from crossing, the same with Hungary who set armed troops to protect its borders from foreign invaders. Despite the help and the budgets received from the European commission mostly to Italy and Greece, it is still not enough to fulfill the needs (Park). Indeed, the issue of refugees is regarded as a threat to the European Union’s state members that needs solutions immediately, granting all the efforts and aids of the European Community (EC) it does not occur to disappear soon.

### 2.3.3. The Anti-Immigration Sentiment

Strong sentiment of nationalism and anti-immigration had been growing across Europe; this hatred is mostly toward Muslim refugees and some Africans. Unlike the United States and Canada, historically White Christians were the only inhabitants of Europe in which diversity and multiculturalism are new concepts to Euro citizens (Milanovic.). Aside from the rise of nationalism, racist and xenophobic behaviors were marked among young adults against everyone who is not European all over the EU who are showing refusal to the demographic and cultural changes that are happening (Ingino 56-57). For instance, some Europeans head out to the sea from the Italian coast to stop illegal migrants from Africa to cross to Europe, this group claims that their objective is to preserve Europe's identity (Parrinello). Xenophobic attitudes are deeply related to Nationalism because Nationalism is based on the political and cultural unity, which means that otherness is a threat to that unity and leads to negative feelings such fear and stereotypes towards foreigners.

Park, author and director of Brennan Center for Justice, indicated that some east Euro countries prefer non-Muslim migrants such as Slovakia in 2015, only accepted Christian Syrian refugees, same in Hungary, and other countries in which they showed concerns about Islamic terrorism and announced that religious background is taken into consideration in selecting asylum applications. Park continued, Germany and Sweden had the biggest share of refugees, some experts as Hippolyte D'Albis, an economist in Paris University of economy believe that it could be beneficial economically regarding the shortage in youth and labour in Europe. D'Albis study demonstrated that between 1990 and 2015, unemployment rates decreased thanks to immigrants, the research also found that refugees have affected the European economy positively but it is less obvious because of work restraints that are imposed on them. On the other hand, some citizens see them as threats and opponents in the



jobs market; hence, the large numbers of refugees in 2016 will develop unemployment numbers and weaken the European economy.

#### **2.3.4. Immigration and the Far-Right Parties**

It is no secret that extreme Right parties played a central role in the re-emergence of Nationalism in Europe. These political parties' influence is one of the main reasons in the upsurge of Euroscepticism and the nationalist sentiment among Euro-citizens. The far-right or right-wing are terms used to describe political parties with a radical ideology that calls for restoring old glories and retouch with roots thus against anyone who is not European ancestors, some of these parties are associated with Racism, Fascism and extremism.

Since the Euro crisis in 2009 and the migration crisis in 2015, radical right and nationalist parties had grown in terms of power and the number of followers. Udo Di Fabio, who is a previous judge in the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany, claimed that nationalist movements have gained a considerable number of followers in almost every member state of the European Union (21).

These populist parties that mainly aim to chase refugees and immigrants from the EU by framing them as terrorists and criminals who came to take European jobs and replace the European culture by their own through Media, in order to influence the public opinion, widespread all over the European Union. In Germany, the percentage of right-wing parties increased from 4.3% in 2013 to 12.6% in 2014. In France, the National Front FN party lead by Marin Le Pen won one-third of votes -almost 11 million votes- despite losing the presidential elections. Same in Austria in 2017 where nationalist parties won the majority in the parliament after the incorporation of two radical right-wing parties; besides, in the Czech Republic, far-right parties received more than 10% of votes, Tomio Okamura president of a populist party wants zero tolerance towards refugees despite the fact he is a Japanese immigrant (Fielder 218-220). In the Netherlands, Prime Minister Mark Rutte sent a letter to

the Dutch citizens saying they should defend their country's values and those who cannot respect it should leave, referring to Muslims (Henley).

Hungary is one of the most anti-immigrant countries in the EU, Victor Orban the Prime Minister have no concern showing hate towards refugees, calling them invaders and even built a wall to keep them out, in 2014 Orban declared that Hungary is to be an ethno-nationalist country. In the same manner, Poland witnessed a large march on Independence Day; protesters screamed racist words such as refugees get out, white Poland, pureblood ... (Fielder 219). Thus, the European Union banned Poland from voting due to its position on refugees, an act that provoked far-right European leaders like Le Pen and Orban in which they criticized the EU for it.

Denmark and Sweden are unexpectedly experiencing a rise of nationalism, especially in Sweden that had one of the most generous asylum policies and welcomed a great share of refugees in their lands; according to Fielder, a recent result showed that 88% of Swedish citizens blame the European Union for the migration crisis (218).

In 2017 leaders of European far-right parties from France, the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary, Czech, and Italy... gathered in Koblenz, Germany for a meeting referred to as Nationalist Europe and Freedom Coalition (Brady). In that conference, they criticized the immigration problems and proposed solutions to defend the cultural values and identity of European nations from refugees and the Islamic threat. In addition, they discussed Donald Trump's winning the United States' presidential elections and the Brexit vote, which were both praised by the populist leaders.

Far-right politicians and activists used the migration and the debt crises to pressure the EU's parliament and win European citizens to their side, through emphasizing the importance of cultural sovereignty. In which motivated the national sentiment and rejection towards strangers, specifically after the popular movement in the UK and the referendum that

eventually ended with leaving the European Union once and for all. This break up resulted in a new attitude that is known as Euroscepticism, which was one of the fundamental reasons in the re-emergence of nationalism and the UK and Europe in general.

#### **2.4. Euroscepticism**

Euroscepticism is a complex word it can be divided into Euro, skeptic, and -ism. Euro obviously came from Europe or European and the skeptic is a Greek word that refers to things that impossible to be known but when combined with –ism as an ideology it means doubt (Ulltan and Ornek 50). Thus, the definition of Euroscepticism is the doubt and refusal of the institution of the European Union’s policies and European integration (Taggart, “A Touchstone” 16). Euroscepticism or EU-skepticism refers to the rejection and denouncement of European Union's membership either completely or by refusing some of its policies, Euro-skeptics demand more independent and sovereign states and others demand the complete exit from the Union.

According to Taggart and Szczerbiak, there are two types of Euroscepticism, hard and soft Euroscepticism. On one hand, Hard Euroscepticism refers to the rejection of European integration completely, hard Eurosceptic political parties aim to remove their countries' membership from the European Union such as the French National Front party and UK Independence Party (UKIP). On the other hand, soft Euroscepticism is not against the existence of the EU but it calls for more sovereign member states (17-20).

Euroscepticism became an issue after the foundation of the European Union; Euro citizens believed that European integration influence surpasses the political power of their member states. As it is expected, the first Eurosceptic country was the UK when Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher openly declared her rejection of the European Union sovereignty and continued that the United Kingdom’s interests are the priority (Verney 13). It is no

surprise knowing that the UK is highly Eurosceptic, returning to history that was the English position since the existence of any European cooperation.

Taggart and Szczerbiak argued that the main aspects of this growth of Euroscepticism are three. First, the decline of permissive consensus, which means the public's refusal of the European Union's welfare. The second factor is the European integration's aim to encourage the public interest in European issues. And the last is the eastern enlargement of the EU and including post-communist countries in the union (23-24). Thus, plenty of Eurosceptic people who opposed the Maastricht treaty 1992; the treaty that created the Eurozone and unified the European currency, continued voting against the other treaties such as Lisbon and Nice.

European citizens were not completely against the European Union, the free movement and the free market privileges are some positive points that are counted for the EU however, the recent crisis that faced the EU in the last decade such as the debt crisis and the rise of nationalism once again created a criticism to the membership. According to Henderson and Sitter, the percentage of the European Union's supporters dropped from 52% to 31% after the Eurozone problem. To conclude, we can say that Euroscepticism is the set of policies some European governments use to show their opposition and disagreement towards the European Union and it is only fair to say that Euroscepticism had a leading part in the rise of Nationalism in Europe, which is, expected after all the issues the Union is facing.

