

The Impact of ‘Politicization’ on ‘Identification with Europe’: A Comparative Analysis of United Kingdom, Denmark, France and Germany

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ABSTRACT

Since the 1980s, the political atmosphere in Europe has altered profoundly. The period prior to that was an era of ‘permissive consensus’ where citizens were indifferent towards the policies that are carried out at the supranational level. However, there has been the emergence and several indicators of ‘politicization’ since the 1980s, as citizens are no longer willing to standby in side-lines while the political elites dominate policy areas and determine the direction of the European integration. This new development has admissibly altered the way citizens identify with the European Union. This research aimed at determining the extent to which this new awareness/Politicization has affected how citizens identify with Europe, particularly in the United Kingdom, Denmark, France and Germany between 1980 to 1990 and 2000-2003. A cross-sectional study was carried out to compare these impacts and determine the direction of the relationship between ‘politicization’ and the ‘Identification with Europe’.

The research is sectioned in five chapters; Chapter one is the introduction of the subject matter, Chapter two covered the reviews of Literatures, where relevant related sources were assessed to contextualize ‘Politicization’ and the ‘Identification with Europe’. Chapter three is the methodology and Justification of Cases, the outline of the methodology employed to prove the hypothesis was made, and the significance of each of the cases selected was established. The Chapter four was the data analysis section, where the data extracted from the Eurobarometer where used to reach conclusions. The fifth and final section is the summary of Findings, Conclusions and the recommendations.

Keywords: Politicization, European Identity, Identification with Europe

ÖZ

1980 sonrası Avrupa’ında ve özellikle Avrupa Birliği’nin siyasi konjonktüründe önemli değişiklikler yaşanmıştır. Bu siyasi gelişmelerin öncesinde vatandaşların siyasete karşı kayıtsızlığı, Avrupa Birliği (AB) seviyesinde alınan karar ve uygulanan politikalara ilgisizliği, bir ‘ihtiyari karar birliği’ olarak tanımlanmaktaydı. Ancak, 1980’lerin ortasından sonra bir siyasallaştırma sürecine girilmiş ve vatandaşlar Avrupa siyasi elitlerinin politik arenadaki tahakkümlerine siyaset dışında durarak daha fazla tahammül etmeme yoluna girmişlerdir. Yeni oluşan bu durum ise vatandaşların Avrupa Birliği’ne olan aidiyetlerini etkilemiştir. Yapılan bu tez araştırması, AB bütünleşme sürecinde 1980 sonrası oluşan siyasallaşmanın vatandaşların aidiyetini ne kadar etkilediğini ölçmeyi hedeflemiştir. Tez araştırması çerçevesinde Birleşik Krallık, Danimarka, Fransa ve Almanya ile ilgili ikincil veriler incelenmiş ve 1980-1990 ile 2000-2003 yıllarını kapsayan dönem baz alınarak ‘siyasallaştırma’ ile ‘Avrupa’ya aidiyet’ değişkenleri arasındaki ilişkinin yönü ve gücü saptanmıştır.

Bu tez beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölüm araştırmanın tanıtıldığı giriş bölümüdür. İkinci bölüm konu ile ilgili literatürün tarandığı, ve araştırmanın incelediği ‘siyasallaştırma’, ‘Avrupa Kimliği’ ve ‘Avrupa’ya aidiyet’ temel değişkenlerinin kavramlaştırıldığı bir bölümdür. Üçüncü bölüm tezin metodolojisini, test edilen hipotezi ve vakaların seçimini tartışmaktadır. Dördüncü bölüm veri analizini içermekte ve Eurobarometer veri tabanından alınan ikincil verilerle yapılan testlerin sonuçlarını tartışmaktadır. Beşinci ve son bölüm ise tez araştırmasının bulgularını ve varılan sonuçlar yanında ileride atılması söz konusu olabilecek aidiyet politikaları tavsiyelerini içermektedir

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my Dad, late Yusuf Adamu, he is my inspiration

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The context of politics in European Union is fast changing. Where the policies at the EU level were initially met with docile indifference by the citizens of Europe, the 1980s has registered a change in their attitudes; in fact there is now a ‘widening of the audience or clientele interested and active’ in the discourse of EU politics (De Wilde and Zurn, 2012).

This growing sense of awareness and change in citizen’s perceptions has sparked the interest of so many research programs, and a lot of scholars are curious to discover the effect this would have on certain spheres of Europe as a whole. This study is aimed at expanding on the diverse view-points on this context; it is centred on developing a premise based on adequate research, regarding the possible impact of this ‘politicization’ process on the ‘identification with Europe’.

1.1 Statement of the Research problem

This research problem aims at establishing the direction of the relationship between ‘politicization’ and the ‘identification with Europe’, using the United Kingdom, Denmark, France and Germany between the periods of 1990-1993 and 2000-2003 as reference points. Since politicization in Europe is depicted to mean a period when Europeans become more aware, conscious and involved in their political and economic environments, hence deviating from the generally predicted ‘permissive consensus’ (Hurrelmann et al, 2012), this research is aimed at proving, comparatively, if this

awareness between the above stated periods have resulted in either an increase or a decrease in the ‘identification with Europe’ within the UK, Denmark, France and Germany.

1.2 Justification of the study

This research stands out on the grounds that it uses ‘politicization’ to study the ‘identification with Europe’ or the emergence of European Identity. I consider it unique because most studies seem to emphasise the creation of a European Identity from the top to the bottom, that is to say, European Identity is either built from the policy objectives (neo-liberal principles) pursued at the supranational level, or from a historical dimension which carves out certain cultural values, norms, religions etc. which countries in Europe have in common, hence creating an identity that is based on common historical components (Pichler, 2008). ‘politicization’ on the other hand, is a ‘bottom-up’ dimension to studying the ‘identification with Europe’, as it is centred on the influence of the citizens themselves (Pichler, 2008). While studies have continually elaborated on the politicization of the European Integration, the idea of politicization and its effect of identification with Europe remain limited, and this is what makes this research a unique and interesting one. Each of the cases that have been picked out to centre on are of relevance as they have a unique component of ‘politicization’ that essentiate their study. Hence, my research would elaborate on the era of politicization in each case study and determine how it has affected the citizens’ ‘identification with Europe’, and then compare the outcomes.

1.3 Methodology of the study

This is cross-sectional analysis of the United Kingdom, Denmark, France and Germany which is conducted, using the data (on mainly the trust level of the citizens towards the EU institutions and the citizen’s support of the European community) that

is assessable in the 1986-1990 spring/autumn Eurobarometer surveys. The analysis of the survey will be carried out using quantitative method; the regression analysis will be applied in order to compare the period before politicization and the period after politicization, this was done to fortify the citizen's level of identification during those periods and determine if 'politicization' has a positive impact on the identification with Europe (the Stata software was used for the computation of the regression model).

1.4 Research questions

1.4.1 Has 'politicization' led to a change in the 'identification with Europe'?

This question aims at establishing the correlation between 'politicization' and the 'identification with Europe'. It specifically determines if politicization could possibly effect a change in the identification with Europe and the pattern the change will take. It is also aimed at depicting if both variables co-vary; that is to say, if a change in politicization could lead to a change in the identification with Europe and vice-versa.

1.4.2 What are the impacts of 'politicization' on 'identification with Europe'?

This question is aimed at highlighting the particular impacts, which 'politicization' has on the 'identification with Europe'. It broadens the scope of causality, and validates the relationship between 'politicization' and the 'identification with Europe' or European identity.

1.5 Hypothesis

'Politicization' tends to increase the 'identification with Europe' in United Kingdom, Denmark, France and Germany.

1.6 Outline of the thesis

This thesis is sectioned in five chapters. The first chapter is the introductory aspect which gives an overall outlook on how the project would be conducted. It also

introduces the key variables and elaborates on how they would be applied while doing the research.

The second chapter covers the review of literatures. A comprehensive study is done on the works of other experts on European studies, who have conducted research on 'politicization' and the 'identification with Europe'. This helps determining the research programs that have been carried out in the past regarding the subject matter and it also determines the loopholes that might have existed and have not been identified, but most importantly, it develops the knowledge area of the research.

The third chapter elaborates on the methodology that is employed in the research in order to reach a definite conclusion. It further justifies the case studies, and determines why they are considered relevant cases to study for the research program.

The fourth chapter is the data analysis. This is the main part of the project. It is aimed at proving the Hypothesis and reaching a conclusion regarding the impacts of 'politicization' on the 'identification with Europe'.

The Fifth chapter include the findings, conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

“...the anti-European ‘bottle’ has been ‘uncorked’. Citizens are now more aware of policies and events at the European level, and their attitudes towards the EU and its policies are now influenced by a range of economic as well as political Factors, and these attitudes shape the way governments, Commissioners, MEPs, and ECJ justices behave when making decisions at the European level” (Hix and Hoyland 2011: p.109-110).

The period before the mid-1980s registered an era of intense national identification in Europe. What ensued during that period was a case of limited communication between nationals across borders, extreme language and historical barriers, divergent values and norms and difference in perceptions. This situation altered in the mid-eighties with the introduction of the Single European Act and the initiation of the Treaty on the European Union (Maastricht treaty). This alteration took the form of ‘politicization’ of the European Public Sphere (Zimmermann and Dur 2012).

