'Nationalism and European Identity in the frame of European Citizenship'

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1:IDENTITY and NATIONALISM

PART 1

PART 2

CHAPTER 2: NATIONAL versus EUROPEAN?

PART 3

PART 4

CHAPTER 3: CLASH OF NATIONALISMS

PART 5

PART 6

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

Nationalism is mostly known as phenomenon after French Revolution. In this view, nationalism is seen as a product of Revolution for the sake of state interests. But, this is fallacy and one sided evaluation. Because, nationalism has two categories and must be interpreted including both.

So, in first chapter, I focus on nationalism categories and discuss identity forming theories. First part of this chapter is about nationalism and its two sided categories. The first category can be called as **bottom up nationalism**, which symbolizes nation interest. This kind of nationalism is related to national identity concept and roots from basic human instincts as 'we grouping' and has a protectionist character. The second is about state interest and is called **top down nationalism**. The main concept of latter is about driving force of first category of nationalism. Here, I mean that bottom up nationalism is the base of all human communities and is open to state interest to be used, which may also cause negative effect.

In thesis, I apply to bottom up nationalism as reference point. My starting point is all individuals have sense of belonging, which can be directed to any region, territory or state. Here, suffix –ism refers to adherence to any, so when we talk about nationalism, adherence to nation-states is understood. If adherence could be to any territory, then the question raises on the point of why people need to belong and how this happens. So, in second part of this chapter, I focus on identity as a personal and sociological case and identity forming process.

Sense of belonging is the main feature of all individuals. All human beings, starting from their birth, need to realize themselves within a society. Thus, all individuals use given and acquired identities during their lives. Identity forming is important as a personal case, because of physical and socio-psychological needs and own security. So, people interact with each other in a specific society, use the code of given identity and provide continuity of community.

In second chapter, I discuss about citizenship with the question of 'National versus European?'. The first part of this chapter discuss about current national citizenship models and categorize new post-national models. According to it, citizenship is mostly described as a legal bond and political identity, together with sharing common values, tradition and culture. Thus, current national citizenship can be analyzed according to liberal individualist approach and civic republican approach.

As a second part of the chapter, I focus on European citizenship with the question of if European identity already exist or not. European citizenship is part of European Union integration project and it is important to introduce new citizenship model, which is valid over European continent. Even it is stated in The Treaty of European Union that Union citizenship does not replace national citizenship, its application and results effects much to nation-state system and negative effects on national identity concept.

European identity is main component of Union citizenship process. The Union Project aims to unite Europeans under the same identity, sharing same historical European values. But do really European identity exist? In this part, I give the answer as being not agree on a shared European identity. Because, we can not talk about United Europe, thus Europeans, while they have historical and cultural differences in their own system. Because, Europe is divided into four parts as western, eastern, southern and central. Each part has their own political system and cultural values. But, the only similarity can be found on Christianity and protection of democratic values. Only those similarities effect a new model of –ism, that as I describe as 'continentalism'. Because, What unites European nationals under common identity and European citizenship is sense of protection 'Christianity and democratic values' against to non-Europeans or non-Christians.

In the last chapter, I figure out two new models of nationalism, which can be called as top down nationalism and bottom up nationalism. I support the argument that now Europe is facing clash of nationalisms on national and continental level. So, bottom up nationalism can be applied for national level and top down can be applied to continental level. Bottom up nationalism can be observed as a reaction to free movement of people within Schengen Area as aprocess of European citizenship. In this category, free movement of people are accepted as cultural damage and contributory of declining national identity. Top-down nationalism can be observed as a reaction to non-Europeans or clearly against to non-Chrisitians. So, it has a

protectionist character to save European values as 'democracy and Chrisitianity' within a continent. They clash, because bottom-up nationalism consider only national interests and rejects 'other' European in case of protection of national values. This is a result of being lack of European identity.

Right-wing political party interests and their discourses contributes for two categories of clashing nationalism. So, emerging far-right parties from Germany, Netherlands, France, Britain and Hungary were studied in second part of this chapter, according to their party programmes about immigration.

CHAPTER 1

IDENTITY and NATIONALISM

PART 1

1. Nationalism: Introduction

There are many ways to interpret nationalism. This is not because of lack of having key concept; it is because nationalism itself has a large scale to interpret and it is not static. It has large scale because nationalism can appear in any time, in any place and in any condition. We may face various types of nationalism in economics as economic nationalism, in politics as liberal nationalism or post nationalism or as a sub branch, ethnic nationalism. Nationalism has multi faces and it is important in which face and in which condition we interpret it. As John Hall says " no single universal theory of nationalism is possible". [1]

So, what is the role of nationalism? As hiden in sentence itself, nationalism is adherence to a 'nation'. When nation-states started to appear in historical stage in West-Phalian order Europe, nationalism was collectively termed with a nation.

Even nationalism has multi-faces and its results vary, its main roots are seen in two as:

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[1] HALL J;**Nationalisms, Classified and Explained**; edited by:PERIWAL S;Notion of Nationalism, Central European University Press, 1995, pg:8

Figure 1: Main Roots of Nationalism

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┌─────────────────┐                          ┌─────────────────┐
│ 'Bottom up':    │  ─────────────────▶      │ 'Top down': state│
│ nation interests│                          │ interests        │
│                 │  ◀─────────────          │                 │
└─────────────────┘                          └─────────────────┘
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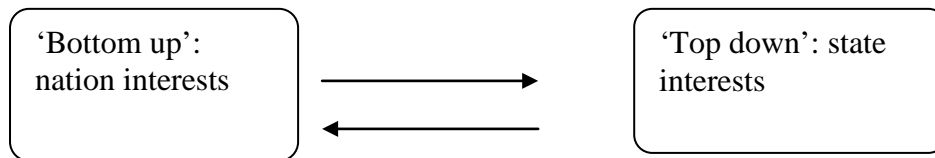
Nationalism is not only a process directed by state or is not only a virtue of mass of people living in a territory. Nationalism is rooted from human instinct of grouping and survive, but this instinct started to direct by states or any other legal administration after French Revolution. So, when we interpret nationalism, we can not apply only one root. Both interlinked roots should be examined and evaluated.

1.1. Top-Down Roots of Nationalism

It is agreed on that nationalism is a product of French Revolution. So, most of academics describe nationalism as a political idea with the eye of nation state. For example, Brubacker points out "Nation is a category of "practice", not (in the first instance) a category of analysis. To understand nationalism, we have to understand the practical uses of the category "nation", the ways it can come to structure perception, to inform thought and experience, to organize discourse and political action".[2]

Quoting from John Armstrong, nationalism, which originated no earlier than 15th century, is described as the conscious demand for political expression of the nation. [3] Also Michael Mann describes nation and nationalism as '*a nation is a community affirming a*

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[2] BRUBAKER R;**Nationalism Reframed:Nationhood and National Question in the New Europe**,Cambridge University Press,1996, pg:10

[3] ARMSTRONG J; **Towards a Theory of Nationalism**: Consensus and Dissensus; edited by:PERIWAL S; **Notion of Nationalism,** Central European University Press, Budapest, 1995; pg:35

distinct ethnic identity, history and destiny, and claiming its own state. Nationalism is an ideology whereby a nation believes it possesses distinct claims to virtue-claims which may be used to legitimate aggressive action against other nations.' [4]

Most of academics also agree with the term of aggression as Mann described, nationalism is seen as a devil which caused a legal base for undesirable results by many nations in history.

All these descriptions are related to top down model. In this model, nationalism (as sentiment, group feeling and instinctional act) is used for state interest and may have negative results according to which aim it is used. Any community, having its own state or having strong desire to form it, can be directed for the sake of state interest. Those interest can be categorized as right to state, protection of national values or controlling over state territory.

1.2. Bottom up Roots of Nationalism

This model applies nationalism as basic instinct and natural, which can be seeen its root in grouping and group consciousness to survive. Suffix '–ism' here specifies an adherence and bounding to a territory. That adherence can be on a region, city, village or any territory that one lives in. What makes adherence is deep closeness on language, history, culture or religion, which forms daily life of people. That's why people trust to live under the same authority to survive and protect their own values.

The term of nationalism is used to describe adherence on nation-state. Because, nation-states are organizations which are still on stage and strong to organize people's daily life and to rule. Even supranational organizations appears in current world order, nation-states still remain strong in any political area and try to adopt itself for global changes. In that concept, I do not discuss if nation form the state or the state form the nation. What I argue is nation and state are both interlinked with adherence, thus nationalism.

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[4] MANN M; **A Political Theory of Nationalism and Its Excesses**; eds: Periwal; ibid, pg:44

This model also applies to primordial approach of nationalism. First used by Edward Shils, primordial approach refers to natural basis of an ethnic group and to ties of kinship binding community members to their ancestors and to ties of culture naturally given shared by members of the community. So, this approach identifies an ethnic group in terms of kinship and culture. [5]

To understand nationalism better, I will discuss its main component as what nation is and how nationalistic sentiments occur.

2. What is a Nation?

Classical definition of a nation emphasize ethnic, religious, cultural and language bounds together with mass of people having national consciousness as living in a territory under authority. In Smiths' words, nation is a group of people who belıeve that they consıst of a sıngle 'people' based upon hıstorıcal and cultural crıterıa, such as a shared language.[6] But, is the nation only linked to these components?

Renan starts to define the nation as asking question of: *"what about a city existed in Athens or Sparta, which are without a patrie; or the tribes of Hebrews and Arabs, which are maintained by a religious bond alone; or nations such as France or Germany as European sovereign states or confederations, such as in Switzerland or America?"… "…Why Holland is a nation, but Parma not? Or, what about Switzerland, which has three languages, two religions and three or four races is a nation, but when Tuscany, which is so homogeneous, is not one?....."* [7]

Renan tries to find an answer of "what is a nation if we consider history and present today". According to Renan, since the fall of Roman Empire, since the disintegration of Charlemagne's Empire, western Europe has seemed to be divided into nations. So in this

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[5] Kosaku Yoshıno; **Cultural Natıonalısm In Contemporary Japan**, A Socıologıcal Enquıry, Routledge Publıshes,1992, pg:70

[6] Colin Flint; **Introduction To Geopolitics**, Routledge, 2006, Pg:106

[7] Renan E, **What is a Nation?,** http://ig.cs.tu-berlin.de/oldstatic/w2001/eu1/dokumente/Basistexte/Renan1882EN-Nation.pdf

sense, Renan emphases that nations are something new in the history. He proofs that Antiquity was unfamiliar with them as Egypt, China or ancient Chaldea were in no way nations. They were believed that they were flock of son or Sun or of Heaven. Classical antiquity was also formed by municipal kingdoms, republics, confederations of local republics or empires. The empires were huge associations or a synonym for order. But again, they had have no understanding in a current way of nation. How the idea of nation came to stage is because of Germanic invasions, which introduced into the world the principle which was to serve as a basis for the existence of nationalities. [8]

The modern nation, in Renan's words, is a historical result brought about by a series of convergent facts as the case in France, which were effected by a dynasty; or the case in Holland or Belgium, which were brought about by the direct will of provinces; or as the case in Italy or Germany, which were brought about by the work of general consciousness. [9] So, what Renan found out is a nation is a soul and a spiritual principle.

" *Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form........A nation is therefore large scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future....*"[10]

Nations were seen as a political source from the fifteenth century afterwards. As defined in Diderot's word a nation described as people sharing common laws and political institutions of a given territory.[11]

For Brubaker, *'nation is a category of practice, not a category of analysis'*.[12]

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[8] Renan, ibid

[9] Renan; ibid

[10] Renan; ibid

[11] John Keane, **Nations, Nationalism And The European Citizen,** CSD Perspectives, No:2, Autumn 1993, pg:1

[12] Brubacker; ibid;pg:10

According to Anderson, nation is an imagined political community. In his view, *'-Nations are imagined because of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members.*

-Nation is limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion of living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries , beyond which lie other nations

-Nations are sovereign, because the concept was born in an age which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely ordained hierarchical dynastic realm.