## **2.5. Nationalism in the United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom is one of the first nations that experienced nationalism, which can be traced even before the World Wars yet back to the sixteenth century when King Henry the 8th separated the Church of England from Rome. Moreover, with the new emergence that is sweeping all over the world, the UK is no exception. The wave of nationalism in the United Kingdom resulted in a referendum to withdraw from the European Union known as the Brexit. Ralf Michaels, a director at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative and

International Private Law argued that Britain's aspiration to regain its past glories is motivated by nostalgia for the Victorian era, the aspiration for a White powerful and fortunate Kingdom, which is unrealistic (53).

The United Kingdom was one of the contributors, which came with the idea of European integration. Yet, it took decades in order to be a member, which proved to be beneficial to the English economy that flourished due to the common market. However, the anti-Euro sentiment has always characterized the English attitude concerning the European nation, when it comes to some decisions such as immigration control, the common currency, and the EU's budget contribution (Troitino et al. 59). There is no deny to the major role the UK played in the European integration and the help in creating a suitable trade market but due to economic and cultural reasons besides the French refusal, its membership delayed until 1973.

Like the other member states in the European Union, several factors contributed to rising the nationalist sentiment and Euroscepticism in the United Kingdom. The upsurge number of refugees and economic migrants in 2015 resulted in the UK referendum to leave the EU in June 2016, which left the European Union in a serious situation.

Britain's fear to lose its national sovereignty because of the Schengen treaty; it was problematic for the UK to open its borders for EU citizens who work for lower wages than UK citizens do. Furthermore, economic issues were not the only problem yet cultural problems, the huge numbers of asylum seekers and migrants who are counted to be from Middle Eastern and African countries, and each of them has their own language, religion, and culture. Some far-right groups perceived this as a threat to British identity. Another problem that is security issues caused by immigrants, immigration at first was stated to be under control but it appeared to be otherwise; the increase of crime rates such as sexual assaults,

robberies, and terrorist attacks manifested by refugees was another trigger for Great Britain to leave the EU (Fielder 228-229).

Statistics proved that 64% of UK citizens perceive them only as English and have no attachment to the other Europeans, that is to say, British people have a strong national identity sentiment. Other statistics found that 45% of the British have pessimistic views on European integration in 2014 (Eurobarometer). While in 2016, a questionnaire was made about Euro citizens' opinion on how things are in the European Union; in the UK 56% voted for things are going in a bad direction verses 21% seeing things going in a good direction, while the remaining percentage voted for neither or I don't know (Eurobarometer). From these results, we can understand Britain's decision to leave the EU was determined by the majority of the population.

England including Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland compose the United Kingdom; the majority in England voted for the Brexit however, in Scotland for example, 65% of Scottish were against the Brexit and for keeping their membership in the EU. Studies tackled that the ones who have a strong sense of English nationalism are more likely to support leaving the Union. Meanwhile, in Scotland, the ones who describe themselves as British are likely to vote for the Brexit. Experts concluded that English nationalism combined with populist Euroscepticism demonstrated the shared values that led to the UK's withdrawal from the European Union (Henderson et al. 190).

In brief, the United Kingdom's decision to abandon its membership in the European Union is a result of a series of reasons that lead to the breakup, such as the rise of nationalist and far-right parties like the UKIP. Then, the escalation of immigrants' number from Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Africa. Another reason is Globalization and its cultural and demographic consequences, and finally, the multiple crises that the EU is facing lately since the debt crisis.

## 2.6. Euroscepticism in the UK

Euroscepticism, this phenomenon that spread all over the European Union through nationalist parties and media to transmit negative ideas about the European integration, had appeared in the UK since the beginning, which is one of the most Eurosceptic members in the European Union. This anti-Euro sentiment was indicated in both politics and public opinion.

One of the many reasons for the Euroscepticism of Britain occurs to be cultural, as already mentioned only 36% of British identify themselves as Europeans. Spiering, a professor in modern European literature at Amsterdam University asserted that the British are known to have a sense of superiority when it comes to other nationalities (61). Furthermore, this superiority is derived from early times; British are descendants of Anglo-Saxons, which is, described to be one the first civilized societies (Mandler), adding the fact that the United Kingdom consists of three islands; England, Scotland, and Wales which means it is not connected to Europe Geographically. Both Prime Ministers Tony Blair and David Cameron distinguished between Britain and Europe to assert that the UK does not belong to the European continent either in a race or in topography (Spiering 24).

According to Anthony Forster, a political scientist, three main periods highlighted the British Euroscepticism. The first period was during the early application to join the European Economic Community EEC in 1961 by Prime Minister Macmillan until the national referendum in 1975 that ended for the EC membership. The second wave of the British Euroscepticism was during Thatcher's negotiations of the conditions of the European integration, and the third period started with the opposition of the Maastricht treaty to the current period.

The Maastricht treaty in 1992 generated radical Euroscepticism led by Prime Minister John Major's conservative government, notably with how the right-wing media framing the

European Union policies as a threat to the national sovereignty (Gifford). Furthermore, other considerable factors helped increase Euroscepticism in the United Kingdom. For instance, the enlargement of the EU in 2004, migration problems, labour competition, low payment, globalization, the debt crisis as well as the media criticism of the European alliance (Startin). Adding to this the current period after the financial crisis and the refugees' crisis in which the British Euroscepticism is more rooted to be political, economic, and cultural which eventually led to the 2016 Brexit vote.

It is a fact that the European alliance is in serious trouble, regarding the several crises and challenges that the union is dealing with; anti-euro sentiment, nationalism, economic problems, the migration crisis, the Brexit... These multiple complications have certainly weakened the EU inside and on the international level and many expected the end of the European Union yet that was not the case.

Data shows growing support for Eurosceptic political parties that uphold anti-immigrant approaches all over the continent and mostly in Western Europe but elections results proved that the majority of citizens are pro-European. In France, Mr. Emmanuel Macron won the Presidential elections against the National Front right-wing party leader Marine Le Pen. Same in Britain where conservative Prime Minister Theresa May fails in Parliament election by losing its majority. Donald Tusk; president of the council of European Union heads of states and governments argues that the EU is recognized as a solution instead of an obstacle as it is portrayed by anti-Euro parties and media. Tusk wrote, "We are witnessing the return of the EU rather as a solution, not a problem. Paradoxically, the tough challenges of the recent months have made us more united than before." (qtd. in Strupczewski).

About the problem of immigrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea, Tusk said that the EU must assist the Libyan coastguards financially to prevent migrants from sailing to the



European sea borders, Tusk continued by pointing to the jobs posts dissatisfaction by promising that the council will discuss and respond to global trading threats. Moreover, he insisted on Europe standing together to face terrorism and violence to enhance security by pressuring technology associations to avoid posts and publications that promotes terror or calls for riots (Strupczewski).

This chapter tackled the crisis and challenges that weakened the European Union's position and complicated its situation internally and internationally, and it was the main reason for the Brexit referendum. The wave of nationalism that hit the European alliance this last decade affected the member states in a different aspect, especially on the political, economic, and cultural basics and finally resulted in the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the Union, which changed not only Europe but also the world.

The rise of nationalism was on a parallel with the emergence of anti-European sentiment in almost all the member states of the European Union even the least expected ones such as Sweden. These sentiments of nationalism and Euroscepticism were a reaction to the multiple problems in Europe. The Eurozone crisis that crushed the economic state of many EU countries such as Greece and Italy left them in a tremendous financial dilemma. Next, the refuges and migration crisis crossing the European borders from troubled and war zones; these poor, low skilled and fundamentalist immigrants caused fear among European citizens, with terrorist attacks, criminal assaults, and low wages workers... European felt threatened in their own countries, which aroused a sense of xenophobia and racism toward foreigners and their cultures.