The context of ‘identification with Europe’ has not been on the limelight of European Studies, until recently. Rather, several Literatures have built on the notion of European Identity which is mainly linked to political and cultural influence. The main premise has been that, from a cultural stand-point, European identity is formed from the historical heritage of the Europeans which is of similar component (such as religion, norms, values etc.). From a political stand-point, European identity is considered to be

formed partly, through the issuing of European Citizenship, which gives Europeans the feeling of belonging to a coherent body, hence a resultant obligation to it. Still on this stand-point, European Identity at the supranational level, is formed in light of the principles backing the European Union, both domestically and internationally (Normative/democratic principles) (Pichler 2008).

However, looking at European Identity from the above stated dimensions has the element of a ‘top-down’ approach to initiating identity (Pichler 2008). This section of the study aims at elaborating on the context of ‘identification with Europe’ as a result of politicization which, rather than being top- down, builds on the premise that the Europeans have a major role to play in the formation of their identity. Also, there are times when they are not so indifferent about the issues that emerge at the European level and affect Europe as a whole. Such times are considered periods of ‘politicization’, and when such periods emerge, the Europeans do identify with Europe. The dimension of such identification would be discovered in chapter four of this research project, but for now, this section would just expand on the context of ‘politicization’ and ‘identification with Europe’.

2.2 Contextualization

2.2.1 An overview of ‘politicization’

‘Politicization’ became paramount in Europe during the mid-1980s and early 1990s due to certain policy changes that were put in place to determine the prospects of the European Union. These policy changes (the changes in the Single European act, introduction of the Euro, Common agricultural policy, the Maastricht accord etc.) instigated the interests of the people and a number of public discourses ensued (Checkel and Katzenstein 2009). The citizens of the European Union have in the past,

had a sceptical attitude towards supranational politics; this is tagged as ‘permissive consensus’ where the citizens show nonchalance towards what goes on in the political and possibly economic sphere of the European Union. The mid-1980s has been marked as the period that drew a curtain to ‘permissive consensus’ as citizens indicated interest in certain policy areas and have engaged in several discourses to that effect (De Wilde and Zürn 2012).

Depicting politicization from a ‘Social Psychological perspective’, it is defined as a deliberate strive among individuals within a group to be heard and included in the policy preferences of the group. They create what is known as a ‘politicized collective identity’ which gives them a purpose and feeling of belonging, hence, the quest to have a say in matters that affect their group (Simon and Grabow 2010).

‘Politicization’ in Europe usually results from (among other things) crisis regarding policies made at the European Union level which seems to promote the interest of political elites over that of the public administrators. This negation of interest could spark the attention of the masses leading to public demonstrations and possibly revolt. What these discourses/demonstrations aim to achieve is a possible reorganization and redirection of the pattern of deepening that goes on at the Supranational level, but beyond that, these demonstrations could shape the extent to which the people identify with Europe (Statham and Trez 2013).

To sum it up, most of the literatures on ‘politicization’ in Europe point to the fact that it results from ‘public contestation’ in light of supranational policies (Hooghe and Marks (2005), Borzel and Risse (2008), and Checkel and Katzenstein (2009).

2.2.2 An overview of ‘identification with Europe’

The Debate on ‘identification with Europe’ has been on-going for an extensive period of time. The general perception has been that the elites in the European Union tend to identify more and support the European integration, the masses on the other hand do not even have a deep understanding of what goes on at the European level and so there identification with issues in the EU and Europe as a whole tends to be relatively low when compared to the elites (Duchesne 2008).

However, the 1980s and 1990s registered a shift from this perception as identification with Europe on the part of the masses became more buoyant due to growth in the European media which factored in publicizing issues that go on at the European level, hence giving the masses a better knowledge of such issues. Coincidentally, this period (mid-1980s to 1990s) marked a period when several issues became politicised.

2.3 Scholarly explanations and theoretical framework of European integration/identity

Several theorists have attempted to identify with the context of European integration. In fact these theorists/scholars have been discerned as playing a dominant role in the development of the concept of ‘identification with Europe (Checkel and Katzenstein 2009). Each theory has given an alternating explanation to why the European integration was considered a valid option for Europe in the first place. Even though they differ in their notions of European integration, the point to be noted here is that they have identified with Europe to the point where they have attempted to depict its establishment and come up with a reasonable explanation for its very existence. This is a unique turn of event as even the realists, who have been sceptical of the European

Integration and even negated its premise have of recent, made attempts to provide explanations that best suit the premise of their paradigm (Cini 2010).

2.3.1 The neo-realist dimension

The neo-realist identification with the European integration is based on the premise that the probability of nations-states to cooperate is very thin; however, there are times when nations cooperate, and when this happens, it is in light of a bigger picture. Drawing from the work of Waltz, the explanation that is given by the neo-realists for the context of the European integration is that the member states comprehend the fact that individually, they do not stand a chance to compete and have a superior position in the global system, but together, there is a possibility of a European super-power (Hill and Smith, 2011). This is what Paul Taylor refers to as ‘Proactive Cosmopolitanism’ (Smith, 2006); this means that member states have not deviated from the realists’ initial perception of states as self-interested entities, but they have rather identified a common interest which is inherent in a possible European integration. As a result, they have rationally conceded to delegating parts of their policy areas to the supranational level which comprises of a well-established set of institutions (Cini 2010). Hence, the neo-realists view the supranational institutions as tools or mechanisms that facilitate the establishment of mutually beneficial policy areas (Hix and Hoyland, 2011).

Furthermore, the neo-realists add that the end of cold war could also entail greater cooperation among the member states, this is because since Soviet Union has collapsed, NATO and other “western alliance” that were introduced in order to “counter” the Soviet Union would eventually lose their relevance and as a result, there would be need for new forms of alliances, and an emergent European alliance would

be in order, as in its integrated state, it would have more stance as an international “actor” (Hill and Smith: 2011).

This integration process has resulted in the creation of multiple identities among the citizens within the European entity since it encompasses the unification of several diverse cultures, norms and heritage. Another way of looking at it is that while multiple identities have been created along the integration process, prior to this period, identification among citizens was akin to their nation-states, and as a result of the nation-states’ identification with a supranational centre (European Union), the citizens have followed through in identifying with the EU (Hooghe and Marks 2004).

The neo-realist, I want to emphasise at this point, are not very open to new developments. Even though they have attempted to give an account of why the European Union has come to stay despite their initial sceptical stand-point on the impossibility of cooperation between nation-states, they have somehow found a way to remain within the premise of the negative inclination towards a possible state integration. They do not deeply explain the context of European integration because they have not covered all the relevant grounds; for instance, there is yet to be a neo-realist explanation for the recent deviation from the citizens ‘permissive consensus’, beyond that, there is yet to be a realist explanation of the phenomenon of European identification. Hence, the neo-realists do not capture the content of my hypothesis, and have failed to build a premise I can work with, either as a critique or with the aim of building on such premise.

2.3.2 The liberal dimension

The Liberal dimension to identification with Europe is centred on its (Europe’s) promotion of democratic principles, which since the late eighties and especially the

early nineties has been the order of the day (Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009, Griffiths, 2007).

The liberals have the tendency of identifying more with the European integration than do the realists. This is because they tend to ascribe positive outcomes to international cooperation. The main premise being that due to the inherent principles of promotion of the rule of law, free and fair elections, Human rights law etc. democracies hardly fight each other. Therefore, cooperation, between such democracies for a greater good is not far-fetched (Hill and Smith, 2011). However, Andrew Moravcsik's theory of Liberal intergovernmentalism better elaborates on the views of the liberals regarding the European integration.

Liberal intergovernmentalism became a dominant account of the European integration in the 1990s. This theory shares the insight of the realists that priority is given to the interest of the State. Policy areas might be delegated to the European Level but this is after deliberations and due consideration by the member states of their 'preferences'. Hence, the key elements considered in the integration process are 'patterns of commercial advantage, the relative bargaining power of important governments, and the incentives to enhance the credibility of inter-state commitment' (Cini, 2010).

Two sides to Liberal intergovernmentalism have been identified. The Demand dimension and the Supply dimension. For the purpose of this study, these dimensions are explained in the context of economic interest. Economic interest here, is derived from the demands of the member states, which by implication, are (the demands) derived from the 'domestic pressures' instigated by several interest groups and bodies within the member States on their governments (Cini, 2010). The period of

‘politicization’ has a lot to do with this part of the liberal identification with Europe as, the citizens would demand to be heard and mount pressures if need be on their national governments, through various means such as, establishment of pressure groups, engaging in protests, referendum, etc.

2.3.3 Neo-functionalism

The neo-functionalist approach was first introduced in the United States in the 1950s. The scholars, who promoted this theory, negated the premise of the rationalist (realism and liberalism) paradigm that state interest is of prominence in the in international politics (Cini, 2010).

Ernst B. Haas has been identified as the scholar who popularised neo-functionalism by explaining it in the context of the European integration in his book ‘The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic forces 1950-1957’. The key argument of neo-functionalism, is that integration gets deeper when interest groups mount pressure for promotion of certain policy areas, if these interest groups are successful, this could lead to pressures by other interest groups for extension of integration to their own sector, this is what has been popularly described as the ‘spill-over effect’ (Cini 2010). This theory, ordinarily suggests a promotion of ‘politicization’, but it is just the opposite. Most of these interest groups that mount pressures are actually composed of political elites who would rather promote their own interests rather than that of the masses, and they are successful in doing so due to the European phenomenon of ‘permissive consensus’ (Cini 2010).