-Nations are imagined as community, because regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.' [13]

It is general conclusion that modern nations are products after the collapse of middle age's international order and nations are reflection of revolution soul in national platform.

2.1. Classical Components of a Nation

As referring to Gürbüz, classical components of a nations are;

-state,

-population,

-territory,

-independence,

-unity in language, ideal and culture,

-religion,

-race

-common history [14]

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[13] ANDERSON B, Hayali Cemaatler, Milliyetciligin Kokenleri ve Yayilmasi, Metis Yayinlari, 2009; pg:6

[14] GÜRBÜZ C;**Kartal Gözüyle Milliyetçilik**, Asya Şafak Yayınları,İstanbul, 2012, pg:24

State is the main factor to form a nation, because a folk should live in a state for long term living under the same authority and legal system. In historical development, there has been seen three forms of a state like tribal state, kingdoms and nation states.[15] Here, there is a debate about 'do state form a nation? Or do nation form a state'?

Gürbüz answer this questions in Lord Acton's words as *'a state can form a nation in the length o time; but, to become a nation by a community is contrary to modern civilization'.*[16]

In Ayni's book, it is cited by Proudhon, French economist, as *'a nation is the result of common laws and political bodies or of compulsion by central authority'.*[17]

What Massimo D'Azoglio says 'We created Italy, now should create Italians!'. [18]

So, for those, who emphasize importance of state refers examples of Switzerland, USA and Canada. For them, if there is no state effect, we could not speak about Swiss, Canadian or American nations. But for those, who bring forward the importance of a nation, they give the sample of Czech Republic. They say that there were no Czech state till 1918, but there were Czech nation. In the history, there were nations without state as maintaining their national being.

So, according to Gürbüz, the answer is *'state is the main factor to form tribes, but to appear as a nation, state is not compulsory.*[19]

Gürbüz also count 'mass population' to form a nation. According to him, in history it was need to crowd to settle in a territory and to defense themselves from enemies. So, conflicts and war are the factors to create nations.

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[15] Gürbüz, ibid; pg:25

[16] Gürbüz; ibid, pg:28

[17] **Ayni M. A; Tarihte ve Türklerde Din, Millet ve Milliyetçilik, 2011 , pg:46**

[18] Gürbüz; ibid; pg:29

[19] Gürbüz; ibid;pg:29

Territory is another factor to live in the same land for a long time. Territory is important for independence of a nation and this makes itself as a main factor for sense of nationalism.

Unity in language is condition, also the result of forming a nation. Because, when tribes started to speak the same language, then a nation could be formed. Common language can be formed after living in the length of time in the same territory. In this process, dialect integrates, number of words raises. When the tribe civilization develops, then new words are created and grammer rules are set. So, the common language can be created. There is a strong tie between language and national character. So, unity in language can be count as an important factor for 'nations'.

Unity in culture, makes the mass as 'nation'. But what is culture? According to Maurice Duverger, '*culture is conscious and unconscious memory of societies*'. Turan defines culture as '*all language, sense, thoughts, belief and art factors that continues and still valid in a society*'. So, culture is the base of a nation, but not the main factor to form it.[20]. From ethnographic view, culture represents *a consensus on a wide variety of meanings among members of an interacting community approximating that of the consensus on language among members of a speech community*. [21]So, from this perspective, all communites functions with a group consensus about the meanings of symbols used in communications that consititutes social life. [22]

The role of religion is also important to unite people in a nation, but not condition. In history, there is no nation without religion. But there is no religion only specific to one nation. For example, German or Italian unity did not formed by religious unity. So, Christianity could never be main factor for nationalism in Europe.

Race is polemical part of nationalism studies. There are big debates on if race a dominant factor for a nation or not. This opens gates for several conflicts on racism and destructive nationalistic sentiments.

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[20] Gürbüz; ibid;pg:8

[21] LeVine R&Shweder R; **Culture Theory:Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion**,Cambridge University Press, 1984, page:68

[22] Levine,a.g.e, sayfa:69

The term of 'race' was appeared in literature at the end of 17th century. Europeans were aware of 'other folks' in 15th century by several writings by merchants and evangelists. But till 17th century, these folks were not grouped in any written work. So, in 1864 a book was published referring to François Bernier to classify them. [23]

Race can be defined in anthropological and ethnological way. The first consist to physiological differences of human being and classify according to skin color and shape of cranium. The latter analyze races depending on tradition and language in a society. So, race is defined as '*whole nations, which speaks the similar language and have similar spiritual tendencies*'. [24]

But what is the link between nation and race? Race in anthropological meaning has a zoological concept. But a nation grounds on sociological and psychological bases. Also, ethnological meaning can not be referred to a nation, because in this concept, nation has a limited sense. For example, in Slav race, there are different nations living in different territory and having different political and historical background.(like Russians, Czechs, Serbians etc…)

Renan refuses classical definition of a nation. According to him, ethnographic considerations didn't have role for taking part of the constitution of modern nations. As a sample, France is not homogeneous and France is Celtic, Iberic and Germanic. Germany is Germanic, Celtic and Slav. So according to Renan, there is no pure race that to make politics depend upon the ethnographic analysis.(Renan 1990;pg:4). For language, Renan also reject the idea and emphasize that:

"*.…Language just invites people to unite, but it does not force them to do so. The United States and England, Latin America and Spain speak the same languages, but yet do not form single nations.…*" [25]

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[23] Bernasconi R, **Irk Kavramını Kım Icat Etti?Felsefı Dusuncede Irk Ve Irkcılık, (who invented the concept of race?)**; Eds by: Zeynep Direk, İsmail Esiner, Tendü Meriç, Nazlı Öktem, Metis Yayınları, 1999, İstanbul, pg:36

[24] Gürbüz; ibid; pg:52

[25] Renan; ibid

About religion, he refers to modern understanding of religion and emphasizes that *"..in our own time, the situation is perfectly clear. There are no longer masses that believe in a perfectly uniform matter. Each person believes and practices in his own fashion, what he is able to and as he wishes....Religion has become an individual matter; it concerns the conscience of each person..."* [26]

2.2. The Roots of Nation

 Many scholars agree about the idea of nations were rooted from tribes.

Tribe-nations are composed by mass of people, as;

-being homogenous and sense of solidarity
-belonging the same ethnic race
-having common language, beliefs and traditions
-living in the same territory under the authority of powerful tribes, which were united as a state,
-living under the same laws for a long time. [27]

Tribes are defined as nomad and local descent unities that do not settle in a territory and do not create a separate culture with a common history consciousness. Several nations can be created in the same tribe or a nation can be formed by unity of tribes. In Europe, for example, English nation was formed by unity of Kelt, Norman and Anglosakson tribes; German nation was formed by Germen, Slavic and Latin tribes and the nation of USA was formed by Anglosakson and local Latin tribes. On the contrary; French, Italian and Spanish nations were formed by separation of Latin tribes; the nations of German, Denmark and Netherlands were formed by separation of Germen tribes. So, it is possible to say that tribes are base to form a nation, but also different from it.

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[26] Renan; ibid

[27] Gürbüz; ibid; pg:24

The answer of how to form a tribe-nations can be found in the roots of human history, not of French Revolution as maintained by many scholars.

Apart from religious discussions on monogenism and polygenism, the origin of contemporary societies is 'family', which are only formed by mother, father and children. When these family became a huge community (roots of descent), need and desire of 'socialization' appeared. Each descent, had ethic and coercive rules under a leader. The more important case of descent ethics' were adherence and loyalty. When each descent became a huge mass, they formed new branches. And the continued process of each descent, they separated and preoccupied new territories. When the number of descents raised, they started to conflict. For the powerful descents, the aim was to have new fertile and rich lands and to occupy richness of local people. For the weak descent, the aim was to survive and fight with the powerful ones not to annihilate. These conflicts made closer weak descents to unite. So tribes, the new form of society, was formed. But then new forms of conflicts caused a new process to form a 'state', where the powerful descents controlled the central power. To say that, each tribes, which completed their own political and historical development under a state can be counted as a 'nation'.

2.3. Which Communities are not 'Nations'?

There are communities that can not be counted as nation. These are:

-Communities, which have no will or power to create their own values depending on their common and specific history.
-Ethnic groups, which has no role to form the history.
-Communities, which couldn't developed in civilization circle-the ones do not have historical development destiny.

So, the bases of a nation are will, independence on a territory with a fair history consciousness and tangible/intangible values.[28]

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[28] Gürbüz; ibid; pg:17

PART 2

3. Socio-Psychological Analysis of Nationalism

It is important to know the main reason why nationalism appears. In social psychology, nationalism is mostly known as '*sense of belonging*' into a community. This is also my supporting point in this thesis. So, what bound people together and make them defense against something? Historical bounds, religion or desire to live under the same authority?

Geography, language, history, spirituality and religion, ethnicity, culture, and citizenship can all work together or separately to create a sense of belonging in the people of a nation. Nationalism can also be expressed in how people live as a nation, in their daily lives and ways of life [29]

As Gürbüz defines in his book, sociologist describes sense of adherence in a society as 'community consciences', 'community sense' or 'community mentality'. This sense is natural and necessary sociological case because of conflicts in human life. Sources of nationalism can be found on necessity of grouping to *survive*, on the other side *needs and instincts* to live in peace with others around. So, what makes people to live as a nation and the case not to annihilate them are that 'mass consciences'. Because, will to live of human being is 'defense instinct'. But, will power of nation is 'national consciences' or 'nationalism'. [30]

To debate nationalism deeper, in this chapter, I will focus on identity with its sociological and psycological concept.

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[29] http://fds.oup.com/www.oup.com/pdf/ca/20-1_Ch2_Part1.pdf, pg:27

[30] GÜRBÜZ C;**ibid,** pg:23

3.1. Identity as a Personal Case:Why do we need to belong?

All individuals are borned and grown up with a given identity and during their life, they consider and enhance values related to their identity. To continue with given values and identities are their own individual choices.Because, as Weber defines:

'identity, in short, is a realtionship that presupposes repetition.It is not self-contained or instantaneous. But in presupposing repetition, it presupposes a process that inevitably entails alteration, difference, transformation as well as similitude'.[31]

Every individual wih a given identity want to be part of a community just to be recoginzed and realized himself/herself. To achieve this, they internalize the identity that community has. So, identity can also be defined as a state of being same, or the sameness of a thing with itself, or as individuality or personality[32].

During their life, all individuals bear various roles and they form continuity and consistency of their own individualism. So, identity provides meaningful ties with their own environment.Thus, it can be described as tendency of attachment and belonging for a group or place. [33]

During their own life, every individual have 2 main identities as:

- Given identity
- Acquired identity

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[31] Jola Skulj; **Understanding Europe: Its Cultural Realities And Assymmetries**, Edited By Vita Fortunati and Francesco Cattani, **Questioning The European Identity/ies:Deconstructing Old Stereotypes and Envisioning New Models Of Representatıon**; Societa Editrice Il Mulino, 2012, Pg: 74

[32] Peter Fischer; **Is There A European Identity In The Field Of Law?Some Consideratıons On The Nature and Scope Of Euroepan Law** ; Liber Amicorum, Profesor Ignaz Seidl-Hohenveldern in Honour Of His 80th Birthday, Edited By: Gerhard Hafber, Gerhard Loibl, Alfred Rest, Lily Sucharipa-Behrmann, Karl Zemanek, Kluwer Law International, Netherlands, 1998, pg: 159

[33] CENGIZ GULEC; **Politik Psikoloji Penceresinden Siyaset Ahlakı, Kimlik Ve Laiklik**, Prof.Dr., Umit Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2004, pg:66

Given identity is important part of socialization process and it is gained by birth. Family, ethnic group and nations are samples of given identities. It has discriminatory characteristic starting from birth.[34]

Acquired identity is gained after birth, during individual development. It has voluntary character as seen sample of membership in a organization or career choice.[35]

Why does an individual form an identity? The answer can be found in approach of 'weakness of human being'. According to this view, all human are social entities and have to live together with others. They have instinct to associate themselves with others behaviour and approach to provide their own physical and psychological security. That's why individuals internalize themselves with their own environment. Likewise, individuals have tendency to protect given identity in case of strengthening and preserving[36]. All those tendencies are the main constituent of nationalism as instict of sense of belonging.