### **Chapter Three: The Politicization, Nationalism and Euroscepticism in Germany**

Each country in the European Union has a unique ideology about its role, in the third chapter; a case study about Germany is inspected. The first part of the chapter takes into consideration the relationship between the European Union and Germany. In addition to the Politicization of Germany, and how it influenced decision-making in the German government, it also sheds the light on Brexit and its affection on the views on immigrants both by the government and by the public in Germany. Furthermore, it mentions the link and the rapport between politicization and Nationalism in Germany. The second part of the chapter focuses on the role of Brexit on the re-emergence of Nationalism in Germany and its relation to politicization. Finally, it explains the role of German political parties in the shadow of Brexit and their position towards immigration and the refugee crisis, expressing their strong power and influence on the German political scene and the European Union.

#### **3.1. Germany in the EU**

Germany, or formally the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), is a country situated in the core of Western Europe, with an area of 357.104 SK KM. It is one of the biggest countries in the European continent; it has a strategic location on both the North European plain and over the opening of the Baltic Sea. It has a federal government with a chief counselor, and consists of 16 states with partial sovereignty, Berlin is the capital city, the German language is its official language and the Euro is the official currency since 2002 when Germany united with other eleven nations to form the Eurozone (Wallace-Hadrill et al).

Germany characterized by a mixed economic system which provides more opportunities for private freedom, it is one of six founding member states of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) of 1952, the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) in 1957 respectively. Germany has a great impact on

the European integration and the prosperity of the ECSC, this later was planned to overcome on the outcome of re-establishing the German industrial power only under the control of France, it has huge economics, military forces, and capabilities. It is one of the most important determinants of the EU (Bulmer and Paterson 1387). By 1970 to 1980, Germany crowned the title of an economic giant and political dwarf since West Germany was semi-sovereign, at that period the German government played an important role in the integration process, not alone but with the help of its French counterpart. With the end of the cold war, and with the expansion of the EU and after that, the Eurozone crisis, France lost its strong economy that Germany wanted to be the dominant player in guarantee stability due to its continued growth of trade. As a result, Berlin imposed its austerity policy on the Euro-zone countries that suffer from sovereign debt problems such as Greece and Spain, which led to fear from more control over the whole EU (1388).

Germany is considered as a "fantastic trader" that emphasizes on the export side of the trade, and seeks to achieve stability and legitimacy of the German territory, in addition to the hegemony on the EU. However, economy alone is not effective; from the various specifications that make Germany powerful in the EU, we have: First, Germany's position within the EU, it serves as an abundant of the diverse material resources. Second, its effective business as a supplier of international public goods and commodities, in addition to the need for German hegemony to preserve approval and legitimacy on the part of its partners in the union with a possibility of internal policy to encourage Germany (1390). Germany plays a significant role in Europe in general and in the EU in particular, the German economy was in recession twenty years ago, and recently; with the euro crisis, the giant kept Europe on its feet.

### 3.2. Politicization in Germany

The number of complications and problems that Germany has to deal with as an influential member of the European Union in this last decade, from the debt crisis in 2008, the United Kingdom's intentions to leave the EU and most importantly the refugee crisis. All these obstacles that has lead to a severe rise in the Nationalist sentiment, Euroscepticism and xenophobia among the German citizens, in which it affected its political and economic situation, at the same time there was an upsurge in Politicization and especially for the issue of migration.

As the Dutch writer and philosopher, Luuk Van Middellaar once referred to the act of Politicization adopted by the EU by saying, "crises are moments of truth, and when in crises we are experiencing a return of politics" (qtd. in Genschel and Jachtenfuchs). According to Pieter De Wilde, Politicization is the increase of visibility and plurality in views and perspectives on some particular social problems in which issues are highly debated and requires a public policy ("No Polity" 561). It is necessary to remind that, for a subject to be considered fully politicized; it must go through the three phases of Politicization. The three steps to politicize an issue are through, First, Saliency which is the visibility and transparency of the topic. The second dimension is the polarization, which is the diversity and variety of opinions about the given issue. Finally, the expansion of public actors, this dimension is about the increase in diverged public interactions and collective participation in debates and protests (De Wilde, Leupold, and Schmidtke 04-06). In other words, Politicization is often defined as bringing out a certain topic to the public sphere for discussion. This politicization act goes through three trajectories, which are saliency, polarization and the expansion of public actors, these three dimensions in which they relate policymakers, media and public.

One of the most controversial and highlighted topics in Germany today is immigration, this issue which, at first seemed to be manageable but soon the German

government, lost control after the big waves of migrants running from war zones in the Middle East and Africa. These migrants were seeking refuge in many European countries, and especially in Germany that had the biggest share. In the beginning, most of the German political parties were for the idea of new immigration laws to fill the shortage of employees in the labour market but since the numbers were growing dramatically, German parties felt threatened by the cultural changes that might happen in the German society hence; this problem required the act of politicization to raise awareness. In this regard, the concerns about immigration, for instance, crimes, Islamization and job's competition... were spotlighted for discussion publicly in Germany. The second aspect in the Politicization of migration in Germany in current discussions and political agendas on multiculturalism was evident through media (Schmidtke and Zaslove 185). That is to say, the Politicization of immigration in Germany was a principal topic and the main concern of political parties, more specifically, the right-wing parties and German citizens, which contributed to politicize more issues related to immigration such as Nationalism and Euroscepticism.

Most of the German political parties and their supporters were in favour to aid the prosecuted groups that left their troubled countries up until 2015, but even after 2015, the issue of refugees did not reach a strong stage of polarization in the German parliament debates. However, when non-parliamentary actors such as the Alternative für Deutschland party (AfD) - in English the Alternative for Germany-, far right party and the PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West) movement, which has thousands of followers, represented the migration crisis it gained a lot of attention and changed the political discourse, this change that generated polarization even in parliament discussions in 2017 (Beinhorn and Glorius 09-15).

To conclude, Germany has experienced a high level of Politicization; primarily in terms of immigration, after the arrival of more than a million refugees in one year. The act of

politicization was triggered by Eurosceptic right-wing political parties, which were influenced by other far-right parties across Europe and especially in the UK as one of the many consequences of the Brexit vote that changed European politics forever.

### **3.3. The Impact of Brexit on Germany**

Britain's decision of the withdrawal from the EU is considered as the sideshow of Germany as well as the English hubris, it coincided with great frustration from German citizens and government since they have been a plinth commercial connection probably extend even after the Brexit. From this side, the German government has to concentrate on the political direction concerning the politicized and hasty issues like the Eurozone and the refugee crisis. Because of the close connection between the UK and Germany, Brexit has a great impact on it.

The UK was the second greatest economy after Germany until it was overreached by France. Later on in 2016-2017, it was classified as the third then the fifth most exporters for German commodities and goods; this degradation was due to the Brexit referendum and the Pound's weakness to a certain extent in addition to the increase of meteoritic in China as a significant export market. The successful exchange of goods leads to the belief that Germany tried to suffocate the UK capacities to build forceful trade ties with strong countries like China.

We may notice that Germany is no longer dependent on UK's goods, while the later (UK) is heavily dependent on German goods especially in the domain of automobiles with an amount of 29 Billion Euros. Brexit supporters like Boris Johnson stated that Germany is the first loser from the Brexit in the absence of any agreement between the UK and EU. However, the research of 2017 reveals that in case the hard Brexit will not take place, Germany will not be affected greatly, the percentage of loss ranged about 0.02% points of the total local production of Germany while UK's will decrease by 1.70%. There is a contrastive

effect on different German states and regions, for example, there is a possibility that both the Northern German Hanseatic city-states Bremen and Hamburg will be affected in a bad way because it has intensive trade relations with the UK. Besides, Brexit has a negative large impact on Southern Germany; it is a kind of economic reflection. As an example, we have the two Southern states Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, which embrace many small and medium-sized enterprises, and it is the backbone of the German economy. Nevertheless, after the Brexit referendum, precisely in 2017, Bavaria exported only 08% of its goods to the UK. As a result, the level of exports decreased by 3 percentage points, as it hinders the German economy to a certain extent, all these drawbacks are due to the result of the Brexit referendum, generally speaking, it is the impact of Brexit on the German economics (Wurzel 176 -178).