Suffice to say that none of the above analysed theories are exclusive to the context of politicization in Europe. Of recent though, a new theory was initiated by Hooghe and Marks exclusively to describe the context of politicization and its relevance to

European integration. It was tagged, Post-functionalism. The next section would be centred on this theory, which is basically the driving point of this research, as the premise would encompass and validate most of the key arguments.

2.3.3 Constructivism

Constructivism is a theory of international relations that ascribed prominence to identity politics. The Constructivists say that identities are necessary in order to ascertain predictability and order. They assert that a world without identity is a world of chaos. The context to which the constructivists apply identity here implies that, the preferences and cause of action in a given situation and the way a state understands another state is as a result of the understanding of the identity of that state (Griffiths, 2007).

Constructivism is more critical than the rationalist theories as it seeks to understand the identity based on a historical context, meanwhile the rationalist just have fixed paradigms that the apply to every situation.

The constructivist theory does not capture the particular premise of the argument presented in ‘politicization’ and this is because the focus was mainly of how identity is passed historically. The main aim of the argument I present is to draw on the prominence of the European citizens in shaping their identity and the way they have emerged from permissive consensus to indicate interest in the way their identity is formed. Hence, constructivism is not very relevant for my line of argument.

2.3.4 Post-functionalism

“Preferences over jurisdictional architecture are the product of three Irreducible logics: efficiency, distribution and identity... (a) European Integration has become politicized in elections and referendum; (b) as a Result, the preferences of the general public and

of national political parties have become decisive for jurisdictional outcomes; (c) identity is critical in Shaping contestation in Europe” (Hooghe and Marks, 2008: p.1).

Hooghe and Marks have predominantly recognised the recent prominence of ‘politicization’ in Europe. Beginning with the treaty on the European Union (Maastricht treaties), ‘politicization’ has gradually found grounds in affecting the methods and kinds of policy areas that are covered at the supranational level. It is a post-elite era, where the citizens no longer stand back and watch while the political elites call all the shots regarding issues in the European Union. And so, Hooghe and Marks are in line when they refer to this new state of affairs as ‘Post-functionalism’ (Borzel and Risse, 2004).

The purpose of the research program carried out by Hooghe and Marks is to create a new theory on European integration which assimilates the changes that have taken place in light of citizens participation in Euro-politics and also engage certain important factors that have been neglected in the other theories, such as the prominence of identification/European identity in the whole European integration process. Post-functionalism, was carved out to be more holistic and deeper in nature. It ascertains the relevance of pressures by groups within the European Union and their effects on policy areas and changes, but it does not stop there, it goes on to ask the basic questions concerning the main ‘actors’ that instigate this process, and to this, it discovers that citizens and their identity do play a major role in the way policy areas are carved in recent times in the European Union (Hooghe and Marks 2008).

I tend to concur with the premise of ‘post-functionalism’. I go further and build on this theory. The context of ‘politicization’ has been identified and expanded in relation to

the European integration process. I however go beyond this a notch, to consider the direction the relationship between ‘politicization’ and the ‘identification with Europe’.

2.4 Factors that have instigated ‘politicization’ in Europe

2.4.1 An ‘ever closer union’ through an ‘ever-deeper union’

“The principle underpinning the European Union is well established: Europeans better hang together or (most assuredly) they will hang separately” (Dinan, D. 2005: p.2. quoting Wim Kok, the former prime minister of the Netherlands).

The European Community was first established with the aim of combating the security instability which dominated Europe during the periods of the world wars (mainly between Germany and France). The suggestion was that, if the European countries could cooperate in integrating parts of their policy areas, the likelihood of them going to war would be minimized since integration entails greater cooperation and communication between the member states and citizens of the European Community (‘Ever-closer Union). This is what led to the initiation of the European Coal and Steel community (ECSC) in 1951 (Dinan, D. 2005: p. 2). However, the integration process did not stop at the ECSC as it continued to gradually spill-over to other sectors (deepening/ever deeper union) (Dinan, D. 2005).

Initially, the Citizens were indifferent towards the processes and compositions of the integration and so, it was mainly the elites and political parties who were involved in carrying out of the integration process. This period of ‘Permissive consensus’ mainly lasted through the Signing of the treaty of Paris (ECSC) in 1951 to the treaty of Rome in 1958, but the 1980s registered a change in the attitude of the citizens towards the European integration, as they became more involved (Hix and Hoyland, 2011).

In the wake of numerous treaty changes in the mid-1980s and early 1990s, (the ‘ratification of the Maastricht treaty’) and introduction of new policy areas that directly affect the lives of the citizens of the EU (Single European Act: ‘labour Markets, consumer and environmental protection, human rights, foreign workers, student exchange programs...’, common currency etc.), the interests of the citizens were sparked and they engaged in several public debates and referendum (hence resulting in politicization) (Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009, Hix and Hoyland, 2011).

2.4.2 The development of a European public sphere

While a consensus has not been reached about the probability of the existence of a ‘European public sphere’, various research programs have indicated that there have indeed been transnational media coverage of political and economic issues which have empirically been determined as areas of ‘common’ interest among Europeans (Risse and Van de Steeg, June 2003).

The 1990s particularly registered an increased focus on ‘European’ issues. The days when the prime focus on national/domestic matters are fast diminishing, and this has contributed in creating a pattern of thought among the Europeans. They are now more aware of the issues that are covered at the European level, and this has sparked their interest, as the zeal to engage in productive discourse has been built among the citizens due to this new awareness as against their initial docility (Risse and Van de Steeg, June 2003).

The ascension of the central/eastern nation-states into the European Union in the 1990s also contributed in increasing public restlessness, as concern was raised regarding issues relating to migration, the definition of domestic principles and general boundary matters (Buonfino, 2004).

A vast range of Scholars in Europe picked up quite an interest in the context of the European integration and its policy coverage in the 1980s. They engaged in several discourse and published numerous Journals and articles about the European Union, this established a change from the early fifties, where scholars were mainly sceptical of even the validity of implying a possible integration/cooperation among states. Some of the main scholars that have been identified with research programs in European Union are; Jürgen Habermas, Umberto Eco, Antony Giddens, Edgar Morin, Bronislaw Geremek among others (Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009). These academic discourses have enhanced the interest of the general public/citizens in the European Union.

2.4.3 Globalization

“Globalization is a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities” (Al-Rodhan, 2006: p. 5). In light of the quoted definition of globalization, the 21st century has been considered an era of liberalisation and transnationalism. As a result of its trending effects, various debates have been developed regarding the context of globalization, some of which have been ascribed to the positive and others to the negative (Ecker-Ehrhardt, 2013: p.6).

Due to the transnational nature of globalization and its vast existence in Europe, citizens now get to communicate across national boundaries and interchange cultural and social views. This has facilitated the development of transnational discourse among the citizens within the member states, which has further resulted in forming a coherent line of reasoning among this citizenry (Ecker-Ehrhardt, 2013).

While globalization has generally been applauded for its liberating effect among divergent groups, research has shown a bit of a shift from this general perception in

Europe. The encouragement of transnationalism and removal of certain barriers (immigration) which encourages free movement across the territories of the member states has created a sense of insecurity among the citizens, and this has become an issue of national debate and even an area of politicization which has dominated public discourse by the citizens (Ecker-Ehrhardt, 2013).

2.5 Indicators of ‘identification with Europe’ as a result of ‘politicization’

Hooghe and Marks have identified three major changes that have taken place in Europe at the end of the twentieth century which has carved a way for the re-orientation of citizens towards greater participation in issues at the European level. First, the interests of the citizens towards the issues at the European level have become more genuine. Secondly, the citizens now talk of matters that relate to Europe as a whole, rather than just their national/domestic issues. And thirdly, the new awareness of European policies via the media has factored in creating a new mental emerge for the European citizens, they now ascribe the cause of their domestic problems to the policies that are pursued at the European level (Statham and Trezn, 2012).

The reason for the above stated changes is that European citizens’ orientation, is that they have reached an era where they discovered that a sense of connectedness and commonality generally exists among them, with regards the policy areas that are covered at the European level, and this is mainly due to the growing scope of the European public sphere (Klandermans, 2002).

Generally, it has been theorised that within a group there are always the parts that are the Apathetic, who most times seem passive and unconcerned about the issues that

arise within the group. It was implied that the reason for this indifference is mainly that these apathetic would rather free-ride on the efforts of the active sets within the group. The main reason they don't partake however is that more often than not, they (the apathetic) lack the knowledge of what goes on within the group, and in event of when they do know, there is the feeling of neglect and the probability that their inputs would not be taken into consideration (Klandermans, 2002).

However, when further research was conducted, it was realised that these Apathetic are not quite as sceptical towards the issues within the group as have been predicted. They do possess an inherent need for 'moral justice' which is most times marginalised and exploited upon by the elite/dominant group. This sense/need for moral justice is what could possibly cajole the sceptics into taking active role in issues emanating within the group (Statham and Trenz, 2012), and so was the case in Europe towards the mid-eighties.