3.2. Identity as a Sociological Case

As I mentioned above, an individual reliaze self inside a society. As Tina Aunin explains, *'Identity is not only a private matter. It must be lived out in the world, in a dialogue with others'*[37] and quoting from Kuper,

'it is in the dialogue that an identity is fabricated. The iner self finds its home in the world by participating in the identity of a collectivity (for example a nation, ethnic minority, social class, political or religious movement'[38]

Group identification can also be explained by individual differences as to what extect they define themselves as members of group. [39]Thus, identity forming process is a spesific

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[34] Gulec, a.g.e, sayfa:70

[35] Gulec, a.g.e, sayfa:70

[36] Gulec, a.g.e, sayfa:67

[37] Tina Aunin, **The Changing Cultural Map Of Europe: New Rhetoric And Floating Images**; Edited By Vita Fortunati And Francesco Cattani; ibid, pg: 97

[38] Aunin, ibid, sayfa:97

individualist statement that occurs in a spesific socio-cultural environment together with or against to 'others'. So, 'others' are important in that process.This is related with differences sourcing from social character of identity. Belonging and identity has its own significance by 'others' and this exist in all identity categories.[40]

Social interactions may display new transitions or oppositions, so this directs individuals to protect given identities or to form new ones. [41] This shows the historical character of identity, which means historical placement of identities, likewise the changing effect of identities on individuals in the length of time.

But how can a spesific social identity gain collective character?There are two main elements:

- Objective elements
- Subjective elements

Objective elements are common features shared by members of community. In the sample of national identity, objective elements can be count as national anthem, victories, common language, religion and ethnic collective life. Thus, social community internalize those features and form their own identity. Subjective identities are about internalizing process of objective elements, which also means community consciousness. [42]

3.3. Identity as a National Manner: National Identity and Nationality

Modern nationalist approach defines national identity and nationality as a legal bond between state and the nation. Some argues that these bonds are a result of identity forming of

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[39] Licata, L., & Klein, O; **Does European Citizenship Breed Xenophobia? European Identification as a Predictorof Intolerance towards Immigrants;. Does European citizenship breed xenophobia?**; Europeanidentification as a Predictor of Intolerance Towards Immigrants. Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 12, 1-15,2002, pg:6

[40] Gulec, a.g.e, sayfa:67

[41] Gulec, a.g.e, sayfa:68

[42] Gulec, sayfa:69

state-building process and have no primordial past. Some like primordial nationalists argue that it is result of 'we group feelings'.

In Hailbronner's words, in a modern understanding, nationality is "the status of membership to a community based upon a common history, culture, ethnicity and common political convictions or values".[43] According to Hailbronner, nationality in a historical perspective is a new phenomenon. He explains as *"…nationality can no longer be determined as a personal relationship of allegiance, but rather as a legal status embracing a set of mutual rights and obligations towards a political entity fulfilling certain requirements necessary for the existence of a sovereign state"*.[44]

My argument in thesis has a psychological view that national identity is positive identification with in the nation as an attachment of individuals into a society and it is important emotional bond with a nation. [45] But the strength of attachment and boundaries may differ as a result of state-building process. So, what unites people is 'we grouping'. So, I apply sociological case of national identity refers to 'grouping' rather than regulation of state. Ethnocentric approach on 'in-group' and 'out-group' behaving can help on that point. Here, in-group is defined as individuals with sense of attachment and loyalty and out-group can be any, related to it. So, in nationality case, in-group signifies any nation, which can gain sense of identity, be motivated for help to homeland they belong.[46] But the core is, people tend to think positively in the case of group they belong in. So, being part of identity in nation, they evaluate themselves positively towards others.[47] Also group identification in national level

[43] HAILBRONNER K; **Nationality in Public Iternational Law and European Law**, http://www2.law.ed.ac.uk/citmodes/files/NATACCh1Hailbronner.pdf , pg:1

[44] HAILBRONNER K; ibid;pg:1

[45] Blank T&Schmidt P; **National Identity in a United Germany: Natinalism or Patriotism?An Empirical Test with Representative Data**; International Society of Political Psychology,Volume:24, No:2, 2003 , pg:290

[46] BALABANIS G and others; **The Impact of Nationalism, Patriotism and Internationalism on Consumer Ethnocemtric Tendencies,** Journal of International Business Studies, 32, 1 (First Quarter 2001), pg: 159-160

[47] Mummendey A and others; **Nationalism and Patriotism:National Identification and Out-group Rejection,**British Journal of Social Psychology, 40, 2001, pg: 159

provides solidarity among all members, motives to be a good member at individual level and to act voluntarily as a citizen role.[48]

Balabanis and others also denotes that strength of these needs differ in individual also country bases.[49] So, that's why nationalistic movement and its scale is different in each step of the historical stage and that's the answer why we can not count nationalism regarding only in one viewpoint.

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[48] Li Q & Brewer B.M; **What does it mean to be an American? Patriotism, Nationalism and American Identity after 9/11**, International Society of Political Psychology, Volume 25, No:5 (October 2004), pg: 727

[49] Balabanis and others; ibid, pg:160

CHAPTER 2

NATIONAL versus EUROPEAN?

PART 3

4. Identity and Citizenship

General description of identity is a concept presupposing dialogical recognition of the other and thus, citizenship is usually interlinked with identity. But citizenship is not only a identitical sttaus, it is also a legal status to determine society of a particular state. So, Isin and Wood describe logic of "citizenship" and "identity" as:

"While identity does not need to have a legal and juridical basis, it may become the subject of legal dispute and struggle…The affinity between citizenship and identity is that they are both group markers. Citizenship marks out the members of a polity from another as well as members of a polity from non members. Identity marks out groups from each other as well as allowing for the constitution of groups as targets of assistance, hatred, animosity, sympathy or allegiance."[50]

According to Kymlica and Norman, "*citizenship is not just a certain status, defined by a certain set of rights and responsibilities. It is also an identity, an expression of one's membership into a political community.*" [51]

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[50] ISIN F. E & WOOD P. (1999);**Citizenship and Identity**, Sage Publications, pg:19

[51] KYMLICA W. & NORMAN W. (1995); **Return of the Citizen: A survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory**, in Beiner R. (eds): Theorizing Citizenship, State University of New York Press, pg: 301

According to Bloom, the identification is a social and continuous process starting from birth for connection with the social environment and for feeling psychologically secure. So, citizenship is important to identify individuals themselves with established polity and historical-cultural community.[52]

4.1. Nationality

Citizenship and identity are adherent to nationality. In a modern understanding, the term "nationality", as Hailbronner defines in his words as "*the status of membership to a community based upon a common history, culture, ethnicity and common political convictions or values.*'[53]

According to Hailbronner, nationality in a historical perspective is a new phenomenon. He explains as "*…nationality can no longer be determined as a personal relationship of allegiance, but rather as a legal status embracing a set of mutual rights and obligations towards a political entity fulfilling certain requirements necessary for the existence of a sovereign state'.*[54]

As stated in Hailbronner's article, The International Court of Justice in Nottebohm case has described nationality as a "*legal bond having at its basis a social fact of attachment, a genuine connection of existence, interest and sentiments, together with existence of reciprocal rights and duties".*[55]

Also as stated in same article, The German Constitutional Court has described nationality as a legal status describing membership of a political community. "*Nationality is the legal requirement for an equal status implying equal duties on the one hand, equal political rights*

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[52] BLOOM W (1990); **Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations**, Cambridge University Press,

[53] HAILBRONNER K (2006); **Nationality in Public International Law and European Law**, pg:1

http://www.law.ed.ac.uk/citmodes/files/NATACCh1Hailbronner.pdf

[54] Hailbronner; ibid, pg:1

[55] Hailbronner; ibid, pg:2

on the other hand, the exercise of which is the exclusive source of legitimacy of power in a democracy." [56]

New developments, especially in European Union gave the idea of post-national or trans-national nationalities. According to Bauöck, *"Although, there are no indications for a post-national or trans-national nationality, there are clear indications that states increasingly recognize that there may well be more than one membership of a political community. The increasing number of dual nationals and the changing attitude of states dealing with multiple nationality indicates a change in traditional perceptions of nationality".* [57]

4.2. National Identity and National Citizenship

Theoretical construction of citizenship have emerged as a result of the historical process of transformation of the territorial kingdoms to the nation states. These transformations have been realized within different context of social change, like revolutions or civil/intellectual debates. So, based on different modes of transformation, the theoretical frameworks of national citizenship vary.

In terms of sociology, national citizenship can be defined as set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural), which define a person as a component member of society, and which as a consequence shape flow of resources to persons and social groups. In terms of political theory, national citizenship can be defined as status, loyalty, duties and rights not primarily in relation to another human being, but in relation to an abstract concept the state.

According to Bloom, definition of national identity is *"..condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with the national symbols...so that they may act as one psychological group when there is a threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of these symbols of national identity."* [58]

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[56] Hailbronner; ibid, pg:2

[57] BAUBÖCK R ; **Citizenship and National Identities in the European Union**; 1997; pg:2
http://centers.law.nyu.edu

[58] Bloom; ibid, pg:5

Smith describes national identity as western model and contribute discussion as *'a national identity involves some sense of political community, however tenuous. A political community in turn implies at least some common institutions and a single code of rights and duties for all the members of the community. It also suggests a definite social space, a fairly well demarcated and bounded territory, with which the members identify and to which they feel they belong'*. [59]

As Kymlicka stated in his book, national identity is tied to cultural membership. Noting from Tamir, *'nations-civic or ethnic- are cultures which provide their member with meaningful ways of life across the full spectrum of human activity (economic, political, educational, recreational, religious etc.). These "organizational structures" are to signify that they form institutionally integrated societies, not simply lifestyle subgroups or advocacy movements within a society'*. [60]

Kymlicka also emphasizes the importance of cultural membersip. Quoting from Tamir, *'people are capable of making autonomous choices about their aims in life. But the ability to make these choices depends on "the presence of a cultural context", so that individual liberty is dependent on membership in a cultural community. Over time, individuals can put these cultural context themselves in question, and choose which culture they wish to live in'*. [61]

5. Approaches On National Citizenship

In this section, I analyze two main approaches on citizenship. One is "liberal individualist and second is "civic based republican". These approaches differ from each other as having different historical development and social ties among citizens.[62]

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[59] SMITH A ; **National Identity**, University of Nevada Press, 1993; pg:9

[60] KYMLICKA W; **Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship**, Oxford University Press; 2001; pg:250

[61] Kymlicka; ibid, pg:250

[62] OLDFIELD A; **Citizenship: An Unnatural Practise, in Kadıoglu A (eds);Vatandasligin Donusumu: Uyelıkten Haklara,** Metıs Press, 2008; pg:93

5.1 Liberal Individualist Approach

Liberal individualist approach, which lies in Anglo-American system begining from 17th century, citizenship seen as "status". Main concern focuses on weakening of this status by governments. [63]

Emphasis on "status" is shown as necessity because of human nature and individuals as being active objects. These necessities are seen as rights of citizenship status. Individuals are seen as autonomous beings, who respects other individuals" rights and having obligatories as tax payments and participating "home defence". Apart from duties for family and friends and duties which root from social contract, individuals do not have any other amenability for their own society. So to say, social ties among individuals are "contract based". Because, individuals are seen as autonomous and sovereign, because of the choice of using rights in public sphere, which are given politically.[64]

Rights are internal part of individuals, so liberalist approach gives preferences to individuals. Till 20th century, there rights were civic, political, legal and religious rights. In 20th century, economic and social rights took part additionally. All these rights can be seen as "necessitites", because individuals need them to act. Rights strenght individuals and make them act. Also rights can be seen as "autorization" to give individuals human dignity. "Necessities and authorization" of rights are the reason to differ people from other beings.[65]

Status is internal part of individuals and should be approved by civil law. Because, it needs of protection from looting of individuals and governmental arbitrariness.