Another impact is that Britain's exit from the EU is likely to lead to a distinct shift in the balance of power in the EU. Therefore, Germany took advantage of the Brexit decision to become the chief leader of the EU in alliance with France to reaffirm their powerful rally especially during Emmanuel Macron's success in the French election. With Franco-German cooperative domination under the German power, small member states are under the risk of Franco-German domination. Although the UK was an effective component of European integration, its withdrawal has presented a significant role in the offset strength of France and Germany. At this point, Germany will take control of the whole EU's decision-making without discussion from other strong power. There remains a little voice for small member states to have an audible voice in the Franco-German decision-making regards to the strength of the EU institutions in continuing to achieve the principle of the interest of all member states (Bishop and Clegg 03).

Experts and researchers agree that the migration crisis was the primary cause of the Brexit; it indirectly affects the recent migration strategies and procedures within the EU in

general and Germany in particular. In 2015, the chancellor Merkel decided to open the borders from various sides, where the previous German decision was hardly criticized. Merkel felt a real danger of losing her position, she talked publically to her citizens and confessed that her policy concerning the refugees is harming Germany; as a result, it has been modified due to the unanticipated waves of internal migration. The consequence is that Germany put internal laws and restrictions to halt the wave of migration compounded with a series of measures including the immediate banishment of perpetrators who committed heinous crimes; this was at the domestic sphere. While outwardly, in 2016 Merkel represented the EU in a transaction with Turkey and obstructed the massive wave of migrants and refugees across the Turkish-Greek passage, whereby she started arranging new immigration and refugee policies and tactics. The sudden transformation in German reasoning from a complete tolerance towards restrictions is due to the limitation of the migration process (Olszyński 111). Far from the political and non-political impact of Brexit on Germany, Germany was preoccupied with other issues like the migrant crisis and the growth of the far-right AfD political party and other oppositional parties.

### **3.4. Reaction of German Political Parties in Post Brexit**

Chancellor Merkel's first analysis of the Brexit was as follows: "Is a watershed event for Europe and the European process of unification and integration" where she called for caution and slow down. She also announced that "Germany has a special interest and a special responsibility in European unity succeeding." (Olszyński 105). For more clarification, Merkel is addressed the entire government about the Brexit's issue, which there is in return related to the role of the German political parties and their viewpoints concerning the withdrawal of the UK from the EU (Olszyński 105). The Social Democrats (SPD) aimed to determine the Brexit' outcome focusing on the immigration policy and the monetary union, where the head of the democratic party Sigmar Gabriel with the previous German president



of the European Parliament stated ten items about the reformation of the EU in post Brexit under the title of “Founding Europe Anew.” (Olszyński 106). The policy started with a major problem of refugees and immigrants. Concerned members like Germany, insisted on a deeper unification regarding the establishment of joint border protection services in addition to a unified strategy for admittance and this is through the foundation of refugees’ agencies and set up a distribution process for them, all those programs are procedures to diminish the sheer amount of outsiders.

On the economic front, they tried to standardize tax structures and common taxes for transnational companies and growing convergence in the energy administration and professional education. SPD started thinking that strong unification even between a few countries will lead to the advent of two- or more rapidly Europe (Olszyński 106). However, Chancellor Merkel’s both parties the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union CDU/ CSU has insisted on EU stability and solidarity of the whole EU countries. Confronted with the Brexit; Merkel’s general plans to slow down and support the reform. Specifically, CDU believed in the importance of the battle for Europe and the integration. Concerning the economic field, Merkel insisted on narrowing the gap between those who have gained a lot from globalization and who have not. More willingness to assume super trust for EU undomesticated policy since member states will not be able to confront the different crisis alone in post-Brexit, the CDU and Merkel stated that Germany and France are especially responsible for the performance and policy-making of the EU (Olszyński 107).

In opposition to the CDU, there is a recent party, which named the Alternative for Germany (AfD) an anti-immigration party. It is a second largest party in Germany after Merkel’s party CDU, it was created in 2013 under the leadership of Frauke Petry, which opposed the German strategy on the Eurozone crisis, also; it was a heavy opponent of the

open doors scheme introduced by Angela Merkel's campaign under the slogans "save borders" and "halt the chaos of refugees". The AfD was seen as a relapse for the CDU, correspond to a review administered, there are 81 percent of Germans believed that the situation of refugees became out of guidance under Merkel's leadership and the plurality seeks for stringent asylum seeker standards. Petry pledged German citizens that the AfD would peruse policy reform that has been deserted from the previous parties, and the issue of refugees and immigrants was at the top of the list of recommendations (RT.com).

When Germany embraces a more than millions of refugees undoubtedly this automatically leads to the refugee crisis since Germany allocated a sum of money for those refugees, it provides them with houses, feed, and works. In addition, the German elite tried to indoctrinate those refugees all concerning the German culture.

These intestates towards asylums lead to a great dissatisfaction from German citizens, a lot of pushback, feel of hate and anti-European sentiments about the current situation and those refugees, as a reaction; waves of opposition started to appear, this reaction served the AfD party to become stronger and powerful than CDU to achieve several goals to remove immigrations and asylums.

### **3.5. Nationalism in Germany**

Nationalism is a phenomenon that appeared during the fifteenth and sixteenth century in Europe and developed as an ideology with the French revolution. The differences between European nations were highly noticed in many ways like in faith, language and culture hence Nationalism was the sentiment that unified nation-states that have cultural similarities and emerged the idea of loyalty to a certain nation.

In Germany, Nationalism was firstly known as "Natio Germanica" in 1471. In that period Germany was in a war against the Ottoman Empire, and the term "Holy Roman Empire of German Nation" appeared, which was backed by the Christian church and the

papal authorities, in order to integrate the German nation under the Roman Empire but the awareness of the elite and cultured class in Germany prevented that (Dusche 40). Many claimed that the real emergence of modern Nationalism in Germany was between 1740 and 1830 influenced by the enlightenment and as a response of the revolutions both in France and in the United States (Planert 27). Up until 1848, Nationalism in Germany was more like a political movement that spread from Prussia (a kingdom in the southeast the Baltic Sea includes Germany and Poland) to the Rhineland which is a historical region in West Germany but not completely, Nationalism transformed politically in 1871 only after the establishment of imperial Germany (Jansen 02). Germany was formed of several territories that spoke the German language and later became an empire with a powerful army; it constantly engaged in wars with other powerful European nations such as the British Empire and even defeated France. These conflicts were purely for imperialistic reasons mainly for lands in Africa and Asia.

In medieval times, communities were not able to develop national sentiments because of the nature of the societies, which were mainly composed of a hierarchy system that is to say; people had different priorities depending on their class in society. According to the author Saskia Andersen, nation-states of that time lacked functional requirements such as modernity, public engagement in political matters and political awareness... (03). German Nationalism developed through two phases; the first variant was around the late 1800s and was known as Patriotism which was described to be moderate, modern and liberal. On the other hand, the second variant of German Nationalism, which started with the foundation of imperial Germany, this version of Nationalism was the opposite of Patriotism because it was identified as anti-socialist, non-democratic, discriminative, racist and non-progressive (Planert 28). Thus what was absent in defining these two stages of Nationalism in Germany is

the fact that all genres of Nationalism aim to acquire control over other nations and to show that one culture is more important and more valuable than others.

Unlike the other European nations, Germany did not experience any kind of revolutions against monarchs or rulers and for that reason; Germans were unable to build their own social and political views. It was understandable that in order to achieve economic advancement and modernity, territorial expansion and display of power with other nations was a necessary move, and for that to be accomplished ideas like past glories and traditional heritage up surged (qtd. in Andersen). Accordingly, nationalist sentiment rose within the German citizens that empowered their shared values and beliefs in which they did not mind any immoral or violent acts against aliens as long as it was for the greater good of the nation.

### **3.5.1. Nationalism and Nazism**

The early 1900s marked the beginning of a new movement that was known as Nazism. The Nazi movement is the ideology and the belief, which claims the supremacy of the Germanic nation over all races and nationalities (Augustyn). According to the historian and psychologist Richard A. Koenigsberg, Nazism is “a coherent fantasy that shaped the ideology and was the source of the energy invested in it”. Nazism was built of an ideology that spread and supported by an entire nation.

