

Societal security and the deterrence of migrants as a means to consolidate the European Union (EU)



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Dedications

First and foremost, I want to thank and praise the Almighty God for giving me the courage to start and finish the research report.

This study is dedicated to all those who have experienced homelessness or a lack of a sense of belonging. To everyone who has been uprooted due to climatic conditions, conflicts, abuse, and any other rhetoric that denies or downplays their existence since they do not fit into a particular category.

Secondly, I would like to dedicate this essay to everyone who struggles with anxiety disorders, since; like me, anxiety has been both mentally and physically taxing. Nevertheless, starting this endeavor has turned out to be a blessing. Because I chose to push myself and someone had faith in me, I have had the privilege of meeting incredible individuals and experiencing profoundly moving moments.

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Abstract

Europe's reunification has faced challenges over the past decade. Terrorist attacks in London, Paris, and Berlin; nationalist groups and anti-immigrant rhetoric in many European nations; Brexit; pro-independence movements in Scotland and Catalonia; efforts to reunite Cyprus; and, most importantly, new waves of immigration and the refugee crisis have challenged Europe's identity. European identity and membership have dominated all these scenarios. As its member states grew closer, the European Union facilitated economic, political, and social "Europeanisation," creating a "EU citizen identity" that distinguished Europeans migrating within the region from those from other regions. The study examined whether framing migration as a threat to societal security preserves and consolidates European identity or combats and consolidates fragmentation caused by rising nationalist rhetoric. The study defined European identity as community-formed through interactions, transactions, and generational changes. The study used social psychology and social identity theory, which suggests that group membership, shapes a person's self-image. Qualitative literature review and historical accounts focused on migration post-2015.

Key words: Immigration, European Union, European Identity, Societal security, Citizenship, national identity

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
EC	European Community
EHL	European Heritage Label
EU	European Union
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UKIP	UK Independence Party
UNHRC	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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Introduction: A Concise Historical Overview of Europe and Migration

Europe a Continent with rich immigration History

The history of refugees, immigrants, and internally displaced individuals in Europe predates the 2015 refugee crisis, Europe's twentieth century began with the torment of forced migration. Combat raged in the Balkans' Bulgarian-Turkish-Greek-Serbian frontiers for six years, from 1912 to 1918 (Gatrell 2017). People fled their communities as borders, military, and civilian regimes changed, and people migrated as borders changed.

Bulgaria housed 280,000 wartime refugees in the 1920s, who were difficult to integrate (Dragostinova, 2015, Gatrell 2017). East-Central Europe, the borderlands between Russia, Germany, and Austria where much of the combat on the eastern front occurred during World War I, had 6 million refugees, prompting one historian to refer to it as "a whole empire walking." (Gatrell 2017). During the Greek-Turkish battle over Asia Minor in 1920-1922, the opposing army slaughtered Christians and Muslims (Dragostinova 2015). After the destruction of Smyrna/Izmir, ironically the departure destination for many desperate Syrian refugees today, Greece and Turkey agreed to the first obligatory population exchange in 1923, supervised by the League of Nations (Ibid 2015). This agreement abruptly displaced 2 million Christians and Muslims.

After 1933, when Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany, Europe's refugee crisis worsened (Martin 2002). In 1933, about 50,000 of Germany's 500,000 Jews wanted to emigrate, but European governments carefully controlled "foreigner" admission (Ibid 2002). In despair, Jews who were unable to obtain papers for emigration to other parts of Europe, the original choice, or Palestine (then a British mandate), the increasingly popular option, looked into resettlement programmes in the United States, Central and South America, Africa, and China (Dragostinova 2015). Passport and border control processes in Western Europe were reinforced during this time.

In 1941, Germany had 160,000 Jews (Zariz 1993), Most Holocaust survivors were unable to flee. During World War II, an even larger population flows ethnically merged Europe (Ibid 1993), forced migration in Europe during and after WWII totals 64 million people. As the fighting

intensified, many of these people fled (Melander, Oberg & Hall 2009). Following the war, the postwar winners pushed 13 to 14 million Germans from neighbouring countries to "go home" to Germany (Ibid 2009). Poles and Ukrainians were two other large groups that were forced to swap populations to achieve national homogeneity (Zariz 1993). This homogeneity created by years of war, violence, and migration is the same homogeneity that some in Europe worry may be lost with the present influx of migrants.

East and West Europe

Throughout the Cold War, European migration and population movement diverged. Guest workers from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, including former colonies, increased the religious and racial diversity of Western Europe (Castles 2006). Castels (2002) states, many temporary migrants stayed and contributed to Western Europe's multiculturalism. Turkish immigrants in Germany, Algerians in France, and Indians and Pakistanis in the United Kingdom are all significant immigrant groups (Castles 2006). Since 2013, London has had a non-white majority (Sandru, 2013). Postwar Eastern Europe, particularly East-Central Europe, remained racially homogeneous (Ibid. 2013). Many politicians continue to describe their countries as homogeneous national zones devoid of religious or racial diversity (Dragostinova 2015). This is a concern since it ignores years of area history.

Bulgaria and Romania both had significant minorities (Dragostinova 2015). Due to nationalist pressure, 350,000 Turks fled Bulgaria in the 1980s in "the largest refugee wave since World War II, the Soviet Union, on the other hand, had closed borders and restricted travel (Fassmann, H & Munz 1994). The Berlin Wall of 1961 represented East-West split and captivity, Hungarians destroyed barbed wire barriers separating Austria and Hungary in 1989, causing East Germans to flee to the West (Szabo 2018). Eastern Europeans protested tighter borders and travel rules in 1989 (Ibid. 2018). Ironically, Hungary, which began removing fences in 1989, is now erecting a barbed wire barrier in unified Europe.

After the Cold War, Europe was not at peace. The Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s resulted in "the largest forced migrations in Europe since World War II," with 2.7 million Internally Displaced People (IDPs) and refugees (Dragostinova 2015) (Lucassen 2005). Many Yugoslav war refugees were offered "temporary humanitarian shelter" in Europe, a situation comparable to that of

Syrian refugees (Dragostinova 2015). Following the war, some returned to Bosnia and other former Yugoslav areas, while others settled in Western Europe and the United States (Fassman, H, Munz 1994). In the 1990s and now, Germany and Austria took in the greatest number of Yugoslav refugees (Dragostinova 2015).

Europe and the European Union (EU)

When World War II came to a close in 1945, Europe and its people had survived, severely scarred by the experience but optimistic that they would be able to rebuild Europe from the ruins one thing was obvious: for the European nation-states to coexist in peace and prosperity, a strong unifying tie between them was required (Risse 2011). By uniting, they would be able to stop war from breaking out between them and stop history from happening again. With the Schuman doctrine (1950) which laid the foundation for the European Union (EU) as we know it today, adversaries were transformed into neighbours and partners, and a feeling of a shared EU identity arose (Ibid.).

With the fall of the iron barrier in 1989 and the establishment of the EU in 1992 following the signing of the Maastricht- treaty, Europe started a new phase of enlargement and integration (Grabbe 2000). A political and scholarly concern with the development of European identity is one of the most significant challenges associated with the process of European integration. Given that Europe is a very complex, dynamic, and diverse continent with many different cultures and histories, talking about the concept of European identity may prove to be very challenging (Udrea 2011). Europe is sometimes thought of as both the whole continent and the political-economic organisation called the European Union (EU) (Ibid. 2011). This makes things even more complex.

The EU is a group of 27 countries that act as a cohesive economic and political bloc (Hayes 2021). It was born out of a desire to create a single European political identity to end centuries of wars between European countries that began with the Great World War II. In 1993, the single European market was created by 12 countries to ensure what are known as the four freedoms: the free movement of goods, services, people, and money (Michel, 2012). The Maastricht Treaty, officially known as the EU Treaty, came into force in November 1993 (Kenton and Scott 2021). The aim of the treaty was to strengthen cooperation by establishing a common European

citizenship, allowing residents to move, live, and work freely between member states. In addition, the treaty granted EU citizenship to every citizen of a member state and allowed people to stand in local and European elections regardless of their nationality in the EU country where they lived. It also created a common economic, foreign and security policy system and committed member states to cooperate on security and legal issues (Hayes 2021).

Migration Discourses in Europe

In Europe, discourses about migration in terms of social security have brought up the idea of a United Europe with a shared identity. This historical narrative has also contributed to the perpetuation of the concept of Europeanism by hiding, concealing, or regulating what differs from the predefined definition of being European. Cajani (2003) provides a historical analysis of how European history has evolved from the Enlightenment period to European nationalism, *In between Cosmopolitan, Europeanism and Nationalism the shifting focus in the teaching of history in Europe*. Teaching European history through the lens of European nationalism has proven to be effective in fostering national identification and consensus among European individuals (Cajani, 2003). Furthermore, the nationalist viewpoint that fostered European unification has given way to the Eurocentric viewpoint, which recognises Europe as a single nation-state.