Therefore, the main indicator of identification with Europe in light of 'politicization' include a growing sense of awareness about the policy preferences at the European Union level, which gives the citizens' the common component of greater interests in the issues that are tackled at the institutional level

2.6 Phases of 'politicization' in Europe

2.6.1 The period between the 1980s to the 1990s

'Politicization', as has been repeatedly emphasised became prominent in Europe in the mid-1980s. The period registered the first era of 'politicization' in Europe. Citizens of the European Union were initially content to remain on the side-lines while the political elites dominated and project the goings in the EU; however, due to the

conspicuous deepening of the European integration in the mid-eighties, the awareness of the citizens was sparked. This is because the new policy areas introduced (removal of physical barriers) were more political than economic and they directly affected the lives of the citizens, hence their need/desire to be included (Waechter, 2011).

Issues like migration became highly politicised in the 1980s especially with the provisions of the Schengen accord of 1985 which covered mainly security issues such as ‘... terrorism, crime, drugs and immigration...’ (Cederman, 2001). Furthermore, the provisions of the Maastricht treaty played a major role in the development of politicization in the European Union in the 1980s and early 1990s, as it led to the development of four referendums and also the introduction of the ‘domino strategy’ (among the Scandinavian Countries: Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Norway (Hug and Sciarini, 2000 and Aylott, 2001). Many issues were presented regarding the composition of the Maastricht treaty, among which was the concern that it might have been too ‘vague’ and the only unique component was the introduction of the Monetary Union, outside of which it (the Maastricht treaty) might have just been the presentation of an already existing state of affairs (Marks, Hooghe and Blank, 1996).

In summary, the 1980s constituted massive dimensions of politicization because of the key treaty changes that took place during the period (the Single European Act, the ratification of the Maastricht treaty) and also, the ascension of the central/eastern European Nation-States in the early 1990s (Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009).

2.6.2.1 Single European Act

In June 1985 at the Milan European Council, the Single European Act was initiated. The white paper that was projected for this act (the internal market programme) consisted of three hundred pieces of Legislations which mainly covered three basic

areas; the removal of, physical barriers, technical barriers, and eventually, fiscal barriers (Hix and Hoyland, 2011).

Between the time-frame of the initiation of the Single European Act, through to the early 1990s when the treaty on European Union was introduced, the focus at the institutional level in the European Union was to remove these barriers.

The Physical barriers encompassed the removal of the controls on the movement of goods and people in the European Union. And by the end of 1991, the Council had reached an agreement on removing all custom formalities that served as a barrier to the easy movement of citizens in the European Union (Hix and Hoyland, 2011).

The Technical barriers included the barriers on certain health and safety standards, and provisions of the Single European Act aimed at presenting possible remedies that would harmonise these technical standards to create a more coherent health and safety rules across Europe; for instance the ‘CE mark’ was introduced to draw significance to the products manufactured in Europe (Hix and Hoyland, 2011).

The Removal of Fiscal barriers was mainly aimed at preventing the obstacles that ‘value-added taxes’ present in the exchange of goods and services (Hix and Hoyland, 2011).

2.6.2 The Early Years Of 2000

Politicization in the early 2000s mainly took the form of referendum. Several issues regarding the deepening and widening of the European Union led to several debates. One of the key areas that instigated public discourse and eventual referendum is the issue with the introduction of a common currency. In September of 2000, a referendum

was held in Denmark, and in 2003, Sweden experienced similar form of referendum. In both cases, the proposal for the adoption of a common currency was rejected by the citizens (Hobolt and Leblond, 2009: p.203).

Another issue that sparked public interest was the issue regarding the cultivation of a constitutional treaty in the European Union. The referendums that were held in France and Netherland resulted in the rejection of the Constitutional treaty (Ercan, 2009; Abstract).

2.6.2.1 The Constitutional treaty and the French/Netherlands referendums

The constitutional treaty was proposed in order to present a number of changes in the European Union; among which included, improving on the powers of the supernatural institutions, it also aimed at introducing new powerful positions like the European Union president and the European Union foreign minister. It also aimed at weakening the powers of all member states to block the facilitation of legislations; the United Kingdom in particular was weakened by 30% in its capacity to block proposed legislations (a guide to constitutional treaty, 2008).

However, despites its perceive importance, on the 29th of May 2005, the voters in France, through a referendum rejected the Constitutional treaty by a majority of 54.7%. This outcome led to several institutional and political crises and paved the way for other member states to follow suite and on the 1st of June 2005, the Netherlands presented a more resounding rejections of the Constitutional treaty by 61.6%. The kinds of public debates and opposition that preceded the announcement of these referendums showed that the public were indeed interested in the policies that are instigated at the institutional level of the European Union; the outcome of the

referendum in these two member states showed their citizens disinterest in the pursuit of a possible European constitution (Ivaldi, 2005)

2.7 Chapter conclusion

The chapter established the fact that issues have increasingly become politicized in the European Union as a result of which a European Public Sphere is gradually emerging. The 1980s and early 1990s registered the genesis of ‘politicization’ in Europe, thereafter however, different cases of ‘politicization’ have ensued.

Globalization and the growing transnational media coverage have both factored in enlightening the citizens of Europe. Due to this new enlightenment, the people of Europe are no longer content to engage in permissive consensus, but have now indicated their zeal to identify with Europe through several referendums and public protests.

Paramount also, is the growing bunch of intellectual academics, which while initially sceptical of the validity of the premise of a possible international cooperation among nation-states, have indicated profound interests and have made several attempts at deconstructing the essence and coming up adequate explanation for the context of European integration, hence identifying with Europe.

The ‘politicization’ period in Europe was summed up to entail a period when the Citizens of Europe indicate their zeal to engage in both Political and economic issues that affect them, which have been treated at the supranational level initially, under the basic assumption of an existing permissive consensus on the part of the citizens.

When the citizens engage in the Public discourses regarding the public issues that affect them, it shows identification with Europe. This identification could either be

mainly negative, or it could be positive depending on the motivations of the Citizens.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH DESIGN/METHODOLOGY AND JUSTIFICATION OF CASES

3.1 Introduction

Research methodology is often confused with research methods, most times; they are taken to mean the same thing. The fact is that there exists a substantial difference between the two concepts. While research method has to do with the procedure for administering and executing research, Research methodology is actually the ‘Science and Philosophy’ that supports ‘all’ research (Adams et al. 2007). The research methodology facilitates the research method, in that, it ensures that the methods which are considered for carrying out the research are adequate for the research questions (Fine, 2005).

This chapter aims at elaborating on the case studies, and justifying the reasons why they are considered viable targets for the study. An elaborate description of various research methods, methodologies and research design to be administered in this research program will be highlighted.

3.1.1 Positivism

Auguste Comte, a French philosopher has been prominently associated with positivism as the founder of its premise. His focus was on understanding the human mind and how it operates. To do this, he says that there is a need for the application of scientific reasoning and observation. Positivism as has been expanded on by Comte has to do

with the learning and understanding of the human behaviour through ‘experience’ that is gained by in-depth observation and reasoning (Cohen et al. 2007).

3.2 Types of research methodology

There are many classifications of research methodology, but for the sake of this research, two main types of research would be elaborated upon; the Quantitative research methodology and the qualitative research methodology. Before going into details however, it is relevant to point out that a research is not necessarily exclusive to one methodology, as there are times when these methods could be combined in order to reach a valid conclusion that views the research problem from different angles and dimensions, such method has been tagged the ‘triangulation’ method (Bell, 2005).

3.2.1 Quantitative research methodology

The quantitative research methodology, as the name implies involves the proving or building a premise through computations and measurements. It is basically a mathematical dimension to research that involves quantification (Kothari, 2014).

The quantitative research is done using a survey design, which establishes the data, through relevant measurements that assess the target population. Generalizations are made when an experiment is carried out to determine the ‘cause-and-effect relationships’ through the random application of independent variables to ‘groups’. By randomly assigning these variables, the researcher influences them and considers if they instigate possible outcomes (Creswell, 1998).

3.2.2 Qualitative research methodology

‘Qualitative research claims to describe life-worlds ‘from the inside out’, from the point of view of the people who participate’ (Flick et al. 1979: p.1).

The researchers that use the qualitative method aim at understanding the target of study from a 'natural' dimension. This means that they make their analysis based on the perceptions and ideas that people ascribe to them (Creswell 1998). A qualitative research is more time consuming than the quantitative research because most times, it involves a comprehensive study which includes a lot of field work and since it usually consists of much more variables than the quantitative research, it requires optimum dedication to data sorting and analysis (Creswell 1998).

Scholars have determined the relevance of the qualitative research methodology. It is considered important because compared to other strategies, it is in fact more in depth as it is 'more open' (Flick et al. 1979).

The main strategies employed in the qualitative methodology include; 'symbolic interactionism and phenomenology' which involves the collection of data via interviews, and interpreting these data by theoretical coding. The second strategy is the Ethnomethodology/constructivism, which collects data by observation, recording of communications and the retrieval of documents. The third strategy is the psychoanalysis/genetic structuralism, which also collects data by recording interactions but also through taking photographs and filming (Flick et al. 1979).