Nazism is a phenomenon that is associated with the previous German leader Adolf Hitler. His idea originated from his aspiration to unite Germany to be one nation instead of separated territories in which he believed that people are a crucial element to make that come true, but people who were not pure are a threat that sickens his ideal nation (Koenigsberg). By non-pure blooded people Hitler referred to individuals with non-Nordic origins in general and specifically the Jews, who thought they were a reason to prevent the nation’s sovereignty and unity which eventually lead to a genocide against them known as the Holocaust where millions of Jewish people died.

Koenigsberg claimed that Nazism embodied an outrageous version of Nationalism; Hitler often preached about the importance of patriotism and spread nationalist ideas by propaganda through symbols and logos such as "Our future is Germany, our today is Germany and our past is Germany." What relates Nationalism and Nazism is that Nationalism is all about the concept of unity, sovereignty and the shared culture and virtues that bring people together which means that particular nation is distinct from other nations, in that sense each nation-state feels superior towards other nations and from this concept the Nazi movement flourished.

### **3.5.2. The Re-emergence of the Nationalist Sentiment and Right-Wing Parties in Germany**

Nationalism became a sentiment that characterizes Germany both publicly and politically, the early 21<sup>st</sup> century noted a new wave of Nationalism as a backlash against the problems that are challenging Europe and the European Union. The EU recently is facing several issues since the Maastricht treaty and the unification of the European currency, which was the primary reason that caused the Euro-zone crisis in 2008 that affected many European countries such as Greece, Italy and Portugal. However, the Euro-zone issue was not the only problem that Europe had to deal with. It had other problems such as the Migration/refugees crisis in 2015 and the United Kingdom's arrangement to leave the European Union. The latter was a direct result of the re-emergence of Nationalism in Europe in general and Germany in particular, this ideology was introduced and encouraged through political parties known as right wing or far-right parties.

Unlike most West- European countries, Germany was not considered a country of immigration up until 2005. A new legislative policy was launched by the German government, which announced that the country became officially open for immigration. The new immigration and citizenship laws opened a question of identity crisis from Germans; this

was a serious to right-wing parties such as the populist Alternative für Deutschland party (AfD) which was created in 2013 and lead by Bernd Lucke. The party adopts Eurosceptic ideas, opposed immigrants' laws and the German aids for euro-countries that were highly affected by the debt crisis. For an economist like Bernd Lucke, the common currency and the European integration as a whole were a threat to the German economy, regarding the fact that Germans take pride in their currency that represented prosperity and wealth. After Lucke, Frauk Perty became the new leader of AfD in 2015 with the refugee crisis, which directed the focus of the party to refugees and migrants (Gedmin). The huge number of refugees who entered Germany was tremendous, almost one million refugees in one year and most of them were males from Muslim countries, frightened the natives which, aroused racism and islamophobia within them.

The AfD and other far-right parties gained more and more population among Germans; research found that 81% of AfD supporters agreed to the idea of refugees' ban, Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) lead by Chancellor Merkl also marked a high percentage 64%. Other popular right-wing parties, the Free Democratic Party had 57%, the Left Party 54% and the Social Democratic Party 53% (Gedmin). Therefore, more than half of Germans were against immigration and refugees, they refused the new cultural changes that were happening in their nation, which fuelled their xenophobic and anti-Islam behaviours.

The great number of migrants and asylum seekers who flee to Germany, more than one million refugees between 2014 and 2015 created economic, political and security problems according to German citizens. First, immigration affected the German economy because the majority of the new arrivals were low-skilled young men from the Middle East and Africa. This caused a shake in production in the labour market and increased the rates of

employment, besides the competition with German workers but later studies showed that the labour market could contain that shock (Gehrsitz and Ungerer 15-16).

The second issue was political and influenced voting and public opinion, results showed that right wing and centre-right parties had the biggest share of the votes in election especially anti-immigrant and anti-EU parties such as the AfD party (18-20). The voters expressed their concerns about refugees and how they influenced the German society culturally through their religion and traditions, economically through taking Germans jobs but the greatest concern was in terms of safety, which leads as to the last problem. Finally, the issue of security, since the migration crisis; statistics asserted that rates of crimes and terrorist attacks have increased (24). From this, it is understandable the hate and anti-immigrant sentiments that German citizens have developed towards refugees, these sentiments were also directed towards the European Union's free-market and open borders policies.

### **3.6. Euroscepticism in Germany**

With all the crises and problems in the European Union, which lead to a significant increase in the numbers of supporters of anti-Euro parties, and the backlash against the European integration; was not a surprise nor an unexpected reaction from all the member states of the EU, and more importantly Germany, it was clear that Germany's position toward the European integration has changed from total support to a more negative and hesitant attitude.

Germany has always been a pro-EU country. From the early stages of the European integration, Germany was for the idea of unification by both the public and the government; it might be because of the consequences of the war, in which Germany faced great loss not only in human resources but also in its industrial power besides the weak political position (Walread 11). So in order to rebuild its economy and international relationships, Germany

had to support European integration. However, since the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, that attitude has changed completely. The rise in the anti-Euro sentiment was primarily because of the single currency; there were some concerns of unbalance and inflation, and the enlargement policy (Busch and Knelangen 84).

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the Eurosceptic mind-set in Germany was driven mainly by economic issues, for instance; the enlargement policy created new competitors in the market for Germany's economy and might shake employment rates, social conditions and pay levels (84-85). Furthermore, the fact that Germany had no significant Eurosceptic political parties until the early 2010s when the AfD attained popularity shows that Euroscepticism in Germany is a new phenomenon. Later on and after the UK's intentions to leave the Union, nationalistic movements started to appear in Germany and even the German government showed more interest in its own interior affairs rather than the EU's.

Since 2013, with the foundation of the AfD party, a new phenomenon has appeared in the political scene, the far-right movement "PEGIDA" abbreviation for "Patriotische Europäer Gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes" (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West). The movement that was triggered by the recent events happening in Europe, more specifically the so-called the refugee crisis, it started as a small group but it got bigger through social media such as Facebook and other platforms, which dragged more attention from the media until its supporters' numbers reached 25000 people (Vorländer, Herold, and Schäller).

The PEGIDA organization was moved by nationalistic and xenophobic sentiments towards refugees and asylum seekers, especially the Muslims. The participants of the movement expressed their fears of the changes happening in the German society; the new ethnicities bringing their traditions and customs, people in religious clothes walking in the streets such as women wearing the veil or men with beards and long dresses. All these scenes



brought out islamophobia and racist behaviours from Germans. In the end, Euroscepticism in Germany emerged because of security issues induced by immigration, the enlargement policy and the decreased hope in the European Union's solutions.

To conclude, Germany is one of the first countries to join the European integration besides being the biggest member state in the Union, Germany has always been a pro-European country considering all the advantages and the help that it has benefited from the European Union especially after two destructive world wars. The EU's economic policies such as the free market helped Germany in rebuilding its economy until it became one of the strongest economies in Europe and the world. However, in the last decade, Germany's position began to change because of the recent event and problem happening in the European continent; the enlargement, the Eurozone crisis, the refugee crisis and the Brexit. Germany as any member of the European Union had its share from these struggles that were presented to the German public through politicization in which it created debate and discussions among the citizens and the political parties. On the other hand, there was a re-emergence of Nationalism and Eurosceptic sentiment in Germany due to the economic and cultural changes caused by the immigrants and refugees.

## Conclusion

The main objective of this Master's research paper is to examine the re-emergence of Nationalism and Euroscepticism in relation to the Politicization in the UK, Germany and the European Union in general. It investigates the causes and consequences of Politicization, Nationalism and Euroscepticism, in addition to how these phenomena affect politics, economy and social life in Europe.