According to Estevens (2018) and Geary (2013), European nation-states have been established on contradicting discourses regarding their beginnings. The concept of Europe as a cohesive whole became an important aspect of European integration with the establishment of the European Community, posing the question of "what are the new National myths on which a European National identity might be based?" Furthermore, Himmel and Baptista (2020) argued that the process of establishing the supranational European Union was accompanied by the construction of the idea of Europeanness, of belonging to a common us, creating an idea of who we are as Europeans and necessarily othering those who do not belong.

In the study of human movement, Eurocentrism can be especially troublesome and assertive. Migration makes it difficult to categorise regions and individuals according to their level of development. Migrants alter the social meaning of physical borders and, in terms of culture, blur the barrier between Self and Other. They contribute to a mingling of ideas that makes essentialist

interpretations of cultural and philosophical inheritance difficult to accept Achiume (2019). Migration is a shifting focus force in and of itself.

Migration is a complicated phenomenon that creates culturally diverse communities, which some states find undesirable and others desirable. Joppke (2017) claimed that as new demographic trends put the traditional national identities of relatively homogeneous countries under pressure, host communities have become more multicultural. As argued by Castles, De Hass and Miller (2009), Migration is divisive because it affects national identity and sovereignty. Migrants become permanent as they stay longer, while economies have become increasingly dependent on migrant labour, governments have had to adapt by creating legalization, integration, and naturalization facilities (Joppke 2017). As migrants settle and claim their place in society, tension and conflict are almost inevitable.

Immigration is still a big problem in the process of European integration, Eastern enlargement, and the reshaping of national and European identities that goes along with it. One of the goals of this paper is to bring attention to the in-group/out-group dynamics that shape the relationship between the nation and the immigrant(s), both in general and in relation to the process of European integration in particular. "Othering" the immigrant is important for building national identity and achieving or improving national cohesion. Because an immigrant crosses national borders, he or she challenges the idea that people are either from a certain culture, territory, or ethnic background, or that they can be put into two groups: nationals and others.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research background

Europe's fears of mass migration reached an all-time high in 2015 due to the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees and asylum seekers from Syria and other countries seeking refuge from conflict and persecution across the Mediterranean Sea (Spindler 2015). Politicians, journalists, and common Europeans have passionately debated the refugee or migrant crisis in Europe. Some have used the terms "flood," "invasion," and "swarms of people" to describe the tens of thousands of people who are determined to reach Europe in search of safety and stability (Dragostinova, 2015).

With the entrance of nearly one million people in 2015 (Ibid.), the integration of these new populations is a concern for many Europeans. During an extended period of economic insecurity in Europe, there are concerns that migrants will require substantial state assistance. Due to the alleged contradiction between most of the new arrivals' Islamic faith and Europe's cultural identity, some Europeans are concerned that they will pose a threat to Europe's cultural identity (Lucassen 2005).

According to Staszak (2008), geography is an extraordinary creator of otherness, as each race has a corresponding continent that functions as its natural birthplace and haven. Because of the anthropological fiction of races and the geographical fiction of continents (2009: 1), these categories can be reified and naturalised by providing false evidence and a purportedly geographically legitimate position. When the construction of European nation-states in the nineteenth century was completed, a narrative was offered that gave these entities the appearance of having their own "natural" history, which was also projected into the future.

European nation-states were built in phases and following various lines. This surprising feature of nation-states is best articulated by Anderson's (1983) notion of a "imagined community." Instead of being a natural or inevitable social entity, nations, according to Anderson (1983), are cultural constructs with a distinctive history rooted in the fall of monarchy and empires, as well as significant breakthroughs in capitalism, technology, and literacy. The nation-state is, in fact, creating a new form of community with a shared identity. The result is "we," a collection of people who share traits from the past and a common future. These characteristics are primarily

symbolic, but they are maintained by daily routines such as reading the news, purchasing periodicals, and a variety of other activities explored by Billig (1995).

The process of European integration and the formation of a European identity, on the other hand, has proven to be notoriously difficult.). Throughout its history, the European Union (EU) has earned a reputation as a multicultural society committed to a set of universal principles, the most prominent of which are democracy, tolerance, "and respect for human rights" (Schilde 2013).

Ironically, Europe's unification has contributed to a significant increase in nationalist sentiments across the continent (Keating 2004). Because of significant events such as globalisation, migration, and the development and deepening of EU integration, there is a heightened awareness of collective identity issues in contemporary Europe, according to Arts and Halman (2007), because of significant events such as globalization, migration, and the development and deepening of EU integration, there is now a heightened awareness of collective identity issues in modern Europe. Many people living in Europe are unsure as to whether they identify more with specific countries or with Europe as a whole (based on its geography, historical significance, or cultural traditions) (Schilde 2013).

Early advocates of European integration believed that the political and economic union would inevitably lead to a unified identity (Fligstein, Polyakova, and Sandholtz, 2012). In the EU, national identities have not been supplanted by European identities; rather, a substantial number of individuals cohabit with both. Even though EU member states have already undergone the economic integration process with a common currency and the free movement of people, capital, and services, Snelders (2012) notes that this apparent similarity has not yet resulted in a significantly more integrated Europe on a political, cultural, and emotional level. This is evidenced by the increasing prominence of right-wing political parties and nationalist movements throughout Europe, especially in countries such as Italy, the Netherlands, France, and Belgium (Fligstein et al., 2012).

In addition, political groups with more conventional nationalist beliefs have directed their hostility towards immigrants, outsiders, and on occasion the EU (Ibid., 2012). In addition, the extraordinary increase in the number of migrants entering Europe has widened the divide

between those who support a singular European identity and those who identify with nationalist identities. Consequently, politicians and government officials portray immigration as a growing challenge to European identity.

The former French president, Jacques Chirac, issued a dire warning in July 2006, stating that if more is not done to promote the economic growth of their continent, Africans "will flood the world" (BBC, 2006). In this situation, the "other," or immigrant, has both an ethnic and a geographical identity. While claiming that migration has divided Europe and the West in half and that nations where European and non-European people coexist "are no longer nations: they are nothing more than a conglomeration of peoples," the far-right prime minister of Hungary asserted that migration has divided Europe and the West (Gijs, Fota 2022). The preceding statements illustrate the fundamentally antagonistic relationship between migration and identity formation within Europe.

In recent years, there has been an extraordinary amount of scholarly work on Europe and immigration, and the discussion of migration has become increasingly interdisciplinary. However, the literature does not adequately address the questions raised by European issues. In this context, questions such as, "What constitutes European identity?" are appropriate. Does the distinction between how people identify across borders and how they identify with traditional national identities impact how migration is viewed in the context of Europe? Does the EU's present disintegration require it to reconsider its immigration and internal mobility policies? If so, does this make it more difficult for the EU to function as a singular political, social, and cultural bloc as opposed to a coherent economic bloc?

1.2 Research goal and central argument

The study examines sense of identity and how it has evolved through time, both internally within the EU and globally, in terms of the self and others. The researcher studies the features of, and responses to, the EU's migration crisis. The paper adds on to existing research about the significance of security in migration studies and it highlights the value of identity in/within a society. The paper's main concern is the role that migration is seen to play in upsetting the EU's population composition (cultural identity) and institutional (civic identity) integration and disintegration. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how European identity is a deliberate

political process forged through liberal economic, social, and political ideals advocated by European elites and political leaders. Furthermore, the paper aims to highlight how framing migration as a threat to European social security is a political rhetoric used by political leaders to define what it means to be European by discouraging migrants from non-EU member countries from coming to Europe and to consolidate fragmentations within Europe, which are exacerbated by the rising pro-nationalist rhetoric.

1.2.1 Identification of research themes

The number of international migrants residing in countries other than their country of origin surpassed 272 million in 2019 (an increase from 2017's figure of 258 million) (UN 2022). Even though migration has recently taken centre stage in international politics, the phenomenon of humans moving from one location to another (both locally and internationally) is as ancient as recorded history. According to Harziq and Hoerder (2009), migration has shaped the course of human history. They contend that between 60,000 and 15,000 years ago, homo sapiens migrated from Africa to colder Eurasian and American zones, evolving along the way into more linguistic-cultural communities.

People who are in constant motion respond instinctively to significant pull and push stimuli (Ibid. 2009). Many observers believe the current perception of migration originates from the economic divide between the North and South. On the one hand, the disparity in development between the two hemispheres has acted as a catalyst for global economic migration. On the other hand, it has been the root cause of civil wars, conflicts, natural disasters, etc., inextricably linking them. According to Hyman and Squire (2010), both the way people discuss and think about migration has changed. They also assert that migration has become a security issue in a globalised world where geopolitical upheavals have made migration a security concern.

Migration can result in the emergence of new social conflicts and political dynamics. According to Lucassen (2005), in the 20th century, cultural and philosophical unease with the conflicting ideals of non-Western migrants overshadowed concerns about social disorder and underclass formation. Society and government face difficulties as they attempt to acclimatise to the increasing racial and cultural diversity of immigrant-receiving communities (Sink, 2017). Despite their differences, populist politicians such as Jean-Marie Le Pen in France, Jorg Haider in Austria, Flip Dewinter in Belgium, and Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands all concur that

immigration must be stopped. And this non-Western newcomer, particularly Muslims, undermines the fundamental values of Western liberal democracies (Lucassen 2005:1). In addition, they claim that these immigrants destabilise Western nations and will become so numerous that France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands will undergo demographic changes (Chifu, Nantoi, and Sushko, 2008).