This approach can not constitute social solidarity and social tie itself. On that point, some critics raised by sociaist in 19th century, claiming that it is a weak approach on individuals. They emphasized necessity of brotherhood, cooperation and reciprocity as social ties among

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[63] Oldfield; ibid, pg:93

[64] Oldfield; ibid, pg:94

[65] Oldfield;ibid, pg:96

individuals. So to say that socialist views inspired by western tradition named as "classic" or "civic based republican" approach.[66]

5.2 Civic Based Republican Approach

In this approach, citizenship is seen as "practice and act". Liberalist individualists concern about bastardizing of citizenship practises by governments. [67]

Emphasis on "practice" is linked with necessity of "duties". So, this approach is "social based"; because, individuals are only seen as citizens within a society. To act as a citizen, individuals need to be "streghtened". They can have their own autonomy not only respecting to other"s autonomy, also using "practice" in accordance with society. So to say, social ties among citizens are not based on contract; based on sharing and forming a life style. What makes individuals as citizens are common adherence on "practice.'[68]

In this approach, preference is given to society. Because, individuals grow up in a social concept and they realize their role and duties. They are educated for these roles and one of them is "citizenship". Also, their lives and sources can come into demand, because in this way, citizenship can be ensured in a continious society and individuals identity as citizens can be maintained.[69]

So in this approach, citizenship is not a "status", is a "practice and act". Individuals show their citizenship as acting in public services. These public services are related on things that to define, build and progress political community formed by citizens. To discuss and decide on short and long term and maintain them are one of "citizenship duties". So, these are actings forming citizens and their societies.[70]

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[66] Oldfield; ibid, pg:97

[67] Oldfield;ibid, pg:93

[68] Oldfield;ibid, pg:94-95

[69] Oldfield;ibid, pg:98

[70] Oldfield;ibid, pg:98

These demands are not seen as a part of any contract, or amendables that will not be completed when done. These demands are duties that citizens can define themselves as citizens. Not to fulfill these duties means to discard "citizenship"[71]. So to say that necessity of citizenship practise is shared responsibility, which linked to continuity and identity of particular political society. That responsibility does not belong to individual"s choices. Once pursued, then individuals become "citizens.'[72]

To act as citizens, individuals should be strengthened. So, rights are seen obligatory in contrary to liberal individualist view that rights are seen as " necessity". But to strengthen individuals are not enough for citizenship practise, also corporate sphere should be provided. In a modern state, that needs centralization of political role and functions. [73]

5.3 Mann"s Theory

Michale Mann analyzed five kind of citizenship strategy as liberal, reformist, autoritarian monarchist, fascist and autoritarian socialist. [74]

In his model, Britain, USA and Switzerland are samples for liberal model. In Britain, state has liberal character and was success full to integrate working class within "wellfare" system. But in 19th century, especially after class conflicts, Britain transformed to reformist system as a solution. [75]

Germany, Austria, Russia and Japan are samples for autoritarian monarchist system. Even monarchist system in these countries resisted to demand from proletariat and bourgeosie, they had to change sytem to a modern way. Wilhelm"s Germany enjoyed sucessful political and

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[71] Oldfield, ibid, pg:99

[72] Oldfield;ibid, pg:99

[73] Oldfield;ibid, pg:100

[74] TURNER B; **Outline of a Theory of Citizenship**, in Kadioglu A (eds); ibid; pg:115

[75] Turner; ibid, pg:116

economical development strategy, which resulted a negative integration with the system by the way of superficial citizenship development of proletariat and bourgeosise.[76]

Soviet Union and Nazist Germany are samples for authoritarian socialit and fascist strategies. Both of them did not provide civic and political rights, but had important developments for social citizenship. In Germany, full employment policy and public service programme were integrated with another target: remilitarization. In Soviet Union, there were social citizenship programme for everyone, even together with huge social inequality in their blurred economy. [77]

In Mann"s citizenship theory, it is seen that citizenship is given by a state and rights are seen as passive. So for him, citizenship is a strategy that contributes for social integration. [78]

Turner frames a typology to create and institutionalize citizenship rights as combining two dimensions of citizenship (private/public and top to down).

Table 1: Turner's typology on Citizenship[79]

Revolutionsit Context	Passive Citizenship	**Public Sphere**
Liberal Pluralism	Plebisitarian Authoriterism	**Private Sphere**

Revolutionist context links demands from bottom with an emphsizes on public sphere and skeptic on private sphere of individuals. While revolutionist citizenship transform to totalitarizm, it results with an idea of transparent, homogeneous and solely folk as a folk Classical liberal context insist on diversity and freedom of "private".[80]

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[76] Turner; ibid, pg:116

[77] Turner; ibid, pg:116

[78] Turner; ibid, pg:120

[79] Turner; ibid, pg:121

[80] Turner; ibid, pg:121

6. Citizenship Politics till 20th Century on 'Migration Framework'

The history of how citizenship on migration framework was emerged lasts before to agricultural societies. Before agrarian system, people were free to move as could be seen 'free movement on labor'. Labor control started in agrarian system and continued till the breakdown of feudalism. As Soysal notes, slavery system and the feudalism hindered free movement of labour, because individuals were fixed their localities through primordial ties, communal attachments, personal allegiances and serfdom. [81]

Till 14th century, main characteristic of European history can be seen in invasions and conquests, which formed 'movement waves' of local population. But on the other hand, higher strada, who were not bounded by serfdom (like ecclesiastics, artists and mercants) was free to move to exercise their skills.

That process changed in 15th century in monarches and states. Individual ties were changed from primordial to direct link to state. Soysal defines this term as '*A related development from the late 18th century on, was the redefinition of the populace, from subjects to monarchs to citizens of states and the emerging overlap between the state and the nation as the principal definer of citizenship. This involved a concerted effort on the part the state to mold individuals into citizens and to match state boundaries with nationalities and resulted in fierce wars among and within the state*'. [82]

The importance of this period shows itself on mobility of individuals, who are were tied to local lands. They moved from rural areas to urban cities, which caused adoption to new identities. But also restrictions for mobility were introduced.

Another characteristic of this term lies down on 'nationality' concept. As Soysal says '*With the French revolution, the nation state emerged as the form of political organization and nationality as the condition of membership in a polity. Citizenship acquired exclusionary*

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[81] Soysal Y; **Limits of Citizenship:Migrants and Post-national Membership in Europe**, The University of

Chicago Press, 1994, pg: 15

[82] Soysal; ibid, pg:16

properties through compulsory education, conscription and national welfare, all of which defined culturally unified and sacred entities by creating boundaries around them'. [83]

This opened a new gate to control mobility and required changes on immigration laws. So, in the early 20th century, passports and national identity cards were used to separate aliens and national citizens.

20th century's citizenship and migration policies differs from 19th century ones. Latter can be defined as inclusionary model, which includes integration and penetration of new immigrants. But 20th century ideology was practised as exclusionary model that bounded by nationhood and citizenship having cultural and population boundaries.

New politics of early 21th century can be defined in Soysal words:

'However, in the postwar era, even foreign populations are incorporated into the institutions of the polity. In accordance with expanding notions of universalistic personhood, noncitizens, as much as citizens are entitled (and authorized) as productive individuals wherever they reside'. [84]

7. **Citizenship Policies on 'Rights Framework'**

The other side of development in "citizenship process" can be seen on "rights framework". This frame was pictured clearly by Marshall"s work on classification of rights.

In Marshall"s analysis on citizenship[85], development of citizens" rights were studied in three terms as:

- 18th century-development of civic rights
- 19th century-development of political rights

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[83] Soysal; ibid, pg:17

[84] Soysal; ibid, pg:31

[85] Turner; ibid, pg:110

- 20th century-development of social rights

18th century was a process, which centered for individuals "legal status and civic rights. These rights were related freedom of speech, right to fair trial and equal access to legal system and these were covered by offical courts.

19th century was shaped by development of poltical rights. For Marshall, that period was a result of proletariat conflict for political equality. So in this term, political citizenship required more access for political bodies and expansion of" right to vote" to give voice for claims.

For the last, Marshall defines 20th century for "development of social rights". These rights were related to wellfare claims, which bases for social security including illness, unemployment and social problems

Marshall"s citizenship analysis can be detailed as comparing with Parsons"s argument. For Parsons, development of "citizenship" includes a transition from "birth-based societies" to "success oriented based societies". This also includes a transition from "particular" to "universal". So a modern citizenship requires abstract political subjects, not limited to birth, ethnicity and gender.[86] So, development of citizenship can be seen in development of conflicts between social groups to reach sources. So to say, facilititation in citizenship developed and still developing because of effective claims of sub-social groups. [87]

Marshall's analysis was criticized by many scholars because of its evolutionary perspective. Because, he focused on inevitable historical development of rights for appearance of citizenship and could not be retractile. But many scholars argued that after 1973 economic crisis, developments in wellfare states showed these rights can not be count as retractiled. [88]

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[86] Turner; ibid, pg:113

[87] Turner; ibid; pg:113

[88] Turner; ibid, pg:111

8. New Citizenship Models

Kadioglu defines four kind of citizenship context[89] as:

-citizenship as national identity or nationality

-citizenship based on documents

-citizenship based on rights

-citizenship based on duties and responsibilities

8.1 Citizenship as National Identity or Nationality

In modern societieis, citizenship is linked to membership of a state and citizenship is seen as a synonymous fact with national identity and nationality.

That view roots back to French Revolution. In that term, nation apperaed as a source of sovereign state. In 1789 Human Rights Declaration, it was stated that main base of sovereignty is "nation". Abbeé Sieyes (1748-1836), the theorotician of French Revolution, stated in his article "What is Third Estate?" that nations" will is "law" itself. So, national identity or nationality became main source of sovereignty.[90]

G.W.Hegel aslo stated that humanity sources from state. So, combination of nationalism and "divine" state caused an understanding of that individuals can only exist in a nation-state.[91] In this period, citizenship (as a context) meaned for those, who had national consciousness and responsibilities. To say that, "citizenship" emphasized valuable concept more than "folk". Folk is linked to "legal entities"; but citizenship is linked to "national consciousness". So, the main aim of states were to educate "folk" to transform them as citizens. So, folks became "nation" in time.

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[89] KADIOGLU A ; Vatandaslik: Kavramın Farklı Anlamları; in Kadioglu A (eds); ibid, pg:21

[90] Kadioglu; ibid, pg:22

[91] Kadioglu; ibid, pg:22

So, these developments are reasons to link between citizenship and nationality. As Ernest Gellner stated " meshing between political and national (nation-state) caused synonymous evolution of citizenship and nationalism context". So, in daily life, word of "nationalism" bound to either national identity or citizenship. [92]

8.2 Citizenship Based on Documents

Sometimes, citizenship is used further to documents that defines legal status of individuals. These documents are identity cards and passports. But these documents do not give equal rights for those who have them. For example, people who live in territories bound to Britain and those who are overseas citizens of Britain have the same passport, but these documents do not give them rght to abode in Britain. As Fransman stated, if right to abode is for citizens, so passport as proof of citizenship can not be linked with it.[93]

8.3 Citizenship Based on Rights

In Marshall's studies, it is discussed that citizenship includes social, civic and political rights. According to him, civic rights were legal rights received by individuals over against autocracies in 18th century. Development of political rights were by development of parliamentary system in 19th century. Social rights were related to welfare state politics that occurred in 20th century. So, development of modern citizenship can be seen in evolution process of civic, political and social rights.

Kadıoğlu contributed this discussion on 'first class citizenship' and 'second class citizenship', referring to differences on applying civic, social and political rights to citizens, who have rights to abode in a country. She refers two Arabic words 'cinsiye' and ' muvatana'. So for cinsiye means 'passport citizenship', indicating right to abode in a country. Muvatana means 'democratic citizenship', including civic, political and social rights, in addition to right to abode. So as Kadıoğlu emphasizes that mutavana is for first class citizens and cinsiye is for second class citizens.[94]

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[92] Kadioglu; ibid, pg:24

[93] Kadioglu; ibid, pg:24

[94] Kadioglu; ibid, pg:27

8.4 Citizenship Based on Duties and Responsibilities

In some nation-state building processes, citizenship is defined by the importance of duties and responsibilities. Citizenship is linked to 'duties',especially in republican context, in contrast with liberal tradition. In this context, 'society' is prior to 'individual' and social benefit is more important than individual rights.[95]

9. What is Changing on Citizenship?

The end of 20th century, nation states started to face new international compulsions and had new burdens. By reason of freedom for movement of persons and goods, developments on bilateral or multilateral agreements between countries caused a new process and changed partly perceptions on meaning of citizenship.