The first chapter discusses the role of Politicization in the European integration; it explains what does politicization mean? Its steps and how this policy manages to present mainstream issues, for instance, immigration, the debt crisis... to the European public through political parties, public debates, media... this chapter shows that Politicization had positive and negative consequences; on one hand, because it raised awareness and integrated Euro citizens in politics and decision making. On the other hand, Politicization caused the Brexit and the nationalist sentiment in many Euro countries. Moreover, it estimates the impact of the Brexit vote on other member states of the European Union such as Germany and how it lead to a wave of Nationalism and anti-Euro sentiment. The Brexit was one of the greatest issues in the EU. The referendum complicated the European Union's position and changed several policies concerning the free market and immigration. Likewise, Politicization, the Brexit also had two sides; the negative one was the spread of nationalism yet it influenced the British and the German economy in a good way.

The second chapter is a continuation for the first one in which it assesses the crises and issues in the European Union that lead to the upsurge of the nationalist and anti-Euro sentiments. The Eurozone crisis that weakened the economic state of many European countries, and the refugee crisis with all its outcomes; from competition in the labor market and security threats to demographical and cultural changes in the European societies which

was not likeable by many especially the right wing political parties and their supporters. This rejection of immigrants and refugees was expressed through racism and xenophobia.

The third chapter is about Germany as a case study, it discusses the nature of the relationship between Germany and the European Union, and the benefits of the Union from Germany's economy. This last chapter explains the impact of the Politicization of immigration and the influence of the United Kingdom's decision to leave the EU on Germany, and how the Brexit vote resulted in the rise of Nationalism on parallel with Euroscepticism among the German citizens, in which affected the situation of refugees and immigrants there. Finally, we deduce that the mainstream political parties are the first and the last concerted of the European integration process and decision making in Europe especially in Germany.

## Bibliography

### Secondary Sources

#### Books

Andersen, Saskia. *Understanding Nationalism in Nazi-Germany*. GRIN Publishing, 2015.

<https://www.grin.com/document/294287>. Accessed 6 Sept 2020.

De Étienne Balibar, and Immanuel Wallerstein. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*.

1988. [https://dl1.cuni.cz/pluginfile.php/496602/mod\\_resource/content/1/wallerstein-class.pdf](https://dl1.cuni.cz/pluginfile.php/496602/mod_resource/content/1/wallerstein-class.pdf). Accessed 16 Mar 2020.

Flint, Colin. *Introduction to Geopolitics*. Routledge, 2017.

[https://www.academia.edu/3354871/Introduction\\_to\\_geopolitics](https://www.academia.edu/3354871/Introduction_to_geopolitics). Accessed 13 Mar 2020.

Forster, Anthony. *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics: Opposition to Europe in the British Conservative and Labour Parties since 1945*. Routledge, 2002.

[https://books.google.dz/books/about/Euroscepticism\\_in\\_Contemporary\\_British\\_P.htm?id=8ozm8EJ3Tl8C&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.dz/books/about/Euroscepticism_in_Contemporary_British_P.htm?id=8ozm8EJ3Tl8C&redir_esc=y). Accessed 08 Jul 2020.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism Ernest Gellner*. Blackwell, 1983.

[https://books.google.dz/books/about/Nations\\_and\\_Nationalism.html?id=jl7t2yMfxwIC&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.dz/books/about/Nations_and_Nationalism.html?id=jl7t2yMfxwIC&redir_esc=y). Accessed 12 Mar 2020.

Greenfeld, Liah. *The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth*.

Harvard University Press, 2001. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23722785?seq=1>. Accessed 17 Mar 2020.

- Mandler, Peter. *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.  
<https://academic.oup.com/ahr/article-abstract/113/2/580/22004?redirectedFrom=fulltext>. Accessed 02 Apr 2020.
- Peters, Yvette, and Michaël Tatham. *Democratic Transformations in Europe: Challenges and Opportunities*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/314079163\\_Democratic\\_Transformations\\_in\\_Europe\\_-\\_Challenges\\_and\\_Opportunities](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/314079163_Democratic_Transformations_in_Europe_-_Challenges_and_Opportunities). Accessed 20 Aug 2020.
- Smith, Anthony David. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Basil Blackwell, 1999.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/571192?seq=1>. Accessed 18 Apr 2020.
- Spiering, Menno. *A Cultural History of British Euroscepticism*. Palgrave Pivot, London, 2014. <https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9781137447548>. Accessed 09 May 2020.
- Troitiño David Ramiro, et al. *The EU in the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities for the European Integration Process*. Springer, 2020.  
<https://www.springer.com/gp/book/9783030383985>. Accessed 17 Apr 2020.
- Vorländer, Hans, Maik Herold and Steven Schäller. *PEGIDA and New Right-Wing Populism in Germany*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323635568\\_PEGIDA\\_and\\_New\\_Right-Wing\\_Populism\\_in\\_Germany](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323635568_PEGIDA_and_New_Right-Wing_Populism_in_Germany). Accessed 03 Sept 2020.

### **Book Chapters**

- Benjamin, Martill, and Uta Staiger. "Introduction: Brexit and beyond." *Brexit and Beyond: Rethinking the Futures of Europe*, edited by Benjamin Martill, Uta Staiger, UCL Press, 2018. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt20krxf8.6>

- Chochia, Archil, et al. "Enlargement to the UK, the Referendum of 1975 and Position of Margaret Thatcher." *Brexit: History, Reasoning and Perspectives*, Edited by David Ramiro Troitiño, Tanel Kerikmae, and Archil Chochia, Spring International Publishing, 2018.
- Daugėlienė, Rasa, and Paulius Puskunigis. "The Scope and Specificity of Economic Relations between the EU and the United Kingdom in Brexit Case." *Brexit: History, Reasoning and Perspectives*, Edited by David Ramiro Troitiño, Tanel Kerikmae, and Archil Chochia, Spring International Publishing, 2018.
- De Wilde, Pieter. "The Politicization of European Integration: Towards Democratic Renationalization?" *The Legitimacy of Regional Integration in Europe and the Americas*, edited by Achim Hurrelmann, and Steffen Schneider, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Doi: 10.1057/9781137457004\_2.
- Grande, Edgar, and Hanspeter Kriesi. "Conclusions: The Post Functionalists Were (Almost) Right." *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*, edited by Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande, and Hanspeter Kriesi, 2016.
- Grande, Edgar, and Swen Hutter. "Introduction: European Integration and the Challenge of Politicisation." *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*, edited by Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande, and Hanspeter Kriesi, 2016.
- Jansen, Christian. "The Formation of German Nationalism, 1740–1850." *Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, 2012, doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199237395.013.0011.
- Kaelble, Hartmut. "Identification with Europe and Politicization of the EU since the 1980." *European Identity*. Edited by Jeffrey T. Checkel, Simon Fraser, and Peter J. Katzenstein, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Olszyński, Józef. "Change in Germany's European Policy in the Face of Brexit." *Brexit and the Consequences for International Competitiveness*, edited by Arkadiusz Michal Kowalski, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, doi: 10.1007/978-3-030-03245-6.

Schmidtke, Oliver, and Andrej Zaslove. "Politicizing Migration in Competitive Party Politics: Exploring the Regional and Federal Arenas in Germany and Italy." *The Politics of Immigration in the Multi-Level States: Governance and Political Parties*, edited by Eve Hepburn and Ricard Zapata Barrero, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

### **Conference paper**

Majone, Giandomenico. "Monetary Union and the Politicization of Europe." *Keynote speech at the Euroacademia International Conference: "The European Union and the Politicization of Europe"*, Vienna, 8-10 Dec 2011.

### **Dictionaries**

"Politicization." Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 2020.

Accessed 4 jun. 2020.

### **Encyclopedias**

Augustyn, Adam. "Nazism." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 9 Jan. 2020, [www.britannica.com/event/Nazism](http://www.britannica.com/event/Nazism). Accessed 11 Aug 2020.

Feketekuty, Geza. "Globalization-Why All the Fuss?" *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 18 Feb. 2005, [www.britannica.com/topic/Globalization-Why-All-the-Fuss-1518171](http://www.britannica.com/topic/Globalization-Why-All-the-Fuss-1518171). Accessed 20 May 2020.