3.3 Research design

A research design is a 'guide' that facilitates a researcher's task of proving hypothesis. The aim of a research design is to draft out the necessary procedures that would be employed in the course of carrying out the research in order to reach an amiable conclusion based on valid evidence (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005). It comprises of the methodology of the research, the variables assigned and why they are considered

relevant for the research, the sources that would be used to prove the hypothesis, etc. In the end though, the basic aim of the research design is to reach an acceptable conclusion for the research (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005).

3.3.1 Evaluating the causal relationship between ‘politicization and the ‘identification with Europe’

3.3.1.1 Does ‘politicization’ lead to ‘identification with Europe?’

The Politicization that has become a popular phenomenon in Europe since the 1980s has largely involved a diverse group of stakeholders, ranging from ‘intellectuals’, ‘xenophobic nationalists’, ‘anti-globalization Euro-sceptics’ and a number of citizens who prior to that period, have indicated next to zero interest in Euro-politics (Checkel and Katzenstein, 2009).

However, due to several factors, such as the growing trans-national media coverage of both political and economic issues at the European level, a European public sphere has been created which not only wants to debate on the issues that are paramount in Europe, but have indicated interest in wanting to be involved in the deliberation of these issues (Risse and Van de Steeg, June 2003).

In the wake of the Maastricht treaty, the provisions for creating a ‘people’s Europe’ further tuned the citizens of the European Union towards a deeper identification with Europe. Measures such as the initiation of the ‘free movement’, several European symbols were also introduced; the European flag, the European anthem, ‘European city of culture project’, a standard European driver’s licence that could be used in any member state, etc. All these inspired the people’s zeal to deliberate on European issues, there were the groups that were for the policies and then there were the groups that stood against those policies. However, whether pro or against the policies, the growing

policization of the policy areas made the people of Europe identify more with Europe by speaking up (Jamieson, 2002).

From the definition that was given for the context of ‘identification with Europe’ (closeness felt to Europe), these recent turn of events where citizens want to be more involved in not just their national/domestic issues but European policies as a whole indicate that ‘politicization’ has indeed led to the identification with Europe. So to answer this question ‘YES’, politicization leads to identification with Europe.

3.3.1.2 Does ‘identification with Europe’ lead to ‘politicization?’

To answer this question, I would like to consider the definition of European Identity. It has been defined as the political identification of the European Union as a ‘political community’ (Waechter, 2011). Waechter seems to ascribe to the premise that the identification with Europe is a major instigator of politicization. His explanation for this is that it is only when the people/citizens recognise the European Union as a political community hence identifying with it, that they would be willing to be partakers of its policies. He went on to add that the period of ‘permissive consensus’ was a period of national identification, where the people were more domesticated and identified more with their nation-states than Europe as a whole. When the issues at the European level became clearer to them and a growing sense of Europeanness began to develop, then the people were no longer willing to remain on the side-lines while the elites took charge of the issues that affect their daily lives. This was when politicization became paramount in Europe (Waechter, 2011).

When there is identification with Europe, the people tend to identify with the authorities that are the supranational institutions. The citizens relinquish their rights through what is known as the ‘social contract’ to the institutions. As a result, they

expect good governance and total dedication on the part of the authorities; hence, when certain policy areas (provisions of the Single European Act, Maastricht treaty) were introduced and the people considered them wanting, they came out to deliberate, hence ‘politicization’ ensured (Twist, 2006).

Therefore, to answer this question; YES, identification with Europe could cause politicization.

3.3.1.3 Do ‘politicization’ and ‘identification with Europe’ co-vary?’

Hooghe and Marks have identified three major changes that have taken place in Europe at the end of the twentieth century which has carved a way for the re-orientation of citizens towards greater participation in issues at the European level. First, the interests of the citizens towards the issues at the European level have become more genuine. Secondly, the citizens now talk of matters that relate to Europe as a whole, rather than just their national/domestic issues. And thirdly, the new awareness of European policies via the media has factored in creating a new mental emerge for the European citizens, they now ascribe the cause of their domestic problems to the policies that are pursued at the European level (Statham and Trezn, 2012). These are all indicators of greater identification with Europe, and the fact that they influence the citizens to indicate interests in issues at the European level registers one fact at least; that an increase in these indicators (of identification with Europe) could result in an increase in the interest of the citizens in European politics (politicization) and a decrease in the indicators could mean a decrease in the citizens’ interest in deliberating issues at the European level. This is one way of looking at the co-variation of identification with Europe and politicization. Hence; YES, politicization and identification with Europe co-vary.

3.3.1.4 What other factors cause identification with Europe?

A study that was conducted by a group of scholars to determine the reason why the young people in Europe identify with Europe, established that there are certain independent variables beside politicization that cause individuals to identify with Europe. It was mentioned that the 'Exposure to Europe' is one factor. The peoples knowledge of Europe is expanded when they travel around Europe, and it was determined that this knowledge could either result in an increase in the identification with Europe or a decrease in the identification with Europe (Datler et al. 2005).

The realists explain the identification with Europe as emanating from the zeal of the people to develop a greater Europe. National identification has been recognised as limited in scope, and one member state does not have what it takes to develop into a super power, as a result, the people have relinquished their primary goal of tuning to their national identification and conspired in the growing sense of transnationalism in Europe to identify with an integrated centre (the supranational institutions) (Twist, 2006).

Furthermore, 'knowledge of languages' was considered another factor that could cause identification with Europe. This knowledge helps people to relate with each other, hence creating a sense of 'Europeanness' and cultural bond. This further increases the identification with Europe as people perceive themselves more as Europeans (Datler et al.2005).

I want to add at this point however, that these factors that have been identified as independent variables that could cause the identification with Europe all constitute one way or the other, factors that could lead to politicization as well. Hence it is in fact

possible that they streamline from politicization, but to answer this last question YES, there are other factors that could lead to the identification with Europe beyond politicization.

These are however speculations as they are yet to be subject to experimentation, the next chapter is centred on analysing the relevant data and validating these speculations.

3.3.2 Types of research design

3.3.2.1 Randomized controlled experiment

The main aim of the randomized controlled experiment is to build on and validate the causal relationships between variables. When conducting a ‘randomized controlled experiment’ the first procedure involves establishing two groups, the ‘experimental group’ and the ‘control group’. The members of each group are randomly assigned, as a result, the experimenter does not get to control the outcome of the research based on his predictions but based on facts since the subjects have not been consciously assigned and predetermined (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005). The researcher however gets to decide when the experiment is employed in each group, after which he compares the outcome to the period before the experiment was conducted. The experiment is also subject to certain factors that could be manipulated by the research, such as the time and place of the research (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005). The advantage of this type of research design is that it has high ‘internal validity’ (this entails validity in the ‘cause-and-effect relationship’ which is not as a result of other external factors) when compared with other types of research (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005).

3.3.3.2 Cross-sectional research design

This is a type of research design that measures the changes that occur across ‘spatial units’. Time, in such experiment remains static as the changes in the target units (e.g. Countries’ analysis) are analysed. It is not however impossible to study across time

and spatial units however, the thing is doing so would constitute a very complicated research (Kellstedt and Whitten, 2009). It is a type of non-experimental research design where the independent and dependent variables are measured at about the same time. Furthermore, the analyst does not control the independent variables in the sense that, he does not predetermine when the independent variables are initiated and he does not assign the variables to groups, neither does he determine the condition under which the independent variable is analysed (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005).

Even though the time factor remains static in the cross-sectional research, there is a type of cross-sectional research design that considers the ‘time element’; this is the panel studies. This type of research design tests involves the researcher, doing his study on the target variables on a spatial unit, across multiple time variations (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005). This research process involves a ‘natural’ method of reaching conclusions, by allowing nature take precedence over the control of the variables. The research begins by carrying out a ‘pre-test’ of the target study, and then observes the differences that occur over a period of time, without having anything to do with the outcome. This presents a possible valid result, but there is the incidence of ‘panel mortality’ where the target study will not always remain static for observation, there might be incidence of death, migration, or even become irrelevant for the study (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005).

3.3.3.3 Time series research design

This type of research design is basically a reverse analysis of the cross-sectional research design. In this case, rather than conduct one’s analysis in a fixed time across spatial units like the cross-sectional research, the spatial units here are fixed and the research is carried out using a range of time periods. It is used to determine the changes that occur in those spatial units over a period of time (Kellstedt and Whitten, 2009).

3.3.3.4 Experimental time series research design

In experimental research, a 'pre-test' is conducted prior to the research, and after which a 'post-test' is carried out. The issue that comes up however is the time variations that are taken into consideration before those tests are conducted, and this is where the experimental time series is observed, it is used to determine how much change can be discerned in the independent variable and the appropriate time to carry out the 'pre-test' on the dependent variable (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005).

3.3.3.5 Nonexperimental time series design

This is a type of research design that is conducted without the researcher's control of the independent variables. The measurements that are available to appraise the dependent variable have been made available by others before research is initiated, hence the experimenter does not do the measurements himself (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005). The measurements are usually conducted prior to the introduction of the independent variables, and after they have been introduced, another measurement is done; this form of 'non-experimental time series design' is referred to as the 'interrupted time series analysis' (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005). The relevance of this type of measurement is to determine the status of the dependent variable before the introduction of the independent variable and then ascertain the changes they have created in the dependent variables (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005).

3.3.3.6 Case study design

The 'case study' research design involves a critical appraisal of a case or cases of interest by collecting data through interviews, observations and document analysis. This form of research design is common when analysing contemporary political cases (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005).

This type of research design is aimed at giving an explanatory component to an already existing thesis. It aims to build on and experiment on an existing premise in order to either validate or negate its validity (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005). This form of research design has been proposed as sometimes more effective than the experimental and cross-sectional research designs, the reason given for this is that it can be used to validate the hypothesis of both the cross-sectional and experimental studies, by determining if there exists a 'causal' relationship between the dependent and independent variables (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005).

3.4 Methodology of the study

This is cross-sectional and time series research, which is conducted by using the survey data available in the 1986-1990 Eurobarometer data. The research is conducted in order to determine comparatively, the impact of 'politicization' on 'identification with Europe' in United Kingdom, Denmark, France and Germany within the specified time frames. A specific time period was selected to limit the research, but this is because that was the period when Europe experienced massive politicization.

The analysis of the survey is carried out using quantitative method; the regression analysis is applied in order to compare the period before politicization and the period after politicization, this was done to fortify the citizen's level of identification during those periods and determine the direction of the relationship between 'politicization' and the identification with Europe (the Stata software was used for the computation of the regression model).

3.5 scope of the study

The aim of establishing the scope of this research is to pin-point and narrows down the key areas that would be covered in the course of the research process in order limit to the study to a particular premise.

3.5.1 Geographical scope

The research is restricted to the study of United Kingdom, Denmark, France, and Germany.

3.5.2 Temporal scope

The study was carried out, with particular focus on the periods of politicization in the study countries; from 1986-1990.

3.5.3 Content scope

The quantitative method was applied in computing and establishing the direction of the relationship between ‘politicization’ and ‘identification with Europe’. The data was assessed from the cross-sectional survey that was carried out in the Standard Eurobarometer.

3.6 justifications of cases

This section of the study is aimed at determining the relevance of each case study, and why it was considered relevant for this research.

3.6.1 United Kingdom

Euro-Scepticism in the United Kingdom has commonly been referred to as the ‘British disease’ (Torreblanca and Leonard, 2013). It constitutes one of the driving force that prevents the further deepening of the European integration, and in cases where it is successful, they choose to ‘opt-out’ of most policy areas, for instance, their stance on the shenghen accord/Eurozone, where they have chosen not to be included (Grant, 2008). Predictions have also been made that the UK would eventually align with the

developing ‘third-tier’ of the European Union, who would be demanding that an arrangement be made that defines the ‘rights’ of those member states that choose to opt-out of policy areas (the first tier are the members of the Eurozone, the second tier constitutes the non-members that opt-in on the policies and then the third are those members that opt-out) (Torreblanca and Leonard, 2013).

Progressive study of the populace in the United Kingdom in the Eurobarometer, and also a regular ‘Flash EB’ on the United Kingdom shows that the trust level of the UK towards the institutions of the EU has rather depreciated with time rather than appreciate (Torreblanca and Leonard, 2013).

Hence, considerable thought was put to selecting the United Kingdom as a case to study in this research program. This is because of their sceptical stand-point of the European integration. It is in fact a viable line of reasoning to consider the fact that being sceptical, on the part of the citizens at least, could be as a result of the lack of knowledge of the goings at the European level. Therefore, studying the level of support for the European integration in the UK during the period of politicization which is generally considered a period of knowledge diffusion would determine if the identification with Europe (less scepticism) increased or if it decreased when European issues became politicised.

3.6.2 Denmark

Denmark, like the United Kingdom, has been marked as a Eurosceptic member state. It is the only member state of the European Union that has on two occasions, rejected a move for further deepening of the integration process. It rejected the Treaty on European Union in 1992, and in 2000, it rejected the European Monetary Union (Sorensen, 2008). The rejection of the Maastricht treaty by the Danes, has been

considered a significant event in the history of the European Union as it marks the genesis of ‘politicization’ of the European public sphere (Medrano, 2003).

More often than not, this sceptical attitude observed among the Danes is traced to their national alignments to mainly their Scandinavian/Nordic heritage rather than the European Union. Assertions have further been made that there are certain primordial sentiments that European countries that are far north tend to have, which seems to make them identify more with their nationalities and conflicts with their inclination towards the European integration, and so is the case with Denmark (Mache, 2010).

Furthermore, the Danes had a group called the ‘Folkebevaegelsen mod EU’ that represented the interest of the people in the European parliament, and mainly opposed the European integration process (Underwood, 2005).

Like the case in the United Kingdom, it is this sceptical nature on Denmark that justifies it for a good reference point.

3.6.3 France

“France occupies a singular position within the European Union by playing, over the course of its construction and with the original European community (EC) members, the role of the motor and the brake” (Cautres, 2012: p.5).

France is another member state that has in certain policy areas, indicated scepticism towards the European integration. The reason given for such sceptical behaviour is presented in the context of ‘social nationalism’. It has been speculated that civil identification with a Unified centre like the European Union tends to conflict with the dominant identification with domestic traditional commitments in France; as a result,

national political interest usually takes precedence when relating with issues concerning the European integration (Harmsen, 2005). This point is further made valid by Geertz' arguments about primordial sentiments and attachments, which usually make states resistant of a central unified whole, as they tend to identify more with the 'givens' (that is traditional and domestic values) (Geertz, 1963).

Furthermore, from indications, especially the rejection of the Constitutional treaty which aimed at promoting 'economic liberalism', it is clear that France or rather its majority are resistant to liberalization (Harmsen, 2005).

It is however important at this point that the French are divided into the pro-integration group and the Eurosceptic groups. This is due to the complex nature of the political structure of France; which is sectioned in 'left-right dimension'. There are the groups that are flexible towards social change and there are those that tend to reject any kind of change (Cautres, 2012).

In retrospect, the significance of the French case is its mixed factor of scepticism and pro-integration dimension. It registers a turning point in this research as it would be reflected how these mixed components reflect on 'politicization' and the 'identification with Europe'.

3.6.4 Germany

Since the European Community was initiated, Germany has mainly been pro-integration. The reason that was given for such inclination was that, the post-war era could give an economically and politically enriched Germany a firmer ground as a hegemonic figure in Europe; this is because with its power and might, cooperation between it and other European Countries would mean greater input from Germany

which means that eventually, it would be a controlling force in the European Union. Hence, Germany ironically pursues neo-liberal and integration policies in the EU, while having the realists' objective of being a controlling power in Europe (Wallace, 2001). However, recent indicators show that Germany is fast growing weary of the cost of the integration process and how much of its resources are going into it. Germany is now considering its national interest over the ultimate 'European' interest (Guerot and Henard, 2011).

Despite its recent scepticism towards the European integration however, the die has already been cast, and Germans cannot help but be concerned about the Economic direction of the European Union. This is because, a decline in the economic strength of the EU means a greater effect on the economic strength of Germany since the Deutschmark has been replaced with the Euro and the German national budget is no longer in their control (Guerot and Henard, 2011).

It has further been hypothesised that three categorical reasons essentiate the support of the European integration by Germany; the first hypothesis is that at the end of the Second World War, where the German 'national identity' was defeated, the European integration helped build a new stronger identity for Germany, the second hypothesis was that the integration process created a basis for 'reunification' between the West and the Eastern Germany (Federal Republic of Germany), the third Hypothesis stems from the economic interests that have been mentioned before; it was speculated that the deepening of the European Union would yield great economic perks for Germany (Medrano, 2003).

3.7 Chapter conclusion

This chapter elaborates on the various types of research methodologies and highlighted the one that is most relevant for the study. The second part of the chapter focussed on justifying the cases, and stating why they are considered significant for this study; they represent differing stand-points towards attitudes towards the European integration (the sceptics, the pro-integration and those that mix both outcomes).

Chapter 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

It has already been established in the previous chapter that this is a ‘case study’ research that involves a cross-sectional analysis of the case countries; Denmark, United Kingdom, Germany and France. The aim of the analysis is to validate (or reverse) the premise of the hypothesis; ‘Politicization’ tends to increase the ‘identification with Europe’. The study will be carried out using the results of surveys available in the Eurobarometer data. Comparism will be made between the effects ‘politicization’ has on the ‘identification with Europe’ in each of the countries, while keeping in mind, each of the cases’ general attitudes towards the European integration; Denmark: Euro-Sceptic, United Kingdom: Euro-Sceptic, Germany: Pro-integration, France: partly sceptical/partly pro-integration.

The Eurobarometer used four measures to analyse the level of the citizen’s support (identification) of the European integration; questions regarding the people’s attitude towards the enlargement process and further Unification, their willingness to remain member states (support of membership), an analysis of the level of benefits the member state is likely to attain and how these benefits affect the people was made (Eurobarometer, Dec.1990). Hence, this analysis will be conducted by considering the Public’s level of support of the European integration and their trust level of the

European institutions; the focus will be the periods when issues became politicized in the European Union; 1986-1990.