The majority of nations struggle to effectively manage immigration. In the world's most developed liberal democracies, where economic factors push for immigration openness and political, legal, and security concerns press for tighter control, the issue of control is especially severe (Hollifield, Martin, and Orrenius, 2020). Hollifield, Martin, and Orrenius (2020) argues that the current immigration control problems are due to the expansion of the right-wing political spectrum. This new type of politics is exemplified by the heated debates in all major democracies over immigration, naturalisation, and asylum policies, which must address fundamental concerns such as how many migrants from which countries to admit and what legal status to grant them (Ibid). In advanced democracies such as Belgium, France, Austria, and Germany, immigration has become a significant political and public concern. Even though the aforementioned nations may exhibit varying degrees or varieties of democracy, the purpose of this paper is not to demonstrate the criteria for being classified as advanced democracies in Europe.

Immigration is already at the vanguard of political discourse in Europe. This is demonstrated by the results of the 2017 and 2019 French elections, as well as the current 2022 French elections, in which French President Emmanuel Macron won and became the first president in French history to be reelected (Schofield, 2022). The results also revealed a substantial increase in support for the far right, commanded by Marine le Pen. Macron, an independent centrist candidate, received 58.6% of the vote, while Le Pen received 41.5% (Ibid). According to Ferreira (2018), it is essential to highlight the growing significance of far right and right-wing populist parties in European politics due to their opposition to multiculturalism and immigration. By asserting that those who differ from the majority do not belong in society, these organisations propagate racist and extremist views.

Migration is a topic that has the potential to divide political opinion. There is little evidence that migration is responsible for the decline in wages, benefits, and public services. In fact, most of the evidence suggests that migration promotes economic growth, technological progress, and

social vitality (Schilde, 2013). The prospect that the rise of diversity and transnationalism will one day put an end to the violence and destruction that accompanied the rise of nationalism is generally viewed favourably (Castles, De Hass, & Miller, 2009). The migration issues precipitated by the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union and the effects of the 2008 recession have exacerbated pre-existing inequalities throughout Europe. In addition, the emergence of right-wing movements that support traditional national identities and portray migration as a threat to social security has occurred.

There is pervasive concern that our social fabric is in jeopardy due to various threats to our identity (Panzarella, 2018). Threats to social security are regarded as proximal determinants in the study of social security because they motivate action (Ibid.). Similarly, the factors that determine a society's level of safety may originate from within the society (intra-societal forces) or from outside (bilateral, multinational, subnational, or regional factors) (Chifu, Nantoi, and Sushko, 2008).

According to Tallmeister (2013), social security in the context of migration refers to how state citizens perceive the threat that immigrants pose to their national, cultural, linguistic, or religious identity. According to this perspective, the reference point that is in jeopardy is the host nation's national values (Weiner, 1992-1993:103). In addition to defending their political independence and geographical integrity, governments must also protect their social cohesion and cultural identity, according to O'Neil (2006). In the context of social security, immigration poses a problem for social identity. If immigrants question the identity of the host country by speaking a different language, having a different culture, or practicing a different religion, all forms of immigration, whether voluntary, forced, legal, or illegal, pose this threat (Tallmeister, 2013).

Instead of being a ubiquitous and objective threat, Weiner (1992–1993) argues that the perception of migration as a threat to a state's social security is contingent on how the receiving state defines itself. The notion of a unified Europe with a strong sense of identity arose from the EU's depiction of immigration as a challenge to social security. The securitization of migration through a social lens has also contributed to the perpetuation of the concept of Europeanness by suppressing, concealing, or regulating anything that deviates from the established concept of Europeanness. Labelling foreign migrants as "the other" and viewing them as a threat to national security, according to Huysmans (2000:758), is problematic because it leads to their exclusion

from society. Importantly, the narrative that immigrants pose a threat to social security contributes to the political fiction that a homogeneous national community or Western civilization existed in the past and can be restored today by excluding cultural aliens (Skepká 2022).

1.2.2 Research problem

Some of Europe's early proponents of integration believed that the continent's eventual political and economic union would inevitably result in a unified culture (Fligstein, Polyakova, & Sandholtz 2012). However, the rising tide of Euroskepticism, the 2008 global economic downturn, and the ongoing migration crises have all contributed to the escalation of tensions between individual nations and the European Union. The disguises of identity protection have framed the gap between the two modes of identification. This raises the question: Is framing migration as a threat to Europe's societal security rooted in preserving and protecting European identity or in combating and consolidating fragmentation within Europe produced by rising nationalist rhetoric?

1.2.3 Research Question: Is framing migration as a threat to Europe's societal security rooted in preserving and protecting European identity or in combating and consolidating fragmentation within Europe produced by rising nationalist rhetoric?

1.2.3.1 Research sub- questions: The following guiding questions will be investigated to address the main research question:

1. To what extent has the European Union (EU) served as a symbol of societal security in Europe?
2. How has the European Union been able to reinforce certain values and norms as a result of framing migration as a threat to societal security?

The guiding questions mentioned above are helpful in guiding and responding to the research question posed by the paper: Is framing migration as a threat to Europe's societal security rooted in preserving and protecting European identity or in combating and consolidating fragmentations within Europe caused by rising nationalist rhetoric?

For example, the first question will allow the researcher to engage and investigate the role of the European Union in fostering and constructing European identity, as well as whether the EU's role aligns with the interests of nation states in terms of identity building.

The second question will assist the researcher by investigating values and norms evoked by the European Union, and how they aid in building and consolidating the EU while simultaneously defining who belongs in Europe and who does not belong in Europe.

1.2.4 Research Objectives

1. To investigate the relationship between identity building and immigration
2. To analyse societal security in the context of a supranational (EU)

1.2.5 Rationale for the study

After the conclusion of the Cold war, security studies adopted a new methodology. The Copenhagen School of Security's method puts a heavy emphasis on previously unrecognized problems such as food security, migration, and environmental deterioration. The Copenhagen School places a strong emphasis on social security, and the approach promotes the idea of societal stability. Waever argues that social identity is under threat in modern global politics, even when nations feel secure within their borders (Waever 1995, cited in Hama 2017). The school has defined the phrase as a result of this special status given to societal security, Waever (1995) cited in Hama (2017) argues that a civilization will collapse if its people are unable to maintain their sense of who they are, and that this sense of identity is central to social security.

In response to the Copenhagen School of Security concept of societal security, I investigate the relationship between identity and society. Identity, according to this school of thought, is permanent and predestined rather than created via encounters and socialisation. Furthermore, the definition implies that societies are homogeneous. This is problematic because it takes a Eurocentric view of nation states and society as if they are naturally homogeneous rather than as a systematic development arising from a long historical process, as race and class are. There are also contradictions between liberal ideals and humanitarian values in response to what people perceive as challenges to their identity.

1.3 Research Methodology

The report is a qualitative in-depth analysis of the threat that immigration poses to social security in Europe. In the social sciences, qualitative research is a form of inquiry that explains compelling occurrences characterised by diversity (Shareia 2016). Since Morse and Field (1996) say that the conceptual foundations of the social sciences can be made, reexamined, and changed through qualitative studies, the methodology allows the researcher to investigate and explain social phenomena. The paper focuses on migration in Europe after 2015 in relation to post-2015 discourses on migration, nation states and identity.

1.3.1 Selection of data and delimitations

The selection of resources for the paper is done in some different ways. One can find a huge number of resources dealing with the issues of societal security (European identity) in Europe, immigration, and the European Union. Primary data for the study was mainly sourced from the Social Science Citation Index, websites such as www.connectedpapers.com and other online journal databases such as JSTOR, Academia, and Google Scholar. The key search terms which guided the process included: European identity, societal security, identity, immigration, and European Union (EU).

The first restriction was placed on the term "European identity." Measuring identity has recently received a lot of attention, particularly in the field of international affairs. Identity is studied to understand the evolution of security communities and to explain why nations join specific organizations (Guler 2010). The term "European identity" can refer to a variety of concepts, and the literature that uses it can cover a wide range of topics. Within the context of this study, the term "identity" refers to a sense of "belonging." "European identity in foreign policy," "European identity in the arts," and "European identity in international diplomacy" are some of the numerous applications. When it comes to the term "European identity," things get a little more complicated, and one of the article's goals is to delve into this thorny subject. For example, the term "identity" has many context-relevant meanings, and "European identity" implies much more. It could imply belonging to Europe in general, to Europe's heritage and culture, or to a European way of life. The researcher recognizes the various interpretations of membership in the EU and its institutions, as well as membership in the European polity. It also looks into its cultural and political (civic) aspects.