Herrin, Judith Eleanor, and Edward Peters. "Postwar Europe." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 4 Feb. 2020, [www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-Europe/Postwar-Europe](http://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-Europe/Postwar-Europe). Accessed 04 May 2020.

Wallace-Hardill, John Michael, et al. "Germany." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Germany>. Accessed 25 Aug 2020.

### **Essays**

Koenigsberg, A. Richard. "Hitler's Holocaust: The Logic of War and Genocide." *Nationalism, Nazism---Genocide*, Library of Social Science, 30 Aug. 2018, [www.libraryofsocialscience.com/essays/koenigsberg-nationalism/](http://www.libraryofsocialscience.com/essays/koenigsberg-nationalism/). Accessed 02 Aug 2020.

Walread, Delfien. *What Are the Trends and Dominant Drivers of Euroscepticism ...* 2016, [www.ie-ei.eu/Ressources/FCK/image/Theses/WALRAED\\_Delfien.pdf](http://www.ie-ei.eu/Ressources/FCK/image/Theses/WALRAED_Delfien.pdf). Accessed 30 Jul 2020.

### **Journal Articles**

Alvarez-Diez, Susana, J. Samuel Baixauli-Soler, and Maria Belda-Ruiz. "Co-Movements between the British Pound, the Euro and the Japanese Yen: The Brexit Impact." *Journal of Economic Studies*, vol. 46, 2019. Doi: 10.1108/JES-01-2018-0007. Accessed 17 May 2020.

Armour, John. "Brexit and Financial Services." *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, vol.33, 2017. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grx014>. Accessed 01 Jul 2020.



- Bishop, Matthew L, and Peter Clegg. "Brexit: Challenges and Opportunities for Small Countries and Territories." *The commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 107. Routledge, doi: 10.1080/00358533.2018.1476093. Accessed 26 Jul 2020.
- Börzel, A. Tanja, and Thomas Risse. "Revisiting the Nature of the Beast –Politicization, European Identity, and Post Functionalism: A Comment on Hooghe and Marks." *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 39, 2009. Doi: 10.1017/S000712340800046X. Accessed 06 Apr 2020.
- Bulmer, Simon, and William E. Paterson. "Germany as the EU's Reluctant Hegemon? Of Economic Strength and Political Constraints." *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 20. Routledge, doi: 10.1080/13501763.2013.822824. Accessed 17 Jul 2020.
- Busch, Klaus, and Wilhelm Knelangen. Abstract of "GERMAN EUROSCEPTICISM." *Brill*, Brill Rodopi, 1 Jan. 2004, [brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789401201087/B9789401201087-s005.xml](http://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789401201087/B9789401201087-s005.xml). Accessed 04 Jul 2020.
- Chang, Winston. "Brexit and its Economic Consequences." *The World Economy*, vol. 41, 2018. Doi: 10.1111/twec.12685. Accessed 13 Sept 2020.
- Corbett, Steve. "The Social Consequences of Brexit for the UK and Europe." *International Journal of Social Quality*, vol. 6, 2017. Doi: 10.3167/IJSQ.2016.060102. Accessed 12 May 2020.
- De Ville, Ferd, and Gabriel Siles-Brügge. "The Impact of Brexit on EU Trade Policy." *Politics and Governance*, vol. 7, 2019. Doi: 10.17645 /pag.v 7i3.2129. Accessed 15 May 2020.

De Wilde, Pieter. "No Polity for Old Politics? A Framework for Analyzing the Politicization of European Integration." *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 33, 2011. Routledge, doi: 10.1080/07036337.2010.546849. Accessed 08 Apr 2020.

De Wilde, Pieter, Anna Leupold, and Henning Schmidtke. "Introduction: The Differentiated Politicization of European Governance." *West European Politics*, vol. 39, 2016. Doi:10.1080/01402382.2015.1081505. Accessed 31 Mar 2020.

De Wilde, Pieter, and Michael Zürn. "Can the Politicization of European Integration Be Reversed?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 30, 2012, onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2011.02232.x –article. Accessed 29 May 2020.

Di Fabio, Udo. "On the Continent Alone: German Law Journal." *Cambridge Core*, Cambridge University Press, vol. 17, 6 Mar 2019, www.cambridge.org/core/journals/german-law-journal/article/on-the-continent-alone/FB9E886AE48700308A590BAB50CD5A74. Accessed 22 Mar 2020.

Dusche, Michael. "Origins of Ethnic Nationalism in Germany and Repercussions in India." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 45, 2010, www.jstor.org/stable/27807077?seq=1. Accessed 13 Jul 2020.

Fielder, Lauren. "Is Nationalism the Most Serious Challenge to Human Rights? Warnings from BREXIT and Lessons from History." *Texas International Law Journal*, vol. 53, 2018. Accessed 11 Mar 2020.

Fontaine, Lise. "The Early Semantics of the Neologism BREXIT: A Lexicogrammatical Approach." *Functional Linguistics*, vol.50, 2017. Doi: 10.1186/s40554-017-0040- x. Accessed 04 May 2020.

- Frieden, Jeffrey, and Stefanie Walter. "Understanding the Political Economy of the Eurozone Crisis." *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 20, Nov. 2017. Doi: 10.1146/annurev-polisci-051215-023101. Accessed 02 Jun 2020.
- Gehrsitz, Markus, and Martin Ungerer. "Jobs, Crime, and Votes a Short-Run Evaluation of the Refugee Crisis in Germany." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, Jan. 2017, doi:10.2139/ssrn.2887442. Accessed 04 Aug 2020.
- Genschel, Philipp, and Markus Jachtenfuchs. "From Market Integration to Core State Powers: The Eurozone Crisis, the Refugee Crisis and Integration Theory." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 56, Jan 2018. Doi:10.1111/jcms.12654. Accessed 13 Jun 2020.
- Gifford, Chris. "The Rise of Post-Imperial Populism: The Case of Right-Wing Euroscepticism in Britain." *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 45, 2006. Doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00638.x. Accessed 04 Apr 2020.
- Henderson, Ailsa, et al. "England, Englishness and Brexit." *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 87, 2016. Doi:10.1111/1467-923x.12262. Accessed 12 Mai 2020.
- Henderson, Karen, and Nick Sitter. "Political Developments in the EU Member States." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2007. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2008.00817.x>. Accessed 15 Mar 2020.
- Hobolt, B. Sara. "The Brexit Vote: A Divided Nation, a Divided Continent." *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 23, 2016. Doi: 10.1080/13501763.2016.1225785. Accessed 9 May 2020.

- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. "Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration." *European Union Politics*, vol. 6, 2005. Doi: 10.1177/1465116505057816. Accessed 10 May 2020.
- Hurrelmann, Achim, Anna Gora, and Andrea Wagner. "The Politicization of European Integration: More than an Elite Affair?" *Political Studies*, vol.63, 2013. Doi:10.1111/1467-9248.12090. Accessed 27 June 2020.
- Hutter, Swen, and Edgar Grande. "Politicizing Europe in the National Electoral Arena: A Comparative Analysis of Five West European Countries, 1970–2010." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 52, 2014. Doi: 10.1111 /jcms.12133. Accessed 09 Apr 2020.
- Ingino, Madeliene. Abstract of "Europe's New Generation of Nationalists: Understanding the Appeal of Contemporary Radical Nationalism for European Youth." *CU Scholar*, 2016, scholar.colorado.edu/concern/undergraduate\_honors\_theses/r207tp94d. Accessed 18 May 2020.
- Kauppi, Niilo, Palonen Kari, and Claudia Wiesner. "The Politification and Politicisation of the EU." *Redescriptions: political thought*, vol. 19, 2016. Doi:10.7227/R.19.1.5. Accessed 18 Mar 2020.
- Mayall, James. "International Society, State Sovereignty, and National Self-Determination." *Oxford Handbooks Online*, Mar. 2013. Doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199209194.013.0027. Accessed 22 Mar 2020.
- Ultan, Mehlika Ozlem and Serdar Ornek. "Euro scepticism in the European Union." *International Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 4, Feb. 2015, doi:10.20472/SS.2015.4.2.006. Accessed 27 May 2020.