So the answer of "what is changing in citizenship?" can be found on following:

-State- territory linkage lost its importance because indivudals can have their own citizenship status from sending country and also they can use befits and privilages given by host country.

-Differentiation in citizenship can be seen in various form of legal status of immigrants. For example, in Europe there can be seen immigranst who have or have not right to abode or right to work, or who have dual citizenship as having European citizenship at the same time.

-Post-national characteristic changed base and legitimacy of citizenship. In classic model, citizenship can be acquired by living in a nation-state and by loyalty to it.But in new model, individuals can have other rights and privilages by universal ideology of human rights based by international conventions, agreements that of bounding nation-states. So, individuals go beyond 'citizens'.[96]

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[95] Kadioglu; ibid, pg:28

[96] UNAT N; **Bitmeyen Goc:Konuk Iscilikten Ulusotesi Yurttasliga**; İstanbul Bilgi University Press,2006; pg:315

All these developments affect on the relation between "nation" and "citizen" as unlinked because of related changes on demographic structure of society and heterogeneous population that keep individuals in differentiated adherence and loyalty.[97]

10. New Citizenship Categories

10.1 National or Post-National?

Soysal categorizes differences on national and post-national membership in seven subtitle including time period, territory, rights and membership status.

Table 2: Comparison of national and post-national model of membership[98]

Dimension	National citizenship	Post-national membership
Time period	19th to mid 20th centuries	Postwar
territorial	Nation state bounded	Fluid boundaries
Congruence between membership and territory	identical	Distinct
Rights/privileges	Single status	Multiple status
Basic of membership	Shared nationhood (national rights)	Universal personhood (human rights)
Source of legitimacy	Nation state	Transnational community
Organization of membership	Nation state	Nation state

According to the schema, the modern history of citizenship started with French Revolution. But realization on national citizenship occurred later. Reconfiguration of citizenship is only seen after post-war period. Starting from 1960"s, even national citizenship

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[97] Unat; ibid, pg: 308

[98] Soysal; ibid, pg:140

keeps its importance within a state, especially in western world rising number of free movement of goods and persons caused a new phenomenon on post-national membership.

In national citizenship model, it is seen that membership is bounded to a nation state on a certain territory.So, citizens are entitled to rights within that territory by state jurisdiction. Bu post-national model goes beyond more national borders. An individual can hold a citizenship of a country, but also can enjoy rights and privilages given by host country. So to say that, in that model, membership and territorial bound are unlinked. But fluid boundaries never means that nation-states are loosing their role. In contrast, states try to keep out foreigners by issuing new aliens laws and adopting restrictive immigration policies.

For rights and privilages, national model consist citizenship as a single status of that all citizens are entitled to the same. But post-national model has multiple status for membership.

Soysal states that legitimation of membership differs in two model. In national model, citizens acquire equal rights and obligations on the ground of nationhood. So, basis of legitimacy can be found on nation state. But the latter, privilege is given to universal personhood and universal rights replace natinaol rights. As soysal defines " *The rights and claims of individuals are legitimated by ideologies grounded in a transnational community, through international codes, conventions and laws on human rights, independent of their citizenship in a nation state*".[99]

The only category that meets national membership and post-national membership together is on organization of membership. Because, in both models, implementing individual rights lies within nation states. As Soysal states " the state is the immediate guarantor and provider, though now for "every person" living within its borders, noncitizen as well as citizen".[100]

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[99] Soysal; ibid, pg:142

[100] Soysal; ibid, pg:143

10.2 Citizen or Alien?

According to Bauböck, people who live in a state are subject to the law, and also people living outside their country of origin may still be that state's citizens[101] and underlies four basic premises for this concept of citizenship:

-Aliens are fully subjected to a territorial sovereignty.

If states are sovereign within their territory and if the sovereignty is highest, then the basic political unit of population must be defined as those who live under the rule of a state. So in this respect, there is no fundamental difference between citizens and aliens. They are both equally subjected to the laws of their state of residence.[102]

-**Aliens are excluded from citizenship rights**

If the state is a despotic Leviathan, citizens and aliens are both mere subjects. In this model, citizens are seen as members of the political community and aliens are outsiders who remain in a status of legitimate subjection. As a result, aliens have no fundamental claim to civil and social rights enjoyed by citizens.[103]

-States are sovereign in determining rules for the acquisition and loss of their citizenship

The area of sovereignty with regard to a population tied to a state by a durable legal bond, which normally extends over a whole individual life and even across generations. It thus provides not only reasons for privileging citizens over resident aliens in the territory. So, external citizenship involves overlapping claims of two different states to include the same group of resident aliens among the adressees of their laws.[104]

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[101] Bauböck; ibid, pg:1

[102] Bauböck; ibid, pg:2

[103] Bauböck; ibid, pg:3

[104] Bauböck; ibid, pg:3

-Human rights effectively depend on citizenship

These rights are rights, which are meant to be universal only if all legitimate governments ought to guarantee them for their citizens.[105]

As Soysal stated in her book, incorporating in laws of many countries, international conventions and charters grants to individuals non-discrimination on ground of benefiting social, political or civil rights and oblige nation-states not to make distinctions.[106]

Soysal points up importance of some samples of international conventions as:

-The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) as stating "all beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, independent of their race, color, national or ethnic origin".

-The international Covenant on Civil and Political Rights-ICCPR (1966) as imposing a responsibility on the state to respect and ensuring the rights of "all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction".

-The European Convention on Human Rights (1950) as expounding identical provisions, with further protection against the collective expulsion of aliens.

-The Convention of the European Council (1955) as requiring the contracting parties "to treat the nationals of the other contracting states on a basis of equality and to secure for them the enjoyment of civil rights....(and) the same economic rights as are possessed by nationals of the state in which the alien is established".[107]

From the perspective of liberal citizenship, there is no distinction between citizens and aliens. So, in this category external citizenship for emigrants and enchanced denizenship for settled immigrants are the new concepts on identifying changing concept of citizenship.

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[105] Bauböck; ibid, pg:5

[106] Soysal; ibid, pg:145

[107] Soysal; ibid, pg:145

10.2.1 External citizenship for emigrants

People who move into another state or take up a residence, and enjoy benefits of their country of origin. The most fundamental right of this external citizenship are

-diplomatic protection

-return to one's country of citizenship.[108]

10.2.2 Enhanced denizenship for settled immigrants

As an 'after postwar' development, one of the disparity on national citizenship can be seen in denizenship. As Tomas Hammer argues, *'foreigners as long term residents of European states and those who possess substantial rights and privilages should be given new classification and offers term of denizen'.*[109]

This model disconnects rights from formal citizenship and grounds them more firmly in territorial residence. In this concept, immigrants ought to enjoy rights derived from their residence and employment independently of their foreign citizenship.[110]

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[108] Bauböck; ibid, pg:7

[109] Soysal; ibid, pg: 138

[110] Bauböck; ibid, pg:7

11. European Citizenship: A Real Citizenship?

As stated in Article 20 .1 of The Treaty on The Functioning of the European Union, European citizenship is defined as

'Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship.' [111]

This alternative model of citizenship provides right to Union citizens, stated as Article 20.2 :

(a) the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States;

(b) the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections to the European Parliament and in

municipal elections in their Member State of residence, under the same conditions as nationals of that State;

(c) the right to enjoy, in the territory of a third country in which the Member State of which they are

nationals is not represented, the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any

Member State on the same conditions as the nationals of that State;

(d) the right to petition the European Parliament, to apply to the European Ombudsman, and to address the institutions and advisory bodies of the Union in any of the Treaty languages and to obtain a reply in the same language.

How can we interpret this new model of citizenship?post-national or under national citizenship?Does it show that national identities and national citizenship over?Or does it

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[111] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2008:115:0047:0199:en:PDF#page=10, pg: 10

prove that national citizenship is still on stage and strong, thus European citizenship is just an alternative model, without replacing it?

Bellamy and Warleigh explains European citizenship as communitarian cosmopolitan model. They describe cosmopolitan citizenship as right-based and universal. This form of citizenship's subject is individuals.[112]There is no direct link on individuals and people are jointly responsible on practices of justice.[113]

In same article, Bellamy and Warleigh describes communitarian model as oppose to cosmopolitanist view. For communitarians, even the rights of human beings are basic, universal human rights exert only limited claim on our attention. Community is defined in the base of nation state and nationality provides citizens 'a common world of meanings', which are linked with a political unit.[114]Communitarians focus culture, hıstory and language as sustaining mutual sense. So, for a citizen, when is linked to a state, common culture help to identify themlseves. [115]

So for Bellamy and Warleigh, EU has both xosmopolitan and communitarian features. It is cosmopolitan, because of having liberal cosmopolitan principles as liberty, democracy and respect.On the other side, EU is communitarian as respecting national identities of its member states.[116]

There are other inteepretations of EC as Eurocracy, becuase of its lack concept of not sharing common language and a common public sphere and thus, of citizenship without

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[112] Richard Bellamy and Alex Warleigh; **From an Ethics of Integration to an Ethics of Participation- Citizenship and the Future of the European Union**;Published in Millennium: A Journal of International Studies, 27, 1998, pg:454

[113] Bellamy&Warleigh, ibid, pg:455

[114] Bellamy&Warleigh, ibid, pg:455

[115] Bellamy&Warleigh; ibid, pg:456

[116] Bellamy&Warleigh, ibid, pg:458

participation.[117] Or some see Europe and European citizens today as ancient Romans and new pax romana.[118]

To understand European citizenship better, I will define if there United Europe exist, under the European identity.

12. Does 'United Europe' Exist?

European Union project consider Europe as a whole as sharing common values such as democracy and Christianity. But, Europe is beyond them. These values are just the periphery of modern Europe, which binds European nation states.

Europe as a continent is divided into four: Western, Eastern, Central and Southern Europe.Each divided parts have different background in culture, history, political system and so on. Today, Western part is most developed part in all fields as economics, information and welfare systems.Thus, western countries face flow of immigrations, especially from less developed part of Europe, as Eastern part. Lİberalism, protection of democtaric values are main components of Western tradition,so its political systems are effected according to this tradition.

Southern Europe is also immigration receiving part. But, big difference is that immigration is just for its natural beauties spesific to Southern countries.

Eastern Europe is seen more dramatic in right-wing political party speeches. In their discourses, Eastern part is the poor and source of flow of imigration because of having less economical development. It is also observed that, Eastern part has an important role for Euroepan Union security. Their communist past and Russian effect is a mian factor also which make these countries as part of Union Project. For a liberal Europe and to protect those values, Europe needs more lıberalised system in that part.

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[117] SEYLA BENHABIB; **The Rights Of Others: Aliens, Residents And Citizens**, Cambridge University Press, 2004; pg:148

[118] Benhabib; ibid, pg:164

Central Europe is another part, facing multi political and cultural dimensions. It is placed in the centre, but culturally western, also Eastern. So, Central Europe was an part an area of small nations between Russia and Germany. The tragedy of Central Europe was that after the war, this third part was culturally and politically kidnapped by the Soviet Union.[119]

So as seen above, various geopolitical, ideological, cultural, moral, economic and aesthetic alternatives, Eastern vs Western Europe, European core are vs its peripheries, European Occident vs European Orient, Mitteleuropa, Central Europe, South Eastern Europe and Balkans have overlapping consensus.

13. European Identity

'We have made Europe, now we have to make europeans'.

Massimo d'Azeglio

After its birth in 1970's (created in Maastricht, legally in Lisbon Treaty-2009), it is assumed that European identity has three basic pillars common heritage, common interests, common actions for the countries of the Third World and for European integration.[120]

European identity is a formed political identity as a result of European citizenship. My argument here is, European identity can not be count as an alternative to national identity. Because, it has no past in nation-states history. If so, free movement of persons would not cause any complain in the case of national interest when it is at stake.

Most academics discuss if European identity already exist. Tambalaki explains this as in the case of Europe, there is already common ground already existed identity. Otherwise, we would not speak of identity. [121]

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[119] Monica Spiridon, **Maping Europe:An Overview From The Eastern Peripheries**,Edited By Vita Fortunati and Francesco Cattani, ibid, Pg:62

[120] Kitti Maros, Janka Teodora Nagy And Rita Görgőy; **The European Union And National Identity: A Hungaran Point Of View**, Edited By Vita Fortunati and Francesco Cattani, ibid; pg:192

[121] TAMBALAKI P; **Agonism and the Conception of European Citizenship**, The British Journal of Politics and International Relations, Vol: 13, 2011, pg:579

Stråth discuss that emphasis on Europe is more distinctive cultural entity by shared values, culture and identity. Greco-Roman civilization, Christianity, enlightent and democracy are seen as core of European legacy. Differences in Europe (like religious-Protestant or Orthodox; lingiustic-Germanic or Slavic) are seen correlated under 'unity in diversity'. [122]

Thus, European citizenship may be seen as built on this identity. Global changes on perception of human rights and also cosmopolitanism contributes on it. Hansen's words of 'new citizenship is about transforming concept of identity decoupling from rights.[123]' explains cosmopolitanist view, which supports the idea that national citizenship and national identity lost its importance.

This case would be acceptable if new identity was not built and had primordial roots in history. So, my claim is that process is not natural and top-down. Kostakopoulou says that European citizenship as a political imagination shows that sense of community can be created and sustained even though its members have different views about its nature and future.[124] Stråth contributes this well as:

'The effects on European feelings of belonging were unintended rather than intentional in the wake of EEC politics to improve economic structural cohesion within the polity. In the same vein also the single market discourse worked in the 1980s and the Maastricht Treaty, union and euro language worked in the 1990s. With the more active development of European symbols like the flag, the anthem, the driving licences, etc., connected to the idea of a European citizenship, one can talk about a more intentional European identity politics guided by the Commission since the 1980s and critically analysed by Cris Shore (Shore, 2000). These identity politics can be seen as an attempt to speed up the implementation of what was decided in 1973 although under adjustment to a very different economic and political global situation'.[125]

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[122] Stråth B; **A European Identity: To the Historical Limits of a Concept**; European Journal of Social Theory, Sage Publications, 2002, pg: 387

[123] HANSEN R; **The Poverty of Postnationalism:Citizenship, Immigration, and the new Europe**, Springer Publisher, 2008, pg:2

[124] KOSTAKOPOULOU D; **European Union Citizenship: Writing the Future**, European Law Journal, Vol:13, No:5, September 2007, pg:643

[125] Stråth B;ibid;pg:390

AS A CONCLUSION

European citizenship, even it does not replace national one, has opened new dimension. Because, national character is seen all citizenship models, but European citizenship is beyond national, thus directs citizenship discussions to a new path.

For nationalism studies, European citizenship brought a new dimension on classically defined national identity concept. European identity is something new and till discussed on the point of if it already existed.

I support arguments that European identity was built as a European Union integration process. It has no primordial roots and do not provide sense of belonging for all continent. European flags, Union anthem etc are all its components to achieve this aim.

Even nationals of European Union member state define themselves both with national and European identity, national one is much stronger as providing sense of belonging. Because, European identity is mostly beneficial and acceptable, in case of simplify to find better life standards with in Europe. But still this identiy is superfical and can not replace national one.

CHAPTER 3

CLASH OF NATIONALISMS

PART 5

For European Union case, we face two types of nationalism. According to Kohn classification, there are western and eastern types of nationalisms. Western type is 'citizen' orientated and its source roots from individual liberty, universal standards and rational cosmopolitanism. Eastern type nationalism is opposite to of western. It is 'culture and folk' orientated and in Kohns words, '*extolled the primitive and ancient depth and peculiarities of its traditions in contrast to western nationalism*'.[126]

If there is separation as western and eastern type of understanding on nationalism, this shows clearly that all nations have different background in their history, culture and so on. Here I argue that there is no clear idea of European identity, which can be seen as alternative and opposite of national identity.

But, many academics discuss about common values of European Union and thus, European continent as democracy. They argue that there is existing European identity. As Cederman classifies in his article, identity-formation is linked with politics and culture. In his essentialist and constructivist approach, I can specify state nationalism and continentalism in the case of identity-building. In European Union case, constructivist approach, which emphasis on politics and cultural raw material.So, here the question is on identity building case, can we talk about new form of –ism, lets call continentalism?

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[126] McCRONE D;**The Sociology of Nationalism: Tomorrow's Ancestors**, Rotlegde Publishes, 1998, pg:7-8

Table 3:Logical Framework 'Clash of Nationalisms'

TYPE	WHAT	WHY	HOW	BY WHOM
Bottom up Nationalism	Sense of belonging to shrared culture with in a nation state	Opposing to cultural policy making (multicluturalism and collective identity building)	-Strong sense of national identity -Protectionist character on national values	National right wing parties
Top down nationalism	-Created by EU rulers -European identity based -Refer to common history, culture and geography -Christianty and democratic values based	Political integration of the EU European citizenship and european identity	European citizenship, free movement of persons and service -Creating European identity	Right wing political parties in non-European immigrant receiving countries

14. What is Challenging in Nationalism?

These changes can be seen in two ways:

-On national level, protectionist nationalism oppose to cultural policy making of EU in the field of immigration and EU integration, also oppose to some content to free movement of persons, when national interests are front.

-On continental level, continentalism to protect liberal and democratic values of Europe, under Christianity.

My argument here is, there are overlapping and invisible but noticeably clash among two types of '-ism'. I use the term of bottom up nationalism for national level one and top down nationalism for continental one. It is bottom up, because nation-states are still on stage and sense of belonging still strong on national level. So, it happens inside in nation-state as an

opposition for EU applications from pulic and which can be seen as an opposition to European immigrants regardless of being western or eastern. It is top-down, because this kind of -ism is being tried to create by EU rulers and in political discourses we can follow its footprints about saving European identity against to non-European immigrants.

Figure 2: Bottom Up Nationalism in European Context
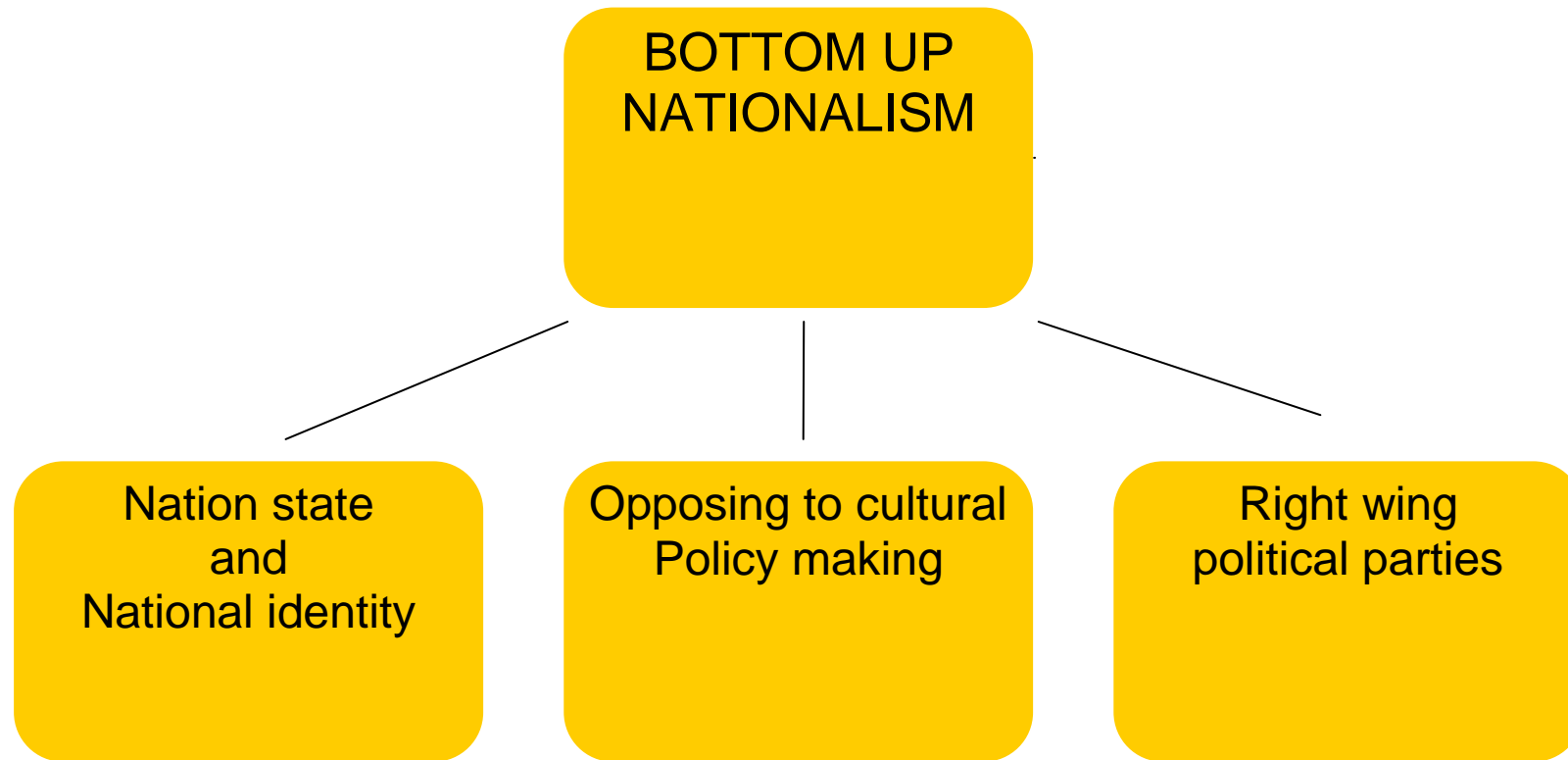
In this figure, I try to show how bottom up nationalism occur in current world system. According to table, bottom up nationalism;

- Takes into account only 'belonging to common culture' within a nation state
- Has a strong sense of national identity
- Has a protectionist character on continuity of national interests and values
- Reacts and oppose to multicultural identity politics
- Is supported by national right- wing parties

Even much efforts on improving European identity, still nation-state perception remains strong. Rising rates of migration within a nation state make national consciousness rise on protection of national identities and values. Intra-European migration, especially unskilled nationals' flows from Eastern Europe to Western part, just to have a better life standarts and for a better employment cause bottom up nationalism inside the nation states. Addition to it, non-EU citizens are seen an extra burden and irritate this model of nationalism.

I agree to what Peter Daulund concludes new nationalism manisfesting itself on:
• Interconnection of national identity politics and immigration policy;
• Revitalisation of national unity in cultures with clear distinctions between us and others;
• A move from integration to assimilation, despite political rhetoric to the contrary;
• Improvement of heritage at the expense of contemporary culture and art forms open to the world;
• Primordial transformation of culture and identity and of the narratives of cultural institutions, at the expense of the cosmopolitan view of identity formation;
• A human rights emphasis on individual citizenship and the protection of rights is being overshadowed by collective stigmatisation and identity protection;
• Anthropological concepts of shared traditions, lifestyles and values are receiving priority;
• Classical liberal republicanism, with individual citizens at the centre of an inclusive democracy, is being replaced by particularism, tribalism and inward-looking parallel societies;

• *Culturalism is replacing equal social and political rights and opportunities;*

• *The human rights-based view that all human beings should be treated equally regardless of their differences is being superseded by political multiculturalism, i.e. the view that people should be treated differently because of their differences.* [127]

These can be observed in European Union application on nation-state level and as a reaction from public.

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[127] DAULUND P; **The Impact of the New Nationalism and Identity Politics on Cultural Policy-making in Europe and Beyond;** http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/cwe/CWE-TP-Duelund_en.pdf , pg:7

Figure 3:Top Down Nationalism in European Union case
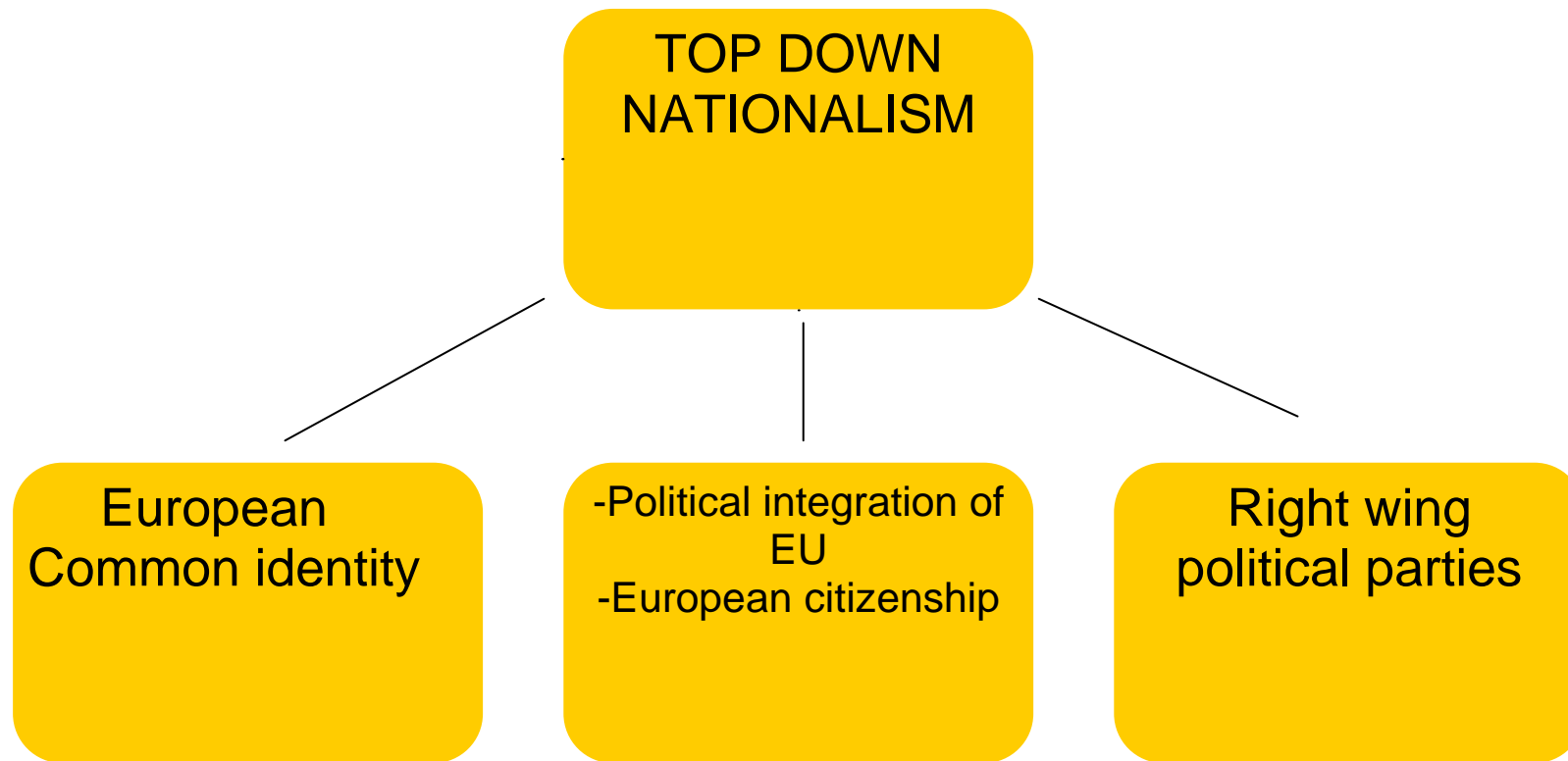
15. Continentalism in the case of European Citizenship

As a plain concept, continentalism is about agreements and policies that favor regionalization or cooperation between nations within a continent.[128] With the idea of continentalism in European Union case, it can be described well in the case of creating pan-European identity. Also, it may include pan-European nationalism, which supports the idea of Europe is a singe nation'.

My argument here is European nationalism or continentalism is top-down, built by European Union bodies under the aim of European citizenship using the tool of European identity. As Kostakopolou argues, European citizenship was just help to construct a European demos. In same article, quoting from Commissions report on European citizenship, *'the latter institution is both a source of legitimation of the process of European integration, by reinforcing the participation of citizens, and a fundamental factor in the creation among citizens of a sense of belonging to the European Union and of having a genuine European identity'*.[129] To achive it, European Union for its political integration follows the same way as a nation does.

Quoting from Smith, the set of myths, symbols and cultural practices as the key to making the modern nation.[130] Smith continues as :

The modern nation, to become truly a "nation", requires the unifying myths, symbols and memories of pre-modern ethnie. Having a territory, an economy, an education system and a legal code are not enough in themselves. Nation require passion, not merely interests, and the links with religion are obvious....Above all, it is the sense of a common past and a shared destiny which is the ideological motor driving the modern state forward.[131]

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[128] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Continentalism

[129] KOSTAKOPOULOU D; **European Union Citizenship: Writing the Future**, European Law Journal, Vol:13, No:5, 2007,pg:625

[130] McCrone;ibid, pg:11

[131] McCrone;ibid, pg:11-12

We can talk about the same path for EU that it is also trying to form its own symbols and cultural practices. This idea is shaped for EU flag, EU anthem, efforts and emphasis on European identity. To provide passion, common identity and common consciousness are required. So, on that point, we can talk about European type of nationalism or lets say continentalism, which has the same characteristic and follow the same path with a nation state.

Common characteristics of European identity can be seen in;

      - Adherent to democratic values

      - Christianity

A public opinion survey results, made in 2012 by European Commission, showed that the single currency-Euro (%41), democratic values (%40), culture (%26) and history (%26) are the elements which go to make up European identity and create sense of the European community. [132]

As Neumann stated in his book, European historians and philosophers grappled with a clash between barbarians and civilized people. And as contemporary candidates for otherness are postcolonial immigrants from Africa, Middle East and the Indian subcontinent. [133] They can also be grouped as non-European immigrants. In Western Europe right-wing political discourses, they are seen as source of criminal issues, low unemployment rate and negative effects on European culture or national culture of under they live in. For example, The leader of right-wing party in France (Front National) Jean-Marie Le Pens politics are anti-immigrant, because Le Pen emphasizes that immigrants impose their culture on France. Or Lega Nord, Italian right wing political party, is against to non –Europeans immigration in order to support to Christian identity of Italy and Europe.

But to whom are Europeans tolerant? Only themselves within the continent? The answer is no. Current Europe is formed by different nations, having different historical backgrounds and thus sharing different cultural values. We can talk about different backgrounds of Eastern

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[132] http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb77/eb77_citizen_en.pdf , pg:27

[133] NEUMANN B; **Uses of the Other: The East in European Identity Formation**, Manchester University Press, 1999, pg:39

and Western nations. If Europe including Europeans, having cultural similarities and historical closeness, sharing democratic values, we should not speak about emerging opposition against Europeans, especially to Easterns. We can find it clearly in the case of Party of Freedom of Netherlands, Reporting Point Central and Eastern Europeans website. In this website, these questions were asked in order to show to measure Dutch's tolerance on Eastern Europeans as immigrants:

  -*"Do you have a problems with people from Central and Eastern Europe?"*
  -*"Have you lost your job to a Pole, Bulgarian, Romanian or other Eastern European? We want to know."*
  -*"Wouldn't it Be Better if You Went Back?"*
  -*"Eastern Europeans, Increasingly Criminal."*[134]

These can be count as the resonace of public ideas on how European integration and forming European identity effects. Even it is stated by Risse and others that political elites try to promote ideas including identity constractions, with an eye on gaining power or remaining in government, it would not be possible close ear for the favor of identity building. [135]

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[134] http://www.iamexpat.nl/read-and-discuss/expat-page/articles/controversy-surrounds-the-PVVs-anti-immigrant-website

[135] RISSE T&CAPORASO J and COWLES M; **Europanization and Domestic Change:Transforming Europe**,Cornell University Press, 2001, pg:203

16. Right Wing Political Party Views

Right wing political parties are important sources to observe bottom up nationalistic politics and takes public pulse on how nationalism is directed. With this aim, in this section, I will figure out highly immigrant receiving countries' right wing political party discourses and their party programmes on immigration

-British National Party (BNP),Britain

BNP was founded on 1982 as a far-right political party in Britain. Main ideologies of that party are observed as fascism, right-wing populism, white nationalism and eurosceptisicm.

Even it has no seats in parliament, rising votes is significant. Below, it is figured out its lecetion results starting from 1983.

Table 4: The British National Party, general elections since 1983[136]

Year	Number of Candidates	Number of MPs	Percentage of vote	Total votes	Change (percentage points)	Average votes per candidate
1983	54	0	0.0	14,621	N/A	271
1987	2	0	0.0	563	0.0	282
1992	13	0	0.1	7,631	+0.1	587
1997	54	0	0.1	35,832	0.0	664
2001	33	0	0.2	47,129	+0.1	1,428
2005	117	0	0.7	192,746	+0.5	1,647
2010	339	0	1.9	563,743	+1.2	1,663

BNP deifnes its immigration politics as:

 'India would not tolerate millions of non-Indians taking over that society. Pakistan would not tolerate millions of Hindus or Christians entering that country and changing it from a Muslim society into something else. Japan would not do it; China would not do it – so why should Britain?

Can anyone imagine Saudi Arabia allowing the mass immigration of Christians, so that in a few decades it would no longer be an Islamic country?

Each nation has the right to maintain its own identity. The right of India to remain Indian, the right of China to remain Chinese, the right of Pakistan to remain Pakistani and the right of Saudi Arabia to remain Saudi does not mean that any of these nations "hate" anybody else.

Each nation has the right to maintain its own identity. The right of India to remain Indian, the right of China to remain Chinese, the right of Pakistan to remain Pakistani and the right of Saudi Arabia to remain Saudi does not mean that any of these nations "hate" anybody else.

All it means is that they wish to preserve their identity and national existence.
This is all the British National Party seeks for Britain – the right to be British.'[137]

Main concern of BNP is rising rate of immigration, which is about % 84. As stated by BNP, rising number of population is just because of immigration and underlines fear of losing British identity.

-FRONT NATIONAL, FRANCE

Front National was formed on 5th of October, 1972 as a far-right political party. Among its ideologies, we may see French nationalism, Europscepticism, protectionism, anti-immigration and right-wing populism

Below, the table figures out Front National's election results. It is visible that FN was voted more in 2012 comparing the last elections.

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[137] http://www.bnp.org.uk/policies/immigration

Table 5:Front National Election Results[138]

French National Assembly					
Election year	# of 1st round votes	% of 1st round vote	# of 2nd round votes	% of 2nd round vote	# of seats
1973[159]	108,616	0.5%	—	—	0
1978[159]	82,743	0.3%	—	—	0
1981[159]	44,414	0.2%	—	—	0
1986[159]	2,699,307	9.8%	—	—	**35**
1988[159]	2,353,466	9.8%	—	—	1
1993[160]	3,155,702	12.7%	1,168,143	5.8%	0
1997[160]	**3,791,063**	**14.9%**	**1,435,186**	**5.7%**	1
2002[160]	2,873,390	11.1%	393,205	1.9%	0
2007[160]	1,116,136	4.3%	17,107	0.1%	0
2012[160]	3,528,373	13.6%	842,684	3.66%	2

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[138] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Front_(France)#Election_results

In its party programme, they start with pharase of 'stop immgration, strenghten French identity'[139], which reflects the fear of losing national identity, together with unemployment, problems in public order and public security as a result of immigration.

'Uncontrolled immigration is a source of tension in a republic that no longer able to absorb the new French . Ghettos , inter- ethnic conflicts , community demands and politico-religious provocations are the direct consequences of a massive immigration undermines our national identity and brings with it an Islamization increasingly visible , with its attendant claims'[140]

As a concern, it is states in their party programme that questioning free movement of persons and resuming to control France's own border show the fear of public security.

- National Democratic party of Germany (*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)* NPD, GERMANY

NPD was formed on 28th of November, 1964 as a far-right political party in Germany. Among its political idelogies,nazism and ethnic nationalism are visible.

Below, the tbale figures out election results of NPD:

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[139] http://www.frontnational.com/le-projet-de-marine-le-pen/autorite-de-letat/immigration/

[140] http://www.frontnational.com/le-projet-de-marine-le-pen/autorite-de-letat/immigration/

Table 6: NPD, Federal Parliament Elections[141]

Election year	# of constituency votes	% of constituency votes	+/−	# of party list votes	% of party list votes	+/−	# of overall seats won
1965	587,216	1.8	▲ 1.8	664,193	2.0	▲ 2.0	**0 / 518**
1969	1,189,375	3.6	▲ 1.8	1,422,010	4.3	▲ 2.3	**0 / 518**
1972	194,389	0.5	▼ 3.1	207,465	0.6	▼ 3.7	**0 / 518**
1976	136.023	0.4	▼ 0.1	122,661	0.3	▼ 0.3	**0 / 518**
1980				68,096	0.2	▼ 0.1	**0 / 497**
1983	57,112	0.1	▼ 0.3	91,095	0.2	0	**0 / 498**
1987	182,880	0.5	▲ 0.4	227,054	0.6	▲ 0.4	**0 / 497**
1990	190,105	0.4	▼ 0.1	145,776	0.3	▼ 0.3	**0 / 662**
1998	45,043	0.1	▼ 0.3	126,571	0.3	0	**0 / 669**

[141] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Democratic_Party_of_Germany#Election_Results_and_Current_representation

Year							
2002	103,209	0.1	▲ 0.1	215,232	0.4	▲ 0.1	**0 / 603**
2005	857.777	1.8	▲ 1.6	748,568	1.6	▲ 1.2	**0 / 614**
2009	768,442	1.8	0	635,525	1.5	▼ 0.1	**0 / 620**
2013	634,842	1.5	▼ 0.3	560,660	1.3	▼ 0.2	**0 / 630**

Even NpD has no seats in parliament, it is important to see that voting rates between 2005-2013 raised more than last elections.

NPD also has the same concern with other Western European far rights political parties mentioned above. As an party programme, the continuity of German people in Central Europe remains important. With this aim, they reject mass immigration and oppose to every kind of attck to their own identity and integrity.

By the effect of rising number of immigration, only % 50 of Germans living in urban parts. Criminal rates are shown as % 30 and this show their concern on public security. NPD is also against to Schengen application and suggest immediate measure against it. [142]

- Party for Freedom (Partij voor de Vrijheid) PVV, NETHERLANDS

PVV is a far-right political party founded in 22nd of February,2006. Among its party ideolgoies euroscepticism, anti-islam and right-wing populist are visible.

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[142] http://www.npd.de/html/3184

PVV election result starting from 2006 can be seen in table as:

Table 7: PVV, General Election Results[143]

Election year	#of total votes	% of overall vote	# of seats won
2006	579,490	5.9%	9(out of 150)
2010	1,435,349	15. 5%	24 (out of 150)
2012	950,263	10.1%	15 (out of 150)

As seen on table, PVV has high number of votes (even less in 2012, comparing with last elections) and they have seats in parliament.

PVV party politics are oppose to Islam and separate individuals as Dutch and non-Dutch. This shows how strong Dutch identity still remains strong. To stop Muslim immigration is one of aim of their party politics. But not only Muslims, they are also against to Central and Eastern Europeans immigration. It best find itself in PVV website, called Reporitng Centre: Central and Eastern Europeans, which invites Dutchs to fill in form about their complaint if they have any with expats from central and Eastern Europe.[144]Unemployment is the main factor for this oppose.[145]

-The Movement for Better Hungary (Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom), JOBBIK, HUNGARY

Jobbik was founded on 24th of October, 2003 asa far-right party in Hungary.Among its ideologies euroscepticism and Hungarian nationalism are visible.

As a young far right party, below the table figures out its election results starting from 2006.

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[143] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Party_for_Freedom#Election_results

[144] http://www.iamexpat.nl/read-and-discuss/expat-page/articles/controversy-surrounds-the-PVVs-anti-immigrant-website

[145] http://pvv.nl

Table 8:Jobbik, General Election Results[146]

Elections	Number of votes (1st round)	Percentage of votes (1st round)	Number of votes (2nd round)	Percetage of votes (2nd round)	Number of seats	Percentage of seats	Role played in Parliament
2006*	119,007	2.20%	231	0.007%	0	0%	extra-parliamentary
2010	855,436	16.67%	141,323	12.26%	47	12.18%	opposition

Jobbik is present with its opponent to anti-Europe ideology. As stated in their part programme (Radical Change-2010) ;

'Europe and the European Union are not one and the same. Hungary is not a part of Europe because of its entry into the EU, it is so through the right of its history; and neither shall we in the future be rightfully termed Europeans, because we may chose to remain a member state of the Union, but rather, because we have resolved to remain true to Europe's fundamental principles.

European culture has been constructed on three pillars: Greek thinking, Roman law, and Christian morality. As jobbikosok [supporters and members of Jobbik], we believe, not only that Europe's past has been founded on these values, but also that its future should continue to be. This is precisely why we believe the all-encompassing integration outlined in the Lisbon Treaty to be so wrongheaded. Jobbik's objectives are: the rejection of the Lisbon Treaty and of a United States of Europe which the treaty is designed to facilitate, the promotion with allies of the concept of a Europe of the Nations, the achievement of

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Hungarian interests without compromise, the use of the European Union's already established and promoted regional policy as a tool to achieve economic and cultural national unity between the Republic and Hungarians beyond the border.'[147]

Culture is another feature places in party programme. They state that Hungary is now under liebral dictatorship and natinal values must put on stage.

'When it comes to the fundamental issue of cultural awareness therefore, Jobbik considers it its duty to overturn this unhealthy, virtual autocracy, of opinion; so as to give an opportunity for the creation of a cultural life which finally allows national values, Hungarian society's values, to be taken into account.'[148]

Common point of all far –right wing parties are opposing to mass immigration and main concern about losing national identities.

AS A CONCLUSION

Right-wing political party discources have a new direction, not only for non-Europeans, but also Europeans thelselves. For non-European immigration, main concerns are about Islam and those who do not share European values. For intra-European immigration, main concerns raise on the point of unemployment and the protection of national identity and national interest. It is also significant to observe easily that voting rates are rising for far-right political parties. Even some of them do not have seats in parliament, to analyze their discources is important to find out the main reason of rising votes.

According to their discources, I analyze two type of nationalism emerging in scene. One is top-down nationalism (continentalism) that is rising oppose to non-Europeans, for the sake of protection of basic European values as democracy and Christianity. Religion, here, has important role to unite Europeans under European values. Also, after two destructive world wars that Europe faced, peace and democracy became main component of European values. So, rising number of immigration of non-Europeans as not sharing the same values that

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[147] http://www.jobbik.com/sites/default/files/Jobbik-RADICALCHANGE2010.pdf, page:21

[148] http://www.jobbik.com/sites/default/files/Jobbik-RADICALCHANGE2010.pdf, page:14

Europeans had in the past, presents main fear. Thus, continentalism as sense of belonging European values takes it place as a new direction of nationalism.

Bottom up nationalism is directed to Europeans and results from intra-European immigration under free movement of persons as a European Union integration process. European citizenship is seen beneficial, when it does not touch national interest. So, rising number of intra-European immigration among Europeans, especially on the base of employment, cause bottom-up nationalism.

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CONCLUSION

'What is nationalism?'. This was always an intriguing question in academic literature. Some described it as devil which brought into history scene blood and conflicts. Some analyzed it in eye of nation-state as accepting it as a political tool. But, nationalism is beyond them.

It is a great fallacy to analyze nationalism wits its one direction. Nationalism can appear in any time in history scene. There are always several reasons to wake it up. But, if there are several faces that nationalism has, what is its root and how does it appear?

Nationalism is beyond nation-state and its root must be found on human being. All individuals, starting from their birth, socialize in a society. It is in human nature that can not live alone and always has to interact with others. This linkage with other individuals is important as a basic instint of physchological and physical protection and security. This personal needs tend individual to shape their life, chooses and decisions in an 'identity'. Identity is a need that individual describe 'self'. So, identitical needs direct individual to use given form of codes in a society that they can realize themselves. So, identity is seen a necessary form of 'adherence'.

Socialization process necessitates to secure individuals within the society that they are part. This securization can be provided by 'adherence'. In national case, adherence is usually directed to a terriroty that national community can continue their values, traditions and culture and transform them to generations. This territory is the land that national community remain secured to protect their values. So, when nationalism describes adherence to 'nation-state'. Because, nation-states are only authorities that national communities accept as a guarantee of their cultural entities.

Most academics agree that nationalism is a new phenomenon, which came into historical scene after French Revolution. This assumption is partly true when nationalism is counted as adherence to nation state. But sense of belonging is beyond nation-states and existed before as primordial.

But, what is direction of sense of belonging in globalized world?Is it about to end or has another route?Globalized world changed lots of things in world order. Mass of migration as a result of developed technologies in transportation made it simpler. High numbers of migrants put the political and academic agenda about new discussion on citizenship and integration issues. So, new citizenship models were formed to provide welfare for both, state and migrants. But currently, a new model of citizenship, which was borned in Europe as a part of European integration project, was introduced. Even it has stated as European citizenship does not replace national citizenship, its applications goes beyond.

One of the process it brought is free movement of persons (for nationals of European Union members states), which must be criticized. Apart from benefits and rights provided for whole Europeans, main concerns of nationals are to lose their national values,national interests and national identities. Those concerns direct us new developments on sense of belonging.

In Europe, new direction can be seen in two ways:
-Top-down nationalism (or continentalism)
-Bottom-up nationalism

If bottom up nationalism is about to protect national values and interest, top-down nationalism is about protection of European values as democracy and Christianity,which unites culturally divided Europe.

Bottom up nationalism is directed to non-nationals of any nation-state and includes concerns about national identity and national interests. Top-down nationalism, which can be called also continentalism, is directed to non-Europeans thatdo not share two common values stated above. So, it is possible to say that Europeans are facing two identities as Europeans and nationals and they are in clash between them.

Main reason of clashes is about European identity, as a top-down concept developed by European Union rulers. To provide peace and agreement within the continent, it was important to unite people under same identity. As mentioned before, identity forming is important to provide also communal security and continuity. So, top-down character of

European identity does not fit with national interests and is only plausible when it is about continental concerns.

Shortly…

Ideological viewpoint of '**human person supplants the national citizen'** [149] is not compatible with reality of human beings and their sense of belonging. So, in case of nation-states, what is chancing is about adopting nation-state itself into a new situation.In the case of European Union citizenship, new process do not make any changes for identity transformation from national identity to European identity. National citizenship remains still at stage.This process find itself well in Bellamy and Warleigh's word:

'…their fuller, everyday meanings derive from their location within specific culture. Since principles of rights and justice get reiterated in a variety of ways within in different communities, and there can be no appeal to a universal core shared across all societies'. [150]

As a result, I argue that even new type of –ism is rising in historical scene, that continentalism can not replace 'nationalism' and nationalism will remain. Because;

-Continentalism is only about benefits for a better Europe and national interests are always a cut above than continental ones.

-European identity is not primordial, as my case is continental identity is not possible.

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[149] HANSEN R; The Poverty of Postnationalism:Citizenship, Immigration, and the new Europe, Springer Publisher, 2008, pg:3

[150] BELLAMY R&WARLEIGH A; **From an Ethics of Integration to an Ethics of Participation-Citizenship and the Future of the European Union**, Journal of International Studies, 27,1998, pg:455

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