However, the purpose of this paper is not to debate or demonstrate the existence of European Identity. The goal of this paper is to show how European identity is forged by liberal economic, social, and political ideals advocated by European elites and political leaders. Furthermore, the paper seeks to demonstrate how framing migration as a threat to European social security is a political rhetoric used by political leaders to define what it means to be European by discouraging migrants from non-EU member countries from coming to Europe and to consolidate fragmentations within Europe, which are exacerbated by rising pro-nationalist rhetoric.

The second restriction relates to the term "immigrant." Since the EU began providing its citizens the freedom of movement and residence inside the bloc in 2004, the term "immigrant" within the context of this study refers to non-EU individuals. As a result, within the boundaries of the EU, citizens are not to be regarded as immigrants. The process through which a person from a non-EU country establishes his or her customary residence for a period that is projected to be at least twelve months long, on the soil of an EU country, is referred to as "immigration" by the European Commission (European Commission 2022).

The third restriction relates to the work's selection after it has been screened for its use of the terms "societal security," "identity," "European identity," and "immigration," as well as its publication date. The researcher studied commonly cited literature in the field of social sciences relating to migration and security studies, literature from [Buzan 1993], in order to employ the most important works and current discussions in the field. [Buzan Waever & De Wilde 1998; Huysmans and Squire 2009; De Haas, Castles, & Miller 2019,] as well as borrowing from social psychology [Bauman 1991; Mead 2015]. Because of mainstream research [Delanty 2006; Delanty & Rumford 2003; Fliegstein 2008; Theiler 2003], I was able to use opposing or conflicting assertions on the terms. As well as historical records Empirical data from sources such as interview participants could have been included to support some claims about European identity, and a more comprehensive historical account could have been used as evidence. However, due to time constraints, restrictions imposed by COVID 19, and financial shortage I was unable to back up certain claims with empirical evidence.

1.4 Structure and layout of the paper

The first section provides a comprehensive review of current research on migration and social security (identity) in Europe. The first chapter defines societal security and describes how migration is viewed as a threat to a community's identity within it. The second chapter elaborates on the theoretical foundations of the study, specifically social identity theory and international integration theory. According to the latter, a high volume of international transactions over time may eventually result in the formation of an integrated community of states and nations (Sigalas 2010: 241). According to Sigalas (2010: 242), cross-border mobility is among the most significant types of international transactions because it permits direct contact between people of different nationalities, which can foster a "we feeling" and facilitate institutional integration. According to the former, individuals define their own identities in relation to social groups, and such identifications serve to protect and strengthen self-identity (Islam 2014).

The third chapter of the research report investigates the body of literature on European identity as well as numerous competing claims. The chapter focuses on the formation of European identity through international integration theory, emphasizing how European identity is constructed through a continuous process of negotiations, interactions, and interactions through political and economic space facilitated by EU member states through civic benefits. The chapter also discusses the tensions between national identification and European identification. The fourth chapter discusses the construction of European identity through the lenses of social identity theory, citing shared culture, values, and religion as the foundation of European identity, and how migration is framed as a threat to Europe's societal security through these lenses.

The conclusion and findings of the research report aim to share other areas of research interests and how framing migration as a threat to societal security leads to the securitisation of migration, which leads to the segregation of migrants and frequently clashes with cosmopolitan, transnational ways of belonging. More importantly, framing migration as a threat to societal security fractures institutions such as the EU and the Southern American Community of Nations, both of which have incorporated intergovernmental and supranational elements into their identity-building processes.

The research report is organised as follows:

- Introduction- A Concise Historical Overview of Europe and Migration
- Chapter 1- Introduction and Identification of research themes
- Chapter 2-Concepts and Theoretical approaches
- Chapter 3-European and National Identities
- Chapter 4- European Identity through shared cultural values and norms
- Conclusion and findings

Chapter 2: Concepts and theoretical framework

Introduction

This chapter examines international integration theory and social identity theory to investigate intergroup interactions' impact on group identification. The chapter begins by discussing how migration threatens a society's identity, which is influenced by the Copenhagen concept of security sectors. The Copenhagen School of Security prioritises neglected political, economic, social, and environmental concerns (Hama 2017). The Copenhagen School, according to Hama (2017), claims that there is a duality of security today, namely state security and societal security (2017: 2), with the former preserving sovereignty and the latter preserving identity.

2.1 The significance of social security in migration studies

The "narrowers" were concerned with state security and frequently analyzed the military and political stability between the United States and the Soviet Union (Eroukhmanoff 2018) which led to a debate between them and the "wideners" after the end of the Cold War regarding notions of security (Ibid). The Wideners were not pleased with this and they tried to add other dangers that were not military in character, harming people instead of nations. This widened the security agenda to include ideas such as human security and regional security along with notions of culture and identity (Eroukhmanoff 2018).

The classic book *People, States, and Fear* by Barry Buzan (1983) is where the idea of social security was first made known. Buzan, Ole Waever, and several of their associates revived it in the early 1990s and substantially revised it in a number of papers, making societal security the conceptual cornerstone of what some have referred to as the "Copenhagen School" of international relations (IR) (Theiler 2003). The idea of "societal security" was developed to address the issue of societal identity and cohesion as causes of instability. "Societal security" is the umbrella term for efforts to cope with modern security threats to society (Chifu, Nantoi, & Shusko, 2008: 9).

The Copenhagen School's primary area of interest is social security. Waever argues that social identity is under threat in modern global politics, even when nations feel secure within their borders (Waever 1995, cited in Sheehan, 2005: 84). The school has defined the phrase as a result of this special status given to societal security. According to Waever et al. (1998: 119), social security is about identity; it is

the self-concept of communities and of individuals who identify themselves as members of a community. Waever (1995:67) also says that a civilisation will fall apart if it cannot protect its own identity.

When examining the connection between migration and security, it is important to keep in mind that it is not only the security of the state but also the security of society at large and of the diverse groups that make up society are at risk (Eroukhmanoff 2018). Immigration may be seen as a threat to a state's independence as well as to a society's right to freedom. The immigration issue concerns political security in the first instance, whereas it concerns societal security in the second. Immigration poses a challenge to social identity in the context of social security. In other words, "the European supranational identity is defended against a cultural (or demographic) invasion of other identities" (Ferreira 2016) this how the securitisation of immigration happens (Brancante & Reis 2009).

There is no clear definition of what constitutes a society; hence its formation is complicated. Societies are defined as communities that have a sense of collective identity; in reality, they are represented whenever the pronoun "we" is employed (Chifu, Nantoi & Sushko 2008). According to the Copenhagen School, society is the social group that serves as its members' primary point of identity. It has both an "objective" and a "subjective" aspect (Waever 1995, cited in Sheehan 2005). Objectively, a society is defined and set apart from others by traits like its language and customs; it serves as its members' subjective "we-feeling" repository of shared meanings and identifications (Theiler 2003). According to Hossain (2018), a society can be defined as the entire population of one country or of a group of related nations. This means that societies can exist both inside and outside the borders of a nation state.

The people that make up a society's core are typically those who reside in a specific geographic area and share similar issues. They interact with one another and maintain a functional connection based on a set of universally acknowledged rules, or culture (Chifu, Nantoi, & Shusko, 2008). Through the practice of culture, community members can recognise one another as belonging to the same group, which fosters a sense of togetherness (Panzarella 2019). Since there are smaller groups within bigger groups that create smaller societies and larger societies, this cohesion needing not always be homogeneous in the literal sense (Theiler 2003). In *Identity, Migration, and the New Security Agenda in Europe* and several other articles, Buzan, Weaver, and their collaborators reject the idea of state

security's enmeshing social security. Instead, they view society as a potential security actor as well as an object of security in and of itself.

2.2 Threats to societal security posed by migration.

Even though many identities are not necessarily competitive, migration and competing identities have historically posed the greatest threats to societal security. Threats are rarely caused by complementary identities. Security problems arise only when identities compete with one another (O'Neill 2006). For example, because identities are not mutually exclusive, one cannot be both Irish and European, but neither Christian nor Muslim (O'Neil 2006). For example, Hungary's Prime Minister Victor Orban stated that "we do not view these individuals as Muslim refugees, but rather as invaders" (Pearson 2018). We believe that multiculturalism is a myth and that large Muslim populations result in the formation of two cultures because Christian and Muslim societies will never coexist (Ibid.). A danger may be experienced when one identity predominates, even in situations where identities should coexist (O'Niell 2006). If a community is threatened and faces the possibility of losing its sense of "we" identity, the group's continued existence in a societal context becomes uncertain (Theiler 2003). Furthermore, migration threatens a society's identity by altering its makeup, and a massive influx of migrants from various social backgrounds can eventually result in that culture becoming dominant (Chifu, Nantoi, and Sushko 2008). The source of societal insecurity that has received the most attention is migration (Ibid.).

Threats to society can be divided into three primary groups, according to Buzan (quoted in Hama (2017: 5), these include: migration, horizontal competition, and vertical complementation. In the first instance, migration from outside threatens civilisation by changing the population's makeup. In the second scenario, a dominant culture from outside poses a threat to society, as is the situation with Russia's cultural hegemony over Estonia and Ukraine (Hama 2017). In the final scenario, either societal integration or disintegration poses a threat to security (EU and former Yugoslavia). Additionally, the military (external and internal aggression), the environment (loss of land associated with a group identity), capitalism, and the government's oppression of minorities all pose additional threats to society (Hama 2017: 5).

2.3 Supporting theoretical frameworks

International integration theory, social Constructivism & social identity theory

According to the international integration theory of Karl W. Deutsch (cited in Sigalas, 2010), a high volume of international transactions over time may result in an integrated community of states and nations (Sigalas 2010: 241). Cross-border mobility is essential because it facilitates direct contact between people of different nationalities, which can foster a "we feeling" and facilitate institutional integration (Sigalas 2010). Inspired by Deutsch, Fliegstein (2008: 139) notes that increased interactions between Europeans can lead to a common European Identity. As he explains, people will perceive one another less as Italian, French, and thus Foreign and more as sharing common interests, a process that will lead to their perceiving themselves more as Europeans and less as merely possessing national identity (Fliegstein 2008). Discourses that define migration as a threat to European identity, according to this theory, are inconsistent because European history, which is rooted in migration, demonstrates that European identity is a result of the historical and ongoing movement of people from one border to the next.

International integration lowers international tensions by removing barriers to free trade and cross-border movement (Caporaso 1998). International integration theories include functionalism, dependence, and Neo-functionalism (Ibid.). Supra-nationalism is frequently implied when discussing the EU. However, supra-nationalism is a decision-making method used in international organizations where power is held by appointed or elected officials (Garza 2006). The governments of member states retain power, but they must share it with other actors. Because decisions are made by majority vote, a member-state may be forced to implement a decision against its will (Ibid.). Member states retain full sovereignty and are only subject to the supranational government if they choose to remain members. This is demonstrated by the UK's decision to leave the EU in 2020, despite having been a member since 1973 (Wallenfeldt 2022).

It is common for national and cultural groups to make direct contact. It is easy to see why the original integrationists considered international mobility to be so important. Cross-border migration represents a transformative opportunity for the EU. Since most EU countries' border controls have vanished and travel and living in other European countries have become easier, Europeans have more opportunities than ever to interact and, in theory, develop a common identity. Constructivists see European

integration as a process of community formation, in which communities share common interests and hold similar causal or normative beliefs (Fligstein 2008).

Rather than being a natural, pre-determined given, identity is created by social processes and modified by social interactions, according to the sociological theory of social constructivism (Berger & Luckman 1996). In social constructivism, individuals and groups are emphasized as "inventors" of their identities (Guari, Hronesova & Mansfeldova 2011: 11). According to this logic, Shin and Jackson's (2003) definition of identity as a social construct that influences how people communicate and behave is a viable definition. Identity is viewed as an open process susceptible to change and shaping by ongoing agreements with those around us because it is "not a pure fact" or a simple phenomenon. Jenkins (2000) claims that it is primarily created and shaped through interactions and institutionalization. As a result, traditional identities are not fixed, but can evolve and adapt to new challenges such as Europeanisation or globalisation.

Simultaneously, social constructivism has emphasized the constraints that societal interactions face because individuals act as members of specific groups and believers in contextualised norms and values (Guari, Hronesova & Mansfeldova 2011). As a result, people who move within a transnational context are constrained in their choices and expression of preferences by their inherited nationalities, rather than simply driven by power and interests (Jenkins, 2000). As a result, norms and ideas can both drive and constrain European integration. According to the 'identitarian paradigm' we must take the self-understanding of various social groups seriously, as they compete for the appropriate confinement of political community (Kohli, 2000).

In addition to the identification of collective identity research within European studies, we have seen a politicisation of collective identities across the European space. Since the late 1980s, Europe has been redefining its borders and projects of belonging in relation to internal and external delimitation. These newly visible identity struggles remind us that collective identities are normatively loaded, culturally bound, and contested (Guari, Hronesova & Mansfeldova 2011). Scholars have observed that the process of othering is frequently triggered by identity construction, whereas social identity theory contends that these external processes of boundary formation are just as, if not more, responsible for group identification. The preservation of European identity is then concerned with Europe in relation to 'other' (Schilde 2013).

Staszak (2008) defines othering as the act of distinguishing between two groups by emphasizing their differences. Sociologists, on the other hand, argue that people's cultural (or ethnic), class, and other social identities are internalized manifestations of externally established social categories within societies. Zevallo (2011) argues that a sociological appreciation of "otherness" calls into question the notion that identities are inborn. George Herbert Mead's seminal work, *Mind, Self, and Society*, argues that the ways in which we perceive our own and others' similarities and differences are crucial to our development of a sense of self and community (Mead 2015). Constant interaction with others and introspection on those interactions are what shape our social identities (also known as the "looking glass self"). There is an element of uniqueness in each person's identity. Just like when we formally join a club or organization, social membership requires us to meet a set of requirements. It so happens that these norms are what we call "socially constructed," meaning they are created by various societies and groups.

Zygmunt Bauman (1991) argues that the idea of otherness is essential to how societies establish identity. He contends that identities are presented as dichotomies, with the differentiating power typically hidden behind one of the opponents (Bauman, 1991). The second component is merely the opposite of the first, the first being its creation's degraded, suppressed, and exiled other side.

A woman is the opposite of a man; an animal is the opposite of a human; a stranger is the opposite of a native; abnormality is the opposite of the norm; deviation is the opposite of law-abiding; illness is the opposite of health; insanity is the opposite of reason; a layperson is the opposite of an expert; a foreigner is the opposite of a state subject; and an enemy is the opposite of a friend (Bauman 1991:8).

The idea of the other shows how many societies create social categories to give people a sense of who they are and where they stand in society.

2.4 Relevance to the study

Immigration is still a big problem in the process of European integration, Eastern enlargement, and the reshaping of national and European identities that goes along with it. One of the goals of this paper is to bring attention to the in-group/out-group dynamics that shape the relationship between the nation and the immigrant(s), both in general and in relation to the process of European integration in particular. "Othering" the immigrant is important for building national identity and achieving or improving national cohesion. Because an immigrant crosses national borders, he or she challenges the idea that people are either from a certain culture, territory, or ethnic background, or that they can be

put into two groups: nationals and others. Furthermore, the Copen Hagen School of Security broadens the scope in which security issues are to be examined and considered; however, the concept of identity is altering in itself; more importantly, it favours Eurocentric discourses about Europe being a homogeneous space throughout time and history, where being European is not a construct but rather a given.

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Chapter 3: The EU'S Historical background and Identity construction

Introduction

When World War II ended in 1945, Europe and its people had survived, severely scarred by the experience but optimistic that they would be able to rebuild Europe from the ruins one thing was obvious: for the European nation-states to coexist in peace and prosperity, a strong unifying tie between them was required (Risse 2011). By uniting, they would be able to stop war from breaking out between them and stop history from happening again. With the Schuman doctrine (1950) which laid the foundation for the EU as we know it today, adversaries were transformed into neighbours and partners, and a feeling of a shared EU identity arose (Ibid.). The chapter seeks to shed light on the growing tensions between national identity and European identity, as well as how immigration, which is framed as a threat to social security, creates new notions of otherness at the local level and perpetuates the divide between East and Western Europe, especially given that not every state in Europe is a member of the EU. The main argument of this chapter is to demonstrate how the dense network of EU institutions and practises has enabled continuing connections, transactions, and debates to develop European identity both inside and across European states.

With the fall of the iron barrier in 1989 and the establishment of the EU in 1992 following the signing of the Maastricht- treaty, Europe started a new phase of enlargement and integration (Grabbe 2000). A political and scholarly concern with the development of European identity is one of the most significant challenges associated with the process of European integration. Given that Europe is a very complex, dynamic, and diverse continent with many different cultures and histories, talking about the concept of European identity may prove to be very challenging (Udrea 2011). Europe is sometimes

thought of as both the whole continent and the political-economic organisation called the European Union (EU) (Ibid. 2011). This makes things even more confusing.

The literature extensively discusses the nature of the connection between national and European identities. Two conceivable outcomes are that (1) European and national identities coexist, and (2) that an increase in one does not result in a change in the other. The first scenario is that as European or national identification increases, the increase in one will cause a drop in the other. Even further, it is asserted that because of the requirements for European membership, national identity serves as the foundation for European identity (Neisser 2006). The term "marble cake" also refers to another approach to analysing the connections between national and European identities (Ibid). According to this perspective, people can have several identities that interact and blend together. Various identities have an impact on one another and some characteristics of one form of identity start to appear in another type of identity (Risse 2005).

3.1 Historical background: European and national identities

The fate of Europe has been significantly influenced by nationalism during the past 150 years, and how national identities can be largely erased is one of the key issues in creating a new Europe. When the nineteenth-century building of European nation-states was completed, a narrative was offered that gave these entities the appearance of having their own "natural" history, which was also projected into the future. European nation-states were constructed along numerous lines and stages.

This unexpected characteristic of nation-states is best described by Anderson's (1983) phrase of an "imagined community." According to Anderson (1983), nations are cultural constructs with a specific history rooted in the fall of monarchy and empires, as well as distinct advancements in capitalism, technology, and literacy, instead of being a natural or inevitable social entity. Indeed, a new type of community with a shared identity is being produced by the nation-state.

The end consequence is "we," the group of individuals who share traits from the past and a shared future. These traits are mostly symbolic, but they are kept alive by habits that people perform every day, like reading the news, buying magazines, and a lot of other things that Billig (1995) has studied.

When the concept of European integration first appeared in the late 1940s, European identity was already a difficult topic to discuss. Early proponents of European integration thought that political

integration and the development of a European identity would follow economic integration (Fligstein, Polyakova & Sandholtz 2012). According to Eco (2013), since the University of Bologna was established in 1088, European identity has been developing in some way. Although European identity was given a legal foundation by the Treaties of Paris and Rome, it was not until the 1970s that European identity was formally placed on the European Community (EC) agenda. According to Wiener (1996: 19), advocates of European integration have prioritised the development of a European identity and the advancement of a European consciousness for close to three decades. During discussions on the future of European integration in the early 1970s, several political figures prioritised the creation of a supranational identity at the top of the political agenda (Ibid). People thought that if the EC was to become a real supranational political union, it needed to have a shared sense of what it means to be European.

For over a decade, it has been common practice to use a broad definition of "European security" that emphasizes "Europeanisation" and institutionalisation (Mole 2007). In analytical discussion, these two themes always go hand in hand. One view holds that post-war Europe, and its institutions are ground zero for the global trend of broadening the security agenda beyond the traditional purview of the nation-state and the military (Mole 2007).

However, the institutionalisation of solutions to these broad security problems is seen as an expression of a European identity that has become a normative standard and a political force (Ciutu 2007.). Thus, the process of European integration differs from that of globalisation in many ways. It intrudes more profoundly into the domain of national sovereignty, its impacts are felt more immediately by citizens, and it actively imposes laws that all citizens must adhere to. While nation states are not going away as noted by Castells (2002), the integration of the EU and other supranational institutions such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has taken away a sizable portion of their sovereignty. Nevertheless, these nation-states have become nodes, albeit important ones, in a larger network of political institutions.

Officially, Europe is seen as an internationalist or post-national project that puts nationalism and its worst parts in the past while promoting friendship and unity among its member countries and their people (Cantat, 2015). EU (2022), a section of the official EU website, says that Europe's kind

forefathers were visionary leaders who gave their time, energy, and motivation to make sure that European citizens could enjoy the peace, stability, and prosperity that are now embodied in a peaceful, prosperous, and united Europe. Checkel and Katzenstien (2009) said that some people also think that becoming more European means becoming less "national." This is because of the difference between where you are and when you are.

3.2 The construction of European identity

There are many ways to think about "European identity." Academics say that the word "Europe" is vague and can mean different things in different countries and cultures (Breakwell 2004). To be European, you might have to get over Germany, France, or Britain's past (national exceptionalism) (Schilde 2014: 652). Even when two people from the same country say they "feel European," they may mean very different things depending on how strong their feelings are and what political group they think they belong to. In EU studies, the most common idea has been to combine people's sense of belonging to Europe with top-down civic demands or the benefits of being an EU member (Cram 2011).

The projects to build Europe's identity were naturally led by continental elites (Cajani 2003). Despite their participation, the British, the Danes, and later the Finns and the Swedes, did not view these projects as particularly important to the well-being of the community (ibid.). However, the establishment of a "people's" Europe was, in fact, the primary goal of many politicians and bureaucrats on the Continent. They were unable to advance integration efforts without widespread support for the European Union (Guth, Nelsen 2014). The "Declaration on European Identity" was issued by the European Summit in Copenhagen (which included members Britain and Denmark) in December 1973(Declaration on European Identity 1973), the document demonstrated the group's dedication to creating a unified image to present to the outside world. The Nine plan to define themselves in relation to other nations and regional blocs externally, and they intend to do so progressively (Guth, Nelsen 2014).

According to Castells (2002), the Council of Ministers of the European Union, which represents national governments in Europe, currently plays a key role in the development of European identity. If

and when it does, the development of a European identity will be a fact of European society, driven by the strategic interests of the participating nations across the political spectrum (Ibid). While there can be no agreement on the specifics of European identity (between conservatives and socialists, ultra-nationalists, and environmentalists, etc.), there may be agreement on the approach to mobilising societies around new, and shared values—so that any political party, group of individuals, or ideology has a chance of succeeding in the process. Without needing to concur on the details of the policy, it uses a system akin to democracy (Castells, 2002: 237).

The discussion surrounding the idea of "European identity" has gained increased interest in and the volume of research in many academic fields. The current body of literature on the subject makes various opposing arguments for the existence of a European identity clear. On the one hand, it is seen as a never-ending process - a thing that is unavoidably expanding and cannot be rejected. Accordingly, Ruxandra (2006: cited in Udrea 2011) believes that European identity is "a well-established, alive, and more desirable than ever presence", and Wintle agrees, saying that "enough has been stated and agreed, for now, for us to take it as given that a European identity exists" (2011: 2). On the other hand, some scholars have empirically shown that a sense of European identity has recently started to emerge and that an increasing percentage of Europeans identify with Europe and the European community in some way (Bruter 2005:165; Risse 2010).

There is a discussion surrounding the idea of "European identity." *In Between Cosmopolitanism, Europeanism, and Nationalism: The Shifting Aspects of History Education in Europe*, Cajani (2003) provides a chronological summary of the evolution of European history from the Enlightenment period to the rise of European nationalism. Teaching European history through the lens of European nationalism has become an important strategy for fostering national consensus among Europeans (Ibid.). Additionally, the nationalist perspective that led to the unity of Europe has been supplanted by the Eurocentric perspective which acknowledges Europe as a single nation-state.

According to Geary (2013) and Estevens (2018), contradictory discourses concerning the origins of European nation-states served as the foundation for their development. As we can see, three techniques have been employed to develop and advertise a European identity. First, efforts were undertaken to emphasise and discursively create a shared, culturally defined European identity, much like national identities were created (Hobsbawm 1983). This was accomplished by relying on

historical myths that alluded to a shared Christian background (Bryant, 1992: 199), a shared political and legal history that dates to the Roman era (*27 BC-AD 395 Unified period or AD 395-476 Western Europe and AD 395-1453 Eastern Europe*), and the humanist tradition. Additionally, ideologies (such as the idea of a peaceful, democratic, and modernised Europe, as well as modernisation and civilisation aspirations), secular rituals (such as European elections), and the use of common Euro-symbolism (such as the flag, anthem, and passport format) were employed to promote a shared cultural identity (Udrea 2010).

Instead of being an identity in the truest meaning of the word, the concept of European identity has more in common with an idea conveying a manufactured notion of oneness and even resembles an ideology. In this way, the idea is part of a lengthy tradition of philosophical and political thoughts on the idea of Europe. We know that people might experience a sense of belonging to Europe while not experiencing a sense of belonging to the EU, according to Wang (2009), who observes that European identity is defined as an EU identity. But by actively defining what it means to be a member of the EU, the union has successfully established hegemony over identity. According to Castells (2002), the EU is a zero-sum game in which everyone benefits in many ways, including economically, politically, technically, and socially. However, the migration issue linked to the United Kingdom's (UK) exit from the EU and the fallout from the 2008 recession have worsened inequalities inside the union and cast doubt on the idea that the EU is a zero-sum game in which everyone wins.

3.3 Euroscepticism: A Challenge to Europe and EU's Identity

The EU is a group of 27 countries that act as a cohesive economic and political bloc (Hayes 2021). It was born out of a desire to create a single European political identity to end centuries of wars between European countries that began with the Great World War II. In 1993, the single European market was created by 12 countries to ensure what are known as the four freedoms: the free movement of goods, services, people, and money (Michel, 2012). The Maastricht Treaty, officially known as the EU Treaty, came into force in November 1993 (Kenton and Scott 2021). The aim of the treaty was to strengthen cooperation by establishing a common European citizenship, allowing residents to move, live, and work freely between member states. In addition, the treaty granted EU citizenship to every citizen of a member state and allowed people to stand in local and European elections regardless of their nationality in the EU country where they lived. It also created a common economic, foreign and

security policy system and committed member states to cooperate on security and legal issues (Hayes 2021).

Although it is impossible to imagine the EU dissolving in the future, its foundation appears to be more unstable than ever, according to Castells (2002). This is because the global economy is and will continue to be characterised by recurrent crises in trade agreements, financial markets, and the integration of social, national, cultural, and environmental aspirations of people around the world. In public discourse, the EU is frequently portrayed as an undemocratic, burdensome organization that threatens the sovereignty and identity of the nation-state states that comprise it. Politically, this rhetoric goes so far as to equate all that is wrong or culturally incorrect within a country with Brussels and all that is right with the national government or culture with Brussels, this is frequently used by populists and/or Eurosceptic political orders (Moes 2008). As argued by Checkel and Katzenstein (2009), the formation of a "European identity by the EU is opposed by many groups of people in the member states because they see it as a political organisation that weakens national state sovereignty and being directly at odds with their own superior national identities.