4.2 Analysis of the Eurobarometer

4.2.1 Analysis of the period before ‘politicization’ in European Union

The question regarding the people’s support of the European Community was asked for the first time in the Eurobarometer in 1981. This was the genesis of developing the pattern of the citizen’s opinion towards the policies at the European level, and how they perceive their membership of the Union/Community. This formed the basis for analysing the rate to which they identify with the community. Since 1993, was when the Maastricht treaty came into force; and the period before that (the early 1990s) was dominated with a lot of debates by the people (politicization) about the composition of the Maastricht treaty; I would analyse the people’s perception and level of support in 1981 in order to compare with the subsequent years of ‘politicization’.

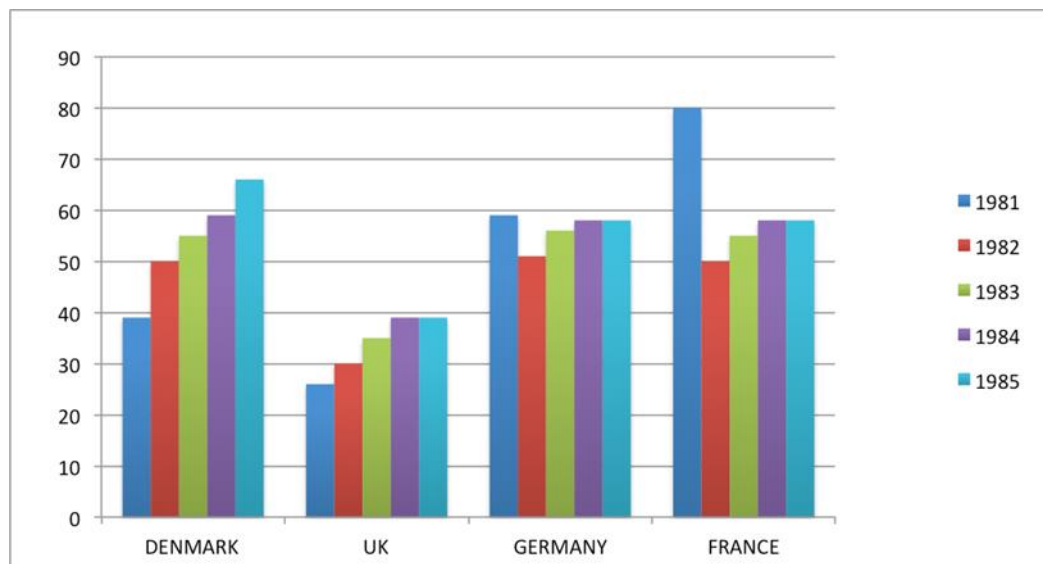


Figure1.1: The Public’s Support For The European Integration (1981-1985) Source: Data from standard Eurobarometer 40

This survey was carried out in light of the events of the 1980s when policies at the European level became increasingly politicised. It was aimed at comparing the outcome of the further ‘deepening’ (which attracted citizens’ attention to Euro-politics) that took place in the mid-1980s on the way citizens perceive and identify with the European Union in the 1990s.

4.2.2 Analysis of the periods after ‘politicisation’ (1986-1990)

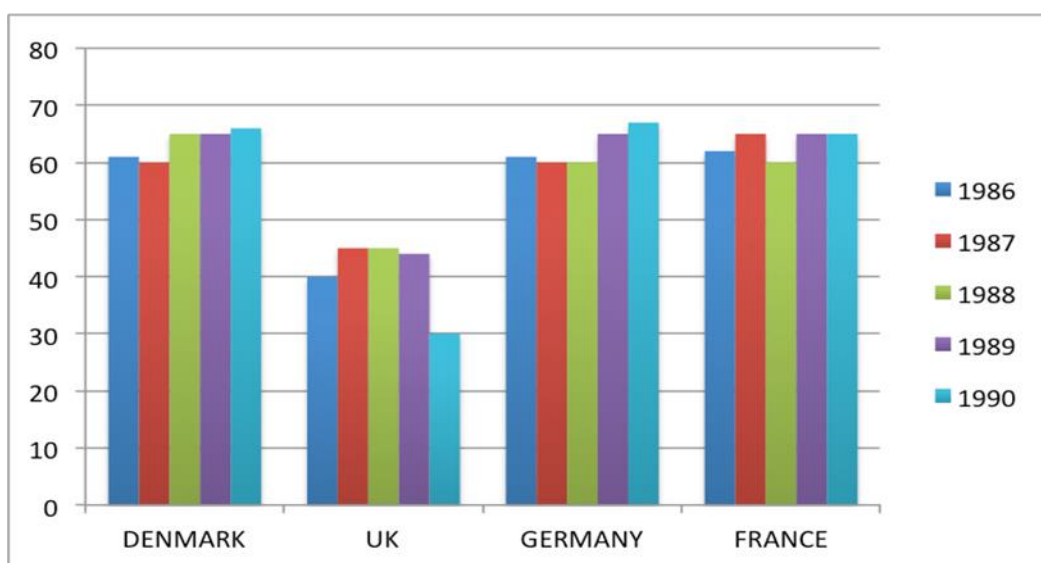


Figure 1.2: support for European integration (1986-1990) Source: Data from standard Eurobarometer 40

The data in figure 1.2 shows that 73% of the Danes indicate support of the European community, 53% in United Kingdom support the community, while in Germany, 87% support the European Community, and the French support the community by 66%. This research was carried out in the same year as the research on the rate to which the citizens perceive the European community to be important (1990). The percentage however alternate, as the rate of support for the European community falls short when compared to the percentage of people that consider the European community important.

4.2.3 1991 Analysis: Public Support for the European Community

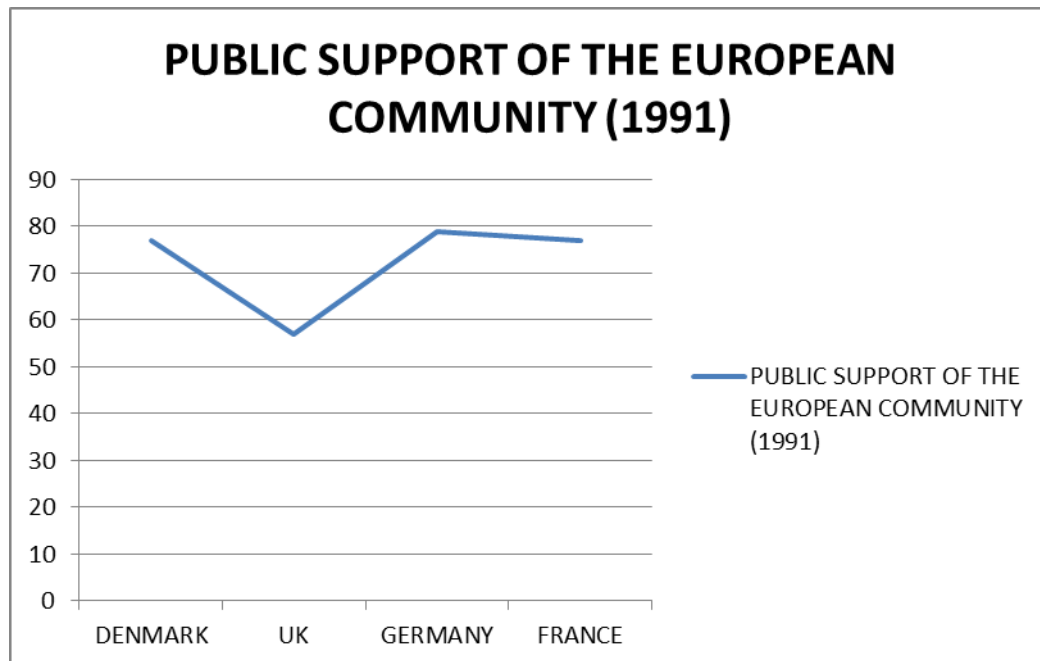


Figure 1.3: Public support for European integration in 1991; Data from Eurobarometer, Spring 1991

The data above shows that there has been a slight increase in the public's support of the European community in 1991 when compared with that of 1990, with the exception of Germany. The Danes' support improved by 4% which amounts to 77%, the United Kingdom's support level also improved by 4%, amounting to 57%. Germany on the other hand went down from 84% to 79% public support. The French had by far improved the most by 10%, which amounts to 77% in 1991. These increments in level of support imply greater identification with Europe.

4.2.4 Perceptions in Germany

In light of the variation that is noticeable in the 1991 analysis; where the public's support in the other case countries improved and that of Germany declined, this section is dedicated to closely analysing the citizen's support level in 1992 and considering if there has been an improvement. The data analysed here was gotten from the

Eurobarometer 38 survey titled: 'the European Community and United Germany in autumn 1992: development of public opinion in East and West German'.

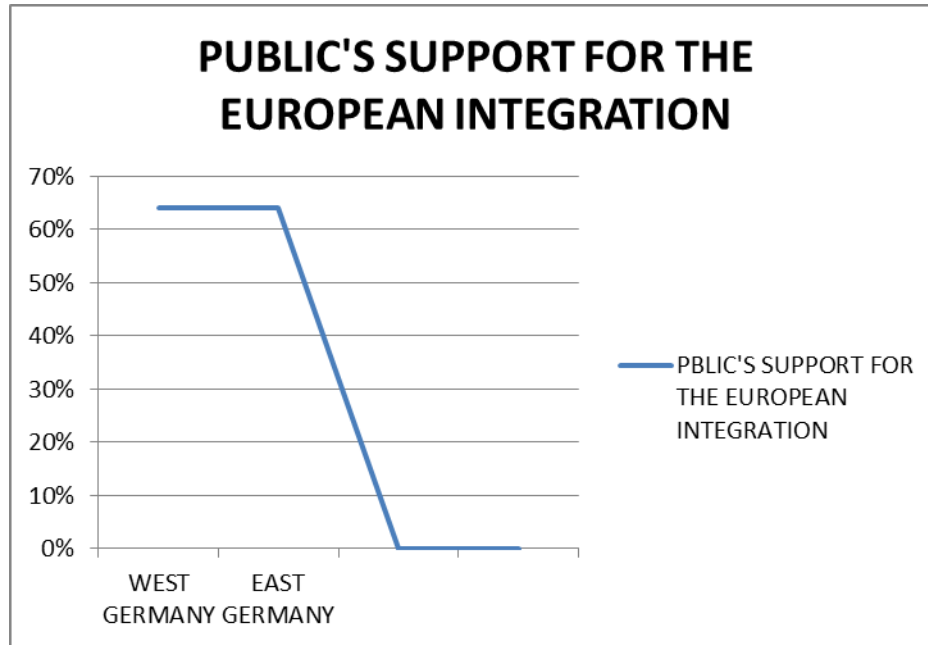


Figure 1.4: Public's Support for the European Integration in Germany In 1991 Data from special report Eurobarometer 38, 1992

The above figure illustrates that 64% of the East German public support the efforts that were made towards the unification of Europe. The Western part of Germany on the other hand registered 74% of the public's support for the European integration.

Computing the average

$$X = \frac{\sum x_i}{N}$$

N

Hence the mean = $\frac{64+74}{2}$

2

= $\frac{138}{2}$

2

=69%

Therefore, despite the optimism that the support of the public in Germany would elevate come 1992, after its decline in 1991; the reverse was the case, as public support decreased by a substantial 10%, amounting to 69% on average.

4.2.5 Analysis of the people’s level of support in 1992

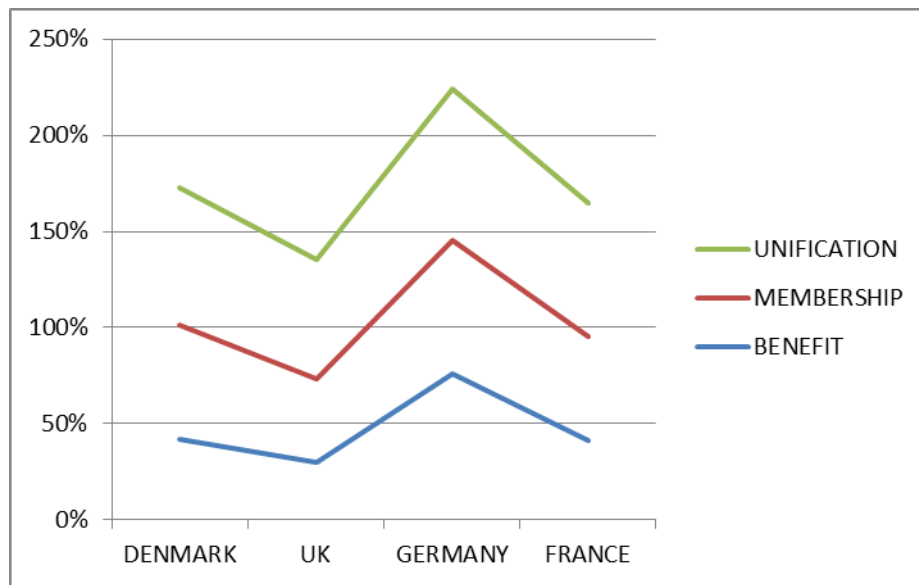


Figure 1.5: Public’s Support for the European Integration In 1992 ;Data from the Eurobarometer 40, 1993

Figure 1.6 analyses the public’s level of support in terms of their attitudes towards the Unification, Membership and their perceived benefit from the integration process. For the support for Unification; Denmark had 72%, United Kingdom 62%, Germany 79% and France 70%. For the support for membership, Denmark had 59%, United Kingdom 43%, Germany 69% and France 54%. The perceived benefits amounted to; Denmark, 42%, United Kingdom 30%, Germany 76% and France 41%.

4.2.6 Analysis of the people’s level of support in 1993.

1993 was the year the Maastricht treaty came into force. It encompassed a lot of deliberated issues; there were debates about the election of the new European parliament; a ‘controversial’ summit that featured think-tanks on the kind of

government that would represent each member state; debates on the further enlargement of the European Union etc. all these issues attracted public's interest to engage in discourse and be heard.

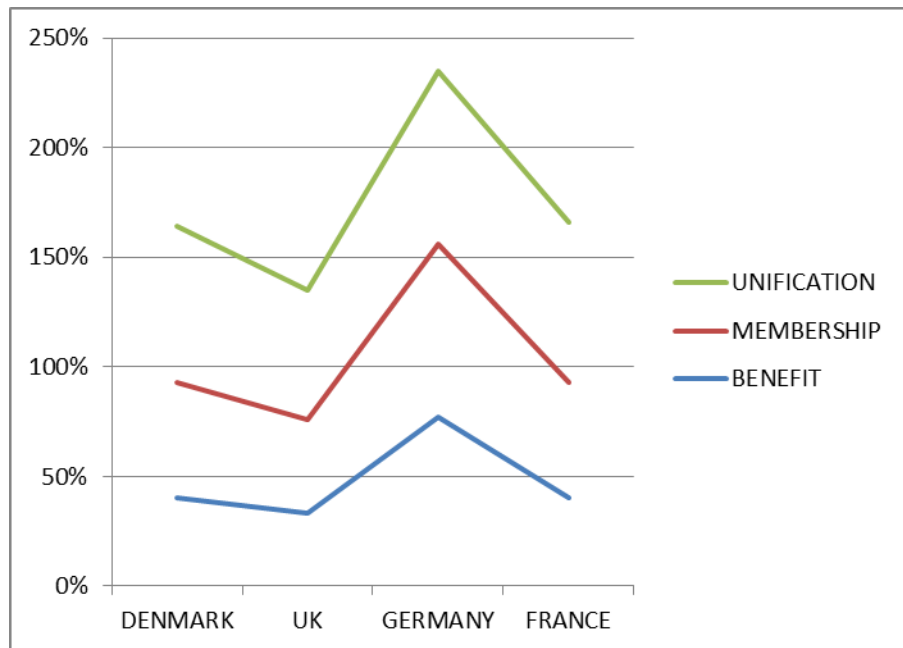


Figure 1.6: The Public's Support for the European Integration In 1993 Data from the Eurobarometer 40, 1993

Figure 1.7 encompasses three groups of data about the level of support of the people towards the European integration; support for unification, support for membership, and the perceived benefit of the membership to the member states. For the support for Unification; Denmark registered 71%, United Kingdom 59%, Germany 85% and France 73%. The support for membership showed thus; Denmark 53%, United Kingdom 43%, Germany 79% and France 53%. The perceived benefit of membership registered thus; Denmark 40%, United Kingdom 33%, Germany 76% and France 41%.

4.3 Hypothesis validation

The aim of this section of the analysis is to compute the available data on 'politicization' and the 'identification with Europe'. The years prior to the period of

'politicization' were compared to the years where politicization emerged. The aim of the comparison was to analyse the citizen's level of 'identification with Europe' prior to politicization and then determine if in fact, there are changes that have occurred in the way people identify with Europe as a result of the 'politicization' process. The proxy that was used to measure 'identification with Europe' was the level of the citizen's support of the European integration. Politicization on the other hand, had no measurable variable in the available data hence a dummy variable was applied; the period prior to politicization was valued at zero (0) while the period after that was valued at one (1).

4.3.1 Model specification

$$I = (a) + bP$$

Where; I= 'Identification with Europe' (proxied by the level of support for the European integration.

P= Politicization (measured with dummy variables; years before politicization take the value of Zero and Years after politicization take the value of one).

Hypothesis

Null hypothesis; $H_0 : b = 0$

Alternate hypothesis; $H_1 : b > 0$

Regression result

$$I = 50.61 + 7.74P$$

The years prior to politicization (1981-1985)

$$I = a + bP$$

Where $a = 50.61$ and $b = 7.74$

$$I = 50.61 + 7.74P$$

$$I = 50.61 + 7.74 (0)$$

$$I = 50.61 + 0$$

$$\text{Hence } I = 50.61\%$$

Years after politicization (1986-1990)

$$I = 50.61 + 7.74 (1)$$

$$I = 50.61 + 7.74$$

$$I = 58.35\%$$

4.3.2 Brief analysis of findings

From the computation made above, it is an obvious fact that for the years studied, 'politicization' has a positive impact on 'identification with Europe'. The period before politicization in Europe registered around 50.61% level of identification with Europe, but after that, the figure increased to 58.35% which shows a 7.74% increase in the way people identify with Europe (due to 'politicization').

4.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter covered a range of analysis of data. In an attempt to conduct a cross-sