Index

Acts of citizenship, 70 Administrative culture, 165-168 Affective discourses, 114 Affective populism, 105-106 (see also Populism) Affective theory, 114 Africa, Caribbean, Pacific countries (ACP countries), 10 Aganaktismenoi protestors, 120 Agonism, xix Algeria, 10 Allianz für Fortschritt und Aufbruch (ALFA), 82 Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), 76 Anglo-French-Israeli attack, 9-10 Antagonism, xix Anti-establishment, 77, 79, 84, 88 Anti-EU arguments, 105 Anti-fascism, 8 Anti-immigration, 42, 137, 148, 150 - 151Anti-liberal resentments, 155 Anti-mainstream, 79, 84 Anti-migration arguments, 105 Anti-populism, xix Anti-populist discourse, 112 Anti-quota arguments, 105 Anti-Soros arguments, 105 Anti-TTIP movement, 63–65, 67 Arrogance, xx Associate citizenship, 45–46 Austerity, 13, 33, 112, 120–121, 152-154 Australia, 151 Austria, 17, 77, 151, 169 Authoritarian populism, 15

Baltic. 7 Behaviouralist approach, 94 Belonging, 22–23, 25–26, 52, 54–56, 85-87, 95, 98, 103, 181 Benelux, 9 Berlin, 6, 10, 63, 76–77, 80–83 Böckenförde Dilemma, 86–87 Boundaries, 78, 128-129 Bretton–Woods system, 152 Brexit, 45-46, 147-148, 154 as anomaly, 149–150 as disorder, 150-152 as opportunity, 156-158 as protest, 154-156 as symptom, 152–154 Britain, 6, 10, 119, 148-150, 153-154, 156, 158, 173 Brussels system, 172 Brussels Treaty Organisation (BTO), 8–9 Bureaucracy, European Commission as. 163-164 Bureaucrats, 167–168 ideal images of bureaucrats of European Commission, 168-171 Buying time, 11 Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism (2014), 152Cabinets, 174 Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), 9 Canada, 8, 55 Canadian dual-nationality citizens, 54

- Capitalism, 111-112, 143
- Catholicism, 135

CDU, 78 Churchill, Winston, 8 Citizenship, 43, 49 (see also Supranational citizenship) acquisition of supranational citizenship, 55-57 crisis of EU citizenship, 47–49 EU citizenship for European demos, 51-53 evolution of EU citizenship, 43-45 post-Brexit implications, 45-47 Civic identity, 71 Class, 128 data, methods and analytical framing, 129-131 working-class boundaries against immigrants and people taking advantage, 131 - 136working-class boundaries towards wealthy and politicians, 137 - 141Classic social identity construction theories. 77 Cleavage, 154-155 Climate change, 16, 157 Cold War. 8 Collective identities, 2, 113 Colonialism, 34, 36 Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), 11 Common Market, 152–153 Common Market Studies, 7 Communal violence, 25 Communication, 81, 88, 100, 120 Communism, 12–13 Community Law, 43, 46 Conflict studies, 62 Congress of Europe, 10 Constitutional Convention, 13 Constitutional patriotism, 26 Coronavirus, 11, 15–16, 181 Cosmopolitan families, 53 Council, 14, 46

Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), 30n5 Criminalisation of migration, 31 Crimmigration, 31 Crisis, 1-2, 4, 13-14, 32, 115 out of Africa, 10-11 building on ruins, 7-8 communism, 12–13 end of 'trente glorieuses', 11-12 and integration, 6–7 lasting crisis of monetary integration, 14-15 migration panic, 15 themes, 5 Western Europe's Geopolitical Predicament, 8-10 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), 112–113, 115 Cross-boundary relations, 85 CSU, 78 Cultural theory, 165–166 Culture, 86, 165 Cursed Soldiers, 101

Dauerkrisen, 6 De Gaulle, 7, 9–10 De-industrialisation, 136, 152-153 Decolonisation, 10, 34 Delors presidency, 11 Democracy and the Foreigner (Honig), 24 Democratic, 43 capitalism, 152 deficit of EU, 64 elitism, xx institutions, 50 politics, 52 representation, 172 Demoi, 52-53, 58 Demos, 51-53 Denmark, 11, 13 Derivative citizenship, 49 Deutsche Reichspartei (DRP), 77 Dialogue circles, 76-77, 81

Directorates-General (DG), 170 Discourse(s), 76-78, 112-113 analysis, 118 creating affective atmospheres in political discourse, 113-116 emergence of new identities through public discourse, 118 - 122on Greek crisis, 113 Domestic policy, 11 Donald Trump, 151 Douglas's typology grid, 166 Dublin Convention, 30 Economic elite, 128 Economic inequality, 152 Economic orthodoxy, xvii Economic recession, 23, 32-33 Elections, 11, 57, 119, 155 Elites, 88, 99, 120-121, 181 Emic. 6 Emotions, 3, 94–95, 100 in constructing ideologies and identities, 113 creating affective atmospheres in political discourse, 113-116 emergence of new identities through public discourse, 118 - 122emotional underpinnings of migration policies, 103-106 in politics, 94 re-examining resentment, 116-118 Empire, 150 Empty chair, 7 Enacted citizenship, 65 Enacting European citizenship, 62 in protest, 63-66 Environmental degradation, 16 Equality, 136 Ethnicity, 86 Ethno-majoritarian impulse, 150 Ethno-majoritarianism, 150-151 Etic, 6

EURAFRICA, 10 Euro, 14, 152-153 Eurobarometer, 11, 51 Eurocommuters, 53 Eurocrisis, 7, 17 Europe, 6-8, 153, 179-180, 182 for Citizens, 75, 81 diversity, 70 identity in, 22 European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), 9 European Border, securitising, 27-31 European Central Bank, 17 European Citizen Initiative (ECI), 63 European citizens, 62 simplistic ideas of, 66-68 European citizenship, 3, 68-71 European Commission, 162–163 as bureaucracy, 163-164 characteristics, 164 ideal images of bureaucrats of, 168-171 loyalty in, 164-165 European Community (EC), 6, 11, 26 European Constitution, 13 European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), 27 European Council, 162 regulation, 29 European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), 27, 30n5 European crises, 3 of democratic legitimacy, 62, 64 European Defence Community, 9 European democratic crisis, 66 European demos, EU citizenship for, 51 - 53European dynamic, 17 European Economic Area (EEA), 55 European External Action Service, 11 European foreign policy, 11 European Green Deal, 16 European identification, 3, 76, 181

European identity, 23, 180 and migration, 25-27 refugee crisis and, 31-34 European integration, 3, 6, 9, 12-13 European migration management policies, 35 European Nuclear Disarmament (END), 9 European Parliament (EP), 14, 41 European People's Party (EPP), 14 European Political Cooperation, 11 European space, 29 European Union (EU), 7, 27, 41, 112, 147 citizenship, 42, 45 crisis of, 47-49 for European demos, 51-53 evolution, 43-45 Europeanisation of migration, 22 Europeanist, 169 Euroscepticism, 78, 172 Eurostat, 11–12 Eurozone, 14, 18, 118 Evil populism, xix Exclusion, 24-25 Executive federalism, 14 Far-right, 76 identifying populism, 79-80 methodology, 81-82 parties, 31, 76-78, 156 people, 82-88 resurgence of far-right in Germany, 77–79 FIDESZ ruling party, 104n8 Force de frappe, 9 Fortress Europe, 29 Fouchet Plan, 9 France, 9–11, 13, 16, 17, 28, 54, 69, 77, 84, 128–130, 173-174 Free movement, 15, 29, 32, 43, 47–48 Freedom Party, 151 French, 55, 119

anti-racism, 135 workers, 134 Front National, 151 FRONTEX, 104 Ganser, Daniele, 85 Gauland, Alexander, 80 Gaullist, 15 General Election, 119, 149 Geographical representation, 172 Geopolitical predicament, 8-10 German Democratic Republic (GDR), 12, 80 Germany, 76, 104 resurgence of far-right in, 77–79 Globalisation, 12, 22, 42, 54, 58, 154-156 Greece, 3, 8, 18, 85, 112–113, 118, 173 Greek crisis, 3, 112-113, 115-116, 118 (see also Refugee crisis) Green, Alternative, Libertarian vs. Tradition, Authority, Nation opposition (GAL/ TAN opposition), 10 Green Party, 16 Hague Congress of Europe, 10 Hanson, Pauline, 151

Hanson, Pauline, 151 Heath, Edward, 6 Hierarchy, xvi Hitler, 8, 84, 103 Höcke, Björn, 80 Holocaust, 8 Holocaust Memorial, 80 Homo economicus model, 114 Human rights, 23, 27, 30–31, 35, 51 Hungary, 103–106 Hybridity, 23, 36

Identification, xviii Identitarian Movement, 76, 78 Identity, xv, xvii in Europe, 22 feeling, 96–98

and migration, 23–25 themes, 5 working class and, 141-142 Ignorance, xx Illegal Wars, 85 Imagined Communities (Anderson), 23 Immigrants, 127-130 Immigration laws, 34 Inability to Mourn, The, 8 Inclusion, 24 Indo-China, 10 Inequality, 152 Inside/outside, 22, 24, 36 Integration, 6-7 Interests, 22, 83, 86, 156 Intergovernmental image, 170 Internal market, 42 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 112 Interpretations, 158 Interpretative frames, 79 Iraq, 11, 32, 63 Ireland, 11, 13 'Iron Curtain' speech, 8 Islam, 84, 133-134 Italy, 9, 17, 77, 169 Ius domicili, 49 Ius sanguinis, 49 Ius soli, 49

Jobbik, 151

Kaczyński, Jarosław, 100*n*5 Kreisau Initiative, 81–82 Krisenkreuzung, 7

Labour migration, 22 Labour Party, 11 Law and Justice party, 100–102 Le Pen, Marine, 82 Left Party, 130*n*4 Lexiteer, 154, 157 Liberal elites, 154 Lisbon Treaty, 13 Lithuanians, 15 LKR, 78n3 Loyalty in European Commission, 164-165 Lucke, Bernd, 78n3 Maastricht Treaty, 13 Macro-regions, 7, 17 Market citizenship, 53 Marshall Plan, 12 Marxism, xviii Marxist ideology, 131 Mechanical solidarity, 154 Member of the European Parliament (MEP), 45 Member State, 7, 11, 15, 42-45, 49-50, 53, 172, 174 Memory as security policy, 100-103 Merkel, Angela, 78, 84 Migration, 22 European identity and, 25-27 identity and, 23-25 as opportunity for European identity, 34-36 refugee crisis and European identity, 31-34 securitising European Border, 27 - 31Militarism, 9 Monetary integration, lasting crisis of, 14-15 Multiculturalism, 105

Nation state, 3, 6, 24, 26, 50–52, 162 National citizenship, 44 National Democratic Party (NPD), 77 National Health Service, 171 National identity, 23, 181 National Socialist Underground (NSU), 78 Nationalism, 6, 150–151 Nationalist, 169–171 Nationalist, 169–171 Nations and Nationalism from 1780 (Hobsbawm), 23 Naturalised immigrants, 55 Neo-Nazis, 80 Neoliberal capitalism, 154 Netherlands, 11, 13, 28, 69 New Europe, 11 NGO, 7, 31, 35 Nice Treaty, 13 9/11, 78, 84 Nordic model, 128 Normality, xx North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 8-9, 12 Northern Ireland, 155 Norway, 3, 78, 128-129, 137, 143, 181 Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 35 Old Europe, 11 Ontological security, 98 Ontological security theory (OST), 94, 97–98 Open method of coordination, 14 Opt-in citizenship, 46 Orbán, Viktor, 105 Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), 8 Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), 27 Organisational culture, 165-167 Orient, 180 Otherness, 24 Outreach, 11, 157 Patriotic Europeans Against the

Islamisation of the Occident (PEGIDA), 76, 78 Pedagogy of pride, 102 Pedagogy of shame, 102 People, The, 3, 77, 80, 82–88 Permissive consensus, 64 Phenomenography, 65 Pink Tide, xix Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM), 33 Pluralism, 36, 86 Poland. 100–103 Poland and Hungary Assistance for the Restructuring of the Economy (PHARE), 12 Poles, 15, 101-103 Political bureaucrat, 168 Political discourse, creating affective atmospheres in, 113-116 Political emotions, 182 Political identification, 182 Political identity, xv Political license, 158 Political participation, 63 Political populism, 94 Politicisation, xvii, 63 Populism, xix-xxi, 3, 94 affective approach to, 95-96 emotional nature, 95 feeling identity, 96-98 Hungary, 103-106 identifying, 79-80 as ideology, 96 Poland, 100-103 securitisation of feelings, 98-100 Populists, 96 Post-Brexit implications, 45–47 Post-communist transition, 12 Post-industrial capitalism, 153 Post-national model, 26 Post-war crisis, 8 Post-war integration process, 10 Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS), 100 - 101Pro-Europe, 42, 76, 170 Protest Brexit as, 154-156 enacting European citizenship in, 63-66 European citizenship, 68-71

simplistic ideas of European citizen, 66–68 Public discourse, emergence of new identities through, 118–122 Public opinion, 11–12, 150 Public sphere, 12, 22–23, 106, 111, 114, 156–157 Purely Professional, 169