The growth of the left-leaning Populist Party, which is anti-EU in its ideas and integration and is motivated by economic concerns like the financial crisis in Europe and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, makes the case that the EU is wasteful, elitist, and lacking in democratic legitimacy and transparency. According to Guler (2010), while the EU creates elite European citizens through transnational exchange, it also leaves behind older, poorer, and less educated citizens who will have difficulty strengthening their national and ethnic identities. Thus, European identity is regarded as a class-based phenomenon that is directly linked to the benefits of transnational mobility provided by the common EU market.

Additionally, the growth of right-wing populists, who criticise EU policies, institutions, and integration, has prompted many European states to abandon state-level decision-making in favour of creating a single immigration policy at the supranational level, which has not been advantageous to the nation state. Member states are getting rid of the Schengen agreement, such as Belgium, France and Norway putting in place border controls, and even building fences to keep out migrants and refugees because they do not think the EU is doing enough to help (Schengen-visa 2022). In this approach, both the right and left-wing populist parties pose internal challenges to the civic identity

(legal institutions, practices, and policies) of the EU. Additionally, the notion of Europe as a frontier without borders is called into question.

3.4 Borders as a means of safeguarding national identities

It is simple to write off borders as a thing of the past in today's globalised world, which is especially true when looking at the EU and the practically borderless Schengen area. In addition, there is limited literature that explores the development of notions of borders and identities, as well as the notion that the two ideas are related. The cosmopolitan and communitarian theories of borders and identities have however emerged as the two main hypotheses from the studies that have been conducted on this topic. According to the communitarian idea, isolated societies that are surrounded by other people "cannot survive and prosper unless the people they enclose develop a sense of self and become a community of fate and not merely a collection of individuals" (Skow 2016: 35).

According to this view, boundaries cannot simply exist without classifying individuals based on commonalities. Instead, borders must be drawn rationally. In a framework that is negatively constructed, Brown (2002) goes on to discuss these communities. That is, "an issue of whom you are not." As previously mentioned, identities are inherently constructed in opposition to other identities and cannot exist without that comparison. As a result, if identity is always about difference, borders are about maintaining difference. Borders exist to group together people of particular identities and then keep out those who are deemed different. Since the EU's external borders are rigid and its internal borders are open, borders in Europe play an interesting function. That raises questions, if protecting either the national borders or the external frontier of Europe is what the EU does, in what ways is the sense of Europe's borders being disturbed or disrupted by migration?

By the end of March 2016, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Norway, and Sweden had all restored control of some or all their Schengen border crossings (Skow 2016). Moreover, in 2021 six Schengen area countries extended their border controls for another half a year (Schengen-visa news 2022). Although these borders are now only temporary, many people fear that they may eventually become permanent, ending the Schengen area's status as a passport-free area of Europe.

Additionally, Hungary constructed a 100-mile fence along its border with Serbia, which was finished in September 2015, claiming that the EU was "too sluggish to act" in response to the migration crisis (Nolan 2015). By the end of the year, it had also repaired fences with Croatia and Slovenia, and it was thinking about doing the same with Romania (Nolan 2015). Slovenia is currently constructing a barrier with Croatia, while Austria has already built one with Slovenia. Building a border wall with Greece that is modelled after Hungary is currently underway in Macedonia (Barukcic 2015). There is now a domino effect with regards to border fences and closures; if one country constructs one, the others around it follow suit.

3.5 Conclusion

Although migration has recently gained prominence in international politics, the phenomenon of individuals moving (domestically and internationally) from one geographic region to other dates to the beginning of recorded history (Harziq and Hoerder 2009). However, considering recent geopolitical developments and globally connected space, states and institutions have politicised and weaponized migration discourses to protect their national interests and identities. The EU's main goal is to think globally and act locally, tackling the challenges posed by migration-related discourses by building security in their neighbourhood—a huge neighbourhood with many neighbours who make Europe insecure (Skow 2016).

The scholarly consensus on the relationship between national and European identity appears to be broken when it comes to defining the term. The nation state and the EU appear to be the only two groupings that European identity appears to be associated with. These classifications do not necessarily clash, but they do preclude other forms of identifying with or belonging to Europe. The perceived security of European society is undermined by the presence of the immigrant. The chapter discussed essential themes about the establishment of European identity, which is heavily dependent on the formation of the EU, as well as the issues that arise when European identity and national identity collide. The chapter closed with a consideration of Euroskepticism as the most serious challenge to European identity for both nation states and the EU.

Chapter 4: European Culture, Values, and Norms as Means for Belonging

Introduction

A key component of the discussion around the EU is the notion of a set of shared or common values and culture. The ideals are mentioned at the outset of the Lisbon Treaty (2007) and are easily accessible in any communication from the union. The connection between European culture, values, and standards as a means to identify as European is examined in this chapter. Firstly, the chapter reveals how important European culture is in giving its people a socially shared sense of identity that is uniquely European. Secondly, it provides illustrations of problematic components of European culture that might be worth keeping. The discourses, stories, and social imaginaries that define "Europe" and "Europeans" are said to heavily emphasise values (Lahdesmaki 2012). The goal of the chapter is not to determine if European culture, values, and customs exist, but rather to show how the presence of these values has affected different ways of talking about the immigration issues and how European identity has been built.

4.1 The Open-ended definition of European culture

It is up to the Member States and people to define culture according to their own national, local, and personal sensibilities, as it is not defined in any of the founding texts of the European Union. However, the Division of Culture and Creativity of the European Commission gives an open-ended definition of European culture to include:

"All sectors whose activities are based on cultural values and/or artistic and other creative expressions, whether those activities are market- or non-market-oriented, whatever the type of structure that carries them out, and irrespective of how that structure is financed. Those activities include the development, the creation, the production, the dissemination and the preservation of goods and services which embody cultural, artistic, or other creative expressions, as well as related functions such as education or management. The cultural and creative sectors include inter alia architecture, archives, libraries and museums, artistic crafts, audiovisual (including film, television, video games and multimedia), tangible and intangible cultural heritage, design, festivals, music, literature, performing arts, publishing, radio, and visual arts" (European Union 2013).

The common cultural heritage is given a particularly important role in the construction of a European identity in the current discourse of the EU's cultural policy (Lahdesmaki 2012). Additionally, several foundational EU documents, such as the Treaty of Lisbon (2007), the European Agenda for Culture (2018), and various cultural and civic program decisions, produce and foster the concept of European identity by emphasizing cultural heritage as a common layer of meanings shared by all Europeans (Lahdesmaki 2012). In these treaties, EU member states' cultural heritage is described as "European" and "part of a shared European culture, history, and legacy."

Authors who define European identity culturally often focus on similar themes. Those who explain European identity in terms of EU institutions and laws are also a minority in the academic community; they typically argue that the foundation for European identity is the continent's shared history, religion, and culture as contrasted with the rest of the world (Guler 2010). Pederson (2008) claims that the European Union is driven more by ideas than by its institutions. According to Pederson (Ibid), it is possible to consider Europe as a single cultural entity due to the diversity of cultural practices and ideas prevalent across the continent.

Culture has risen in importance on the political agenda of the European Union since the 1980s. One concrete result of this development is the launch of several EU-supervised cultural initiatives and programs that are implemented at the national level. The European Union has recently begun to prioritize the cultural identities of its citizens, actively encouraging European identification, and bolstering cultural political objectives (Nass 2010; Shore 2000). The EU's cultural political language successfully combines cultural and identity-related themes. Many different aspects of European culture—artifacts, sites, practices, and symbols—are thought to contribute to what is commonly known as "Europeanness."

4.2 Culture without boundaries

Identity cannot be understood apart from its inherent discursive and narrative qualities. Delanty and Rumford (2005:51) argue that language, along with discursive and narrative starting points; play a crucial role in the formation of identities. They argue that the very notion of identity is processual and constructed, that identities can only be generated through collective effort. Discursive meaning-making and narrativisation occurs when various "silent" cultural phenomena are transformed into symbolic markers, incorporated into social practices, and associated with particular social orders (Ibid).

In the past 20 years, the EU has launched or co-managed several initiatives to promote Europe's cultural heritage, including the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage, European Heritage Days (in partnership with the Council of Europe since 1999), and the Raphael Community Action Program (1997-2000) (Lahdesmaki 2014). European Heritage Label is the EU's latest cultural project (EHL) (Lahdesmaki 2014). France's Minister of Culture and Commission proposed the EHL, and Spain and Hungary agreed. The EHL became a cultural initiative in 2006. Its primary goals were to recognize and identify locations that "had a major role in building Europe" and to encourage a "European reading of these sites" (EC 2010:15). The political and ideological goal of the EHL scheme was to turn the national legacy into a shared transnational European heritage that would serve as the basis for "our" (European) identity and sense of belonging.

We, the European Union Ministers for Culture participating in the European Heritage Label initiative: (---) declare that our heritage in all its diversity is one of the most significant elements of our identity, our shared values, and our principles. (---) Agree to promote Europe's natural heritage. Of cultural assets and the sites which have shaped Europe's history, and to share and raise People are becoming more aware of the wealth of European heritage.