- Michaels, Ralf. "Does Brexit Spell the Death of Transnational Law?" *German Law Journal*, vol. 17, Jan. 2016. Doi: 10.1017/s2071832200021702. Accessed 11 Apr 2020.
- Murray-Evans, Peg. "Myths of Commonwealth Betrayal: UK–Africa Trade Before and a Brexit." *The Round Table*, vol. 105, 2016. Doi:10.1080/00358533.2016.1233760. Accessed 5 May 2020.
- Planert, Ute. "Nation Und Nationalismus in Der Deutschen Geschichte: APuZ." *Bpb.de*, Bundeszentrale Für Politische Bildung, 13 Sept. 2004, [www.bpb.de/apuz/28089/nation-und-nationalismus-in-der-deutschen-geschichte](http://www.bpb.de/apuz/28089/nation-und-nationalismus-in-der-deutschen-geschichte). Accessed 27 Jul 2020.
- Rashica, Viona. "The Political Consequences of Brexit for the United Kingdom and the European Union." *SEEU Review*, vol. 13, 2018. Doi: 10.2478/seeur-2018-0004. Accessed 17 May 2020.
- Rauh, Christian. "EU Politicization and Policy Initiatives of the European Commission: the Case of Consumer Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 26, 2019. Doi: 10.1080/13501763.2018.1453528. Accessed 27 Apr 2020.
- Schmidt, A. Vivien. "Politicization in the EU: Between National Politics and EU Political Dynamics." *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 26, 2019. Doi:10.1080/13501763.2019.1619189. Accessed 26 Apr 2020.
- Schmitter, C. Philippe. "Three Neo-Functional Hypotheses about International Integration." *International Organization*, vol. 23, 2009. Doi: 10.1017/S0020818300025601. Accessed 06 Apr 2020.
- Somai, Miklos, and Zsuzsanna Biedermann. "Brexit: Reasons and Challenges." *Acta Oeconomica*. Vol. 66, 2016. Doi: 10.1556/032.2016.66. S1.8. Accessed 10 May 2020.

- Startin, Nicholas. "Have We Reached a Tipping Point? The Mainstreaming of Euroscepticism in the UK." *International Political Science Review*, vol. 36, 2015. Doi: 10.1177/0192512115574126. Accessed 13 Apr 2020.
- Taggart, Paul. "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems." *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 33, 1998, doi:10.1111/1475-6765.00387. Accessed 17 Mar 2020.
- Taggart, Paul and Aleks Szczerbiak. "The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States. Jan. 2002. Accessed 02 Jun 2020.
- Verney, Susannah. "Euroscepticism in Southern Europe: A Diachronic Perspective." *South European Society and Politics*, vol. 16, 2011. doi:10.1080/13608746.2010.570124. Accessed 19 May 2020.
- Wurzel, K.W. Rüdiger. "Germany: How to Manage Brexit While Trying to Safeguard European Integration." *Journal of European Studies*, vol. 26, Marmara, <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/621903>. Accessed 26 July 2020.
- Zürn, Michael. "The Politicization of World Politics and its Effects: Eight Proposition." *European Political Science Review*, vol. 6, 2014. Doi: 10.1017/S1755773912000276. Accessed 06 Apr 2020.

## Reports

- Beinhorn, Jana, and Birgit Glorius. "Patterns of Politicisation on Refugees and Policy Responses" *Technische Universität Chemnitz, RESEARCH ON THE COMMON EUROPEAN ASYLUM SYSTEM*, Nov. 2018,

ceaseval.eu/publications/12\_BeinhornGlorius\_WP5\_Germany.pdf. Accessed 11 Aug 2020.

Brady, Kate. "EUs Right-Wing ENF Faction Unites to Fight for Patriotism, Sovereignty and Identity: DW: 21.01.2017." *DW.COM*, 21 Jan. 2017, [www.dw.com/en/eus-right-wing-enf-faction-unites-to-fight-for-patriotism-sovereignty-and-identity/a-37224232](http://www.dw.com/en/eus-right-wing-enf-faction-unites-to-fight-for-patriotism-sovereignty-and-identity/a-37224232). Accessed 30 May 2020.

Mix, E. Derek. "The United Kingdom: Background, Brexit, and Relations with the United States." *Congressional Research Service*, no. RL33105, 2020, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33105.pdf>. Accessed 28 May 2020.

Gedmin, Jeffrey. "Right-Wing Populism in Germany: Muslims and Minorities after the 2015 Refugee Crisis." *Brookings*, Brookings, 30 Jan. 2020, [www.brookings.edu/research/right-wing-populism-in-germany-muslims-and-minorities-after-the-2015-refugee-crisis/](http://www.brookings.edu/research/right-wing-populism-in-germany-muslims-and-minorities-after-the-2015-refugee-crisis/). Accessed 02 Sept 2020.

Hawkins, Oliver. "Migration Statistics." *Briefing Paper*, No.SN06077, House of Commons Library, 2016, [hqnetwork.co.uk/download.cfm?doc=docm93jijm4n4112.pdf&ver=8420](http://hqnetwork.co.uk/download.cfm?doc=docm93jijm4n4112.pdf&ver=8420). Accessed 04 June 2020.

Henley, Jon. "Netherlands PM Says Those Who Don't Respect Customs Should Leave." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 23 May. 2020, [www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/23/netherlands-pm-mark-rutte-dutch-citizens-open-letter-pvv](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/23/netherlands-pm-mark-rutte-dutch-citizens-open-letter-pvv). Accessed 02 Jun 2020.

- Milanovic, Branko. "Five Reasons Why Migration into Europe Is a Problem with No Solution." *Social Europe*, 13 Jan. 2020, [www.socialeurope.eu/five-reasons-why-migration-into-Europe-is-a-problem-with-no-solution](http://www.socialeurope.eu/five-reasons-why-migration-into-Europe-is-a-problem-with-no-solution). Accessed 12 May 2020.
- Park, Jeanne. "Europe's Migration Crisis." *New York: Council of Foreign Relations*, 2005. Accessed 12 May 2020.
- Parrinello, Antonio. "Far-Right Millennials Set out to Sea to 'Defend Europe' from Migrants." *Reuters*, Thomson Reuters, 21 July 2017, [www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-farright-millennials/far-right-millennials-set-out-to-sea-to-defend-europe-from-migrants-idUSKBN1A61J6](http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-farright-millennials/far-right-millennials-set-out-to-sea-to-defend-europe-from-migrants-idUSKBN1A61J6). Accessed 03 May 2020.
- Postel-Vinay, Karoline. "How Neo-Nationalism Went Global." *The Conversation*, 16 Jan. 2020, [theconversation.com/how-neo-nationalism-went-global-74095](http://theconversation.com/how-neo-nationalism-went-global-74095). Accessed 11 Apr 2020.
- "Standard Eurobarometer 81 spring 2014." *PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION*, July. 2014, [eu.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/eb/eb81\\_first\\_enpdf](http://eu.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/eb/eb81_first_enpdf). Accessed 26 May 2020.
- Strupczewski, Jan. "Euroscepticism Waning, EU Wants to Be Seen as a Solution, Says EU's Tusk." *The Christian Science Monitor*, the Christian Science Monitor, 21 June. 2017, [www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2017/0621/Euroscepticism-waning-EU-wants-to-be-seen-as-a-solution-says-EU-s-Tusk](http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2017/0621/Euroscepticism-waning-EU-wants-to-be-seen-as-a-solution-says-EU-s-Tusk). Accessed 11 Jun 2020.

## Videos

- Green, John. "Samurai, Daimyo, Matthew Perry, and Nationalism: Crash Course WorldHistory#34" *YouTube*, uploaded by CrashCourse, 14 Sept. 2012, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nosq94oCl\\_M](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nosq94oCl_M). Accessed 11 Apr 2020.



## Websites

"Germany Needs Our Party as New Alternative' – AfD Chairwoman to RT." *RT*

*International*. 14 March 2016. <https://www.rt.com/news/335527-frauke-petry-germany-elections/>. Accessed 25 Aug 2020.