Qualitative empirical research framework, 65

Racism, 135 Rebordering, 16 Rechtsstaat, 47 Recognition, 128–129, 136 Referendum, 147-148 Refugee crisis, 15, 22–23, 78 and European identity, 31-34 Refugees, 29-31, 33, 35, 84, 181 **REMINDER** project, 55 Representative bureaucracy, 162, 171 - 173administrative culture, 165-168 European Commission as bureaucracy, 163–164 evidence on representativeness, 173 ideal images of bureaucrats of European Commission, 168 - 171loyalty in European Commission, 164 - 165problems in, 173-175 Republicanism, 135 Resentment, re-examining, 116-118 Resistance fighter, 79 Resistance movement, 84 Restorative Circles for Citizens in Europe, 81 Right-wing populism, 17, 80, 148, 150 Right-wing populist movement, 155 Rottmann case, 45 Russia, 12, 84

Scandinavia, 10 Scapegoating, 25 Scepticism, 139 Schengen Agreement, 22 Schengen crisis, 7 Schrödinger's Nazis, 80 Scotland, 155, 157 Second Cold War, 9 Second Country Nationals (SCN), 45, 49 Second World War, 6–7, 76–77, 80, 102 - 103Securitisation of feelings, 98-100 of migration, 35 Security, 22, 27, 98 Self-organised ECI (sECI), 63 Shared meanings and stories, 80 'Shopping list' approach, 95 Single currency, 13, 16 Single Market, 12, 26, 44, 58 Slovakia, 17 Snowball method, 130 Social constructivism, 114 Social identity, xv Social media, 78, 95-96 Social policy, 11 Socialism, 135 Socioeconomic approach, 29 Soviet threat, 9 Spain, 16, 77, 120, 151, 163 SPD, 78 Spitzenkandidat mechanism, 14 Sputnik, 85 Standort Deutschland, 13 Standort Europa, 13 Suez, 9-10 Supranational citizenship acquisition of, 55-57 national citizenship, 54-55 regime, 42-43 Supranational European citizenship regime (SECR), 55-56 Supranational European project, 41

Symbolic boundaries, 129, 181 Syntagma Square, 120 Syrian conflict, 33 Tabloid press, 149 Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS), 12 Territorial planning, 7, 17 There Is No Alternative dogma (TINA dogma), xvi, xx Third Country Nationals (TCN), 45, 49,56 Tilly, Charles, 78 Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), 62 European-wide protest actions, 65 proponents and opponents, 63 Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership agreement (TTIP agreement), 181 Transmigrants, 53 Transnational families, 53 Transnationalism, 53 Treaty of Amsterdam, 22, 29 Treaty of Lisbon, 43 Treaty of Maastricht, 43 Treaty of Paris, 43 Treaty of Rome, 43 Treaty of the European Union (TEU), 44 Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), 44 Trebnitz, 76, 81 Trente glorieuses, 8, 11-12 Trust dictatorship, 83, 88, 118 Turkey, 8, 32 Two-by-two table, 166 Two-tier human rights system, 35 UK Independence Party (UKIP), 149

UK's Trades Union Congress, 11

Union citizenship, 44 United Kingdom (UK), 45 United Nations (UN), 11 'Us-versus-them' narrative, 24 USA, 8–9 USSR, 8 US-UK attack on Iraq, 11 Vienna Convention, 45–46 Vietnam War, 10 Vox, 151 Weidel, Alice, 82 Welfare benefits, 131-133, 136 Welfare state, 137, 141 Weltanschauung, 85 Western Balkans, 12 Western Europe's Geopolitical Predicament, 8-10 Western European Union, 9 Western Union, 9 Wirtschaftswunder, 8 Working class, 128–129 boundaries against immigrants and people taking advantage of welfare benefits, 131-136 and identity, 141-142 towards wealthy and politicians, 137 - 141

Xenophobia, 24, 28, 106 Xenophobic attacks, 151 reactions, 32

Yom Kippur War (1967), 11 Yugoslav wars, 11

Zambrano, 45