(Declaration on the Initiative for a European Heritage Label 2007).

"Therefore, identifying as European may be the outcome of identity-building initiatives and symbols such as the European hymn, a European flag, and a European day proposed by the EC Adomino Committee in the 1980s". Although the EU has not been successful in seducing people away from their national identities, it has become hegemonic in defining what it means to be

European for EU researchers. The effects of these programs have been varied (Checkel 2005). A European identity may or may not originate from the EU. For instance, according to EU researchers, Europeanness can only be seen within EU member states. States will begin moving toward Europeanisation and convergence once they become EC members, but nations outside the EC would not do so until they become members.

The European Commission has actively participated in the development of a European identity during the past few decades. Several EU civic and cultural initiatives, typically developed through extensive collaborative procedures have sought to provide meaning for Europe, the EU, and European identity to EU citizens (Bruter 2003; Van Bruggen 2006). According to the EHL system, a variety of local, regional, and national actors take part in the construction of Europe, the EU, and European identity and are required to participate because they take part in EU civic and cultural projects.

The cultural emphasis on the idea of a European identity has frequently been seen as a thick version of it, appealing to (real or imagined) shared characteristics and traits, whereas the thin version of a European identity refers to the ideas of constitutional patriotism and a cosmopolitan notion of a European identity (Beck & Grande 2007; Pichler 2008,). "The European Heritage Label (EHL), one of the EU's cultural projects, supports the idea of a strong European identity by adopting the concept of a shared culture and heritage as one of its core components. Cultural phenomena, collective symbols, historical accounts, personal memories, and tangible artefacts from the past are powerful forces, making them intensely sensitive but effective tools for political and ideological endeavors to foster a sense of community and shared identity (Lahdesmaki 2012)". However, cultural occurrences, symbols, histories, and memories do not become components of identity construction on their own. Rather, they need to be given communal meanings to serve as sources for collective identities. Thus, the construction of communal identity involves both narratisation and discursive meaning-making processes (Ibid).

According to Guth and Nelsen (2014), After World War II, the early process of European integration was mostly the work of religious Catholic Christian Democratic political leaders, with strong support from the Vatican and Catholic hierarchy. Protestant political leaders and churches were much less excited about integration because they thought it would threaten

national sovereignty. Elites can build national identities, but they cannot do it out of thin air. To create "solidarity among strangers" and bind a new nation together, they need shared cultural materials that have emotional weight across social divides (Ibid). Most of the Christian Democratic founders of the EU were devout Catholics; they saw themselves as "national identity builders" and looked for shared symbols for the new European government, often based on Christian or Carolingian art. Even though this generation of Christian Democrats died out and the country became much more secular, elite building efforts did not stop, and overt religious symbols did not become less important. Still. There were still religious parts.

Christianity is arguably one of the most significant cultural approaches to European identity. It is a subject that is also politicised in modern European politics (Challand 2009). According to some, Christianity, which is the religion of the people in Europe, is a key component of European identity (Pederson 2008). Therefore, the Christian faith has a notable impact on how people identify. It is believed that Christianity presents a challenge as a source of European identity. The religious identity of Europe and Turkish Muslims is a contentious topic, even though the distinctions between western Catholic/Protestant and eastern Orthodox beliefs are not in dispute with reference to eastern enlargements of the UE.

4.3 Threats to European cultural identity posed by immigration.

According to the United Nations, global migration has increased by 49 percent since 2000, with 22 million of these immigrants settling in Europe as of 2017. As a result, the political importance of immigration and its consequences has grown significantly in European public and political discourse. The emergence of far-right, anti-migrant, and anti-Islamic parties is evidence of this (Castles, De-Haas, & Miller 2019). It is important to note, however, that the paper does not assume a direct or uniform trend across European countries, but rather highlights emerging patterns (France, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Austria). As noted by Pederson (2008) it is becoming more and more obvious that societal participation and cohesion depend as much on immigrant minorities as they do on majority societies. For Europe, understanding the acculturation and integration of sizeable immigrant minority groups, many of whom are from Muslim nations, requires considering how similar or distant these immigrant group cultures are to the cultures of the majority of Europeans, several essays in this special issue of migration, assimilation and integration provide insight on the circumstances and procedures of immigrant

minorities' progressive belonging. Beyond previous research on the relationship between national identification and immigration attitudes, Visitin, Green, and Sarrasin (2018) use data from the International Social Survey Program to investigate the role of European identification among majority members of European nation states when anti-immigrant prejudice is present. They discover that most people claim to identify with Europe across 22 different European nations.

European identification has been demonstrated to reduce perceptions of threat in previous studies (i.e., Skow 2016); Visitin et al. (2018) verified this connection: because of the liberal and egalitarian characteristics commonly associated with Europe, there is cross-national identification with the continent and a correlation between this and less anti-immigrant prejudice. However, they also discover that national moral context influences what it means to identify as European. People who came from nations with more accommodating integration practices (as determined by the 2014 Migrant Integration Policy Index) showed less bias toward immigrants. The association between European identification and anti-immigrant prejudice was also strongly reduced by national integration policies, which was stronger in nations with more inclusive integration policies than in nations with less inclusive integration policies.

The cultural effects of the refugee crisis are other issue that directly impacts people living in the European Union (Guth, Nelsen 2014). The Western Christian culture and the Islamic culture of the Near East are two completely different cultures. They also speak distinct languages and have diverse histories, traditions, and values. Ensuring that these two cultures coexist happily and without division is one of the major difficulties facing the European Union. Multiculturalism must be developed to address the issues of violence and cultural diversity. The European Commission's conference report asserts that narratives about cultural homogeneity and authenticity need to be contested because European history is one of migration and variety (European Commission, 2016). However, when we look at the examples of violence, it appears to be a highly challenging assignment to complete. Whether they push immigrants to integrate and lose their culture, or whether they work to abolish discrimination and advance multiculturalism, may determine the welfare of the EU and its population.

4.4 Conclusion

The goal of the chapter was to ascertain how European culture, values, and standards contributed to the formation of European identity. The chapter demonstrated the significance of culture in creating a feeling of social identity; also, in the supranational (EU), transnational European legacy has developed into a defining characteristic of European cultural identity. However, several aspects of European cultural identity have a discriminatory inclination. The emergence of far right and anti-immigrant parties is proof of this.

Conclusion and Findings

The goal of this study was to determine whether framing migration as a threat to societal security is more concerned with preserving and consolidating European identity or in combating and consolidating fragmentation within Europe caused by rising nationalist rhetoric. The assumption that European identity is formed in communities through interactions, transactions, and generational changes served as the foundation for the study's definition of European identity. According to the study's findings, the process of European integration has resulted in a European system of transnational governance that differs significantly from the model of the modern national state. One of the most important aspects is the consolidation of member states' national sovereignty at the level of the transnational European community or Union. This feature, which does necessitate the fundamental agreement of each member state, moderates and limits the power of individual nation-independent states. Another important feature is the functional integration of specific political, economic, or social issues that were once handled by a single state or society but have now been merged into transnational institutions and policies. Cultural and Immigration issues are an example of this phenomenon.

The process of European integration, Eastern enlargement, and the reshaping of national and European identities that goes with it continues to face significant challenges, with immigration as a major issue. One of the goals of this paper was to draw attention to the in-group/out-group dynamics that shape the relationship between the nation and the immigrant(s), both in general and in the context of the European integration process in particular. Another goal of this paper was to provide an overview of European integration and identity formation. Immigrant "othering" has emerged as a critical component in the process of constructing a national identity and achieving or improving national cohesion. Immigrant's challenge the idea that people can be divided into two groups—nationals and others—based on their country of birth, territory of origin, or ethnic background. This is because immigrants' cross-national borders to reach their new home. However, according to Huymans (2000), labeling foreign migrants as "the other" and viewing them as a threat to national security is problematic because it leads to their exclusion from society. It is important to note that the narrative that immigrants are a threat to social security contributes to the perpetuation of "the political myth that a homogeneous national community or Western civilisation existed in the past and can be restored today by excluding those migrants who are identified as cultural aliens" (Huysmans 2000: 758).

The European Union (EU) acted as a catalyst for "Europeanization" in economic, political, and social spheres, resulting in a distinct "EU citizen identity" that distinguished Europeans migrating within the region from those migrating from other regions. The process of Europeanization, on the other hand, has been fraught with difficulties, such as the emergence of a political spectrum with a right-wing orientation that is hostile to immigration and the implementation of initiatives such as the European Heritage Label (EHL), which aims to foster cultural identity throughout all member states of the European Union; politically, through the reinforcement of democratic values and religious identity.

This paper concludes that portraying migration as a threat to societal security is an example of political rhetoric that serves to perpetuate narratives about otherness and identity as innate. More importantly, such discourses only serve to exacerbate the already-existing disparities between developed and developing countries. Regarding the research paper, portraying migration as a threat to Europe's social order should be viewed as a form of political rhetoric with the goal of simultaneously constructing an identity for Europe while combating Europe's existing divisions.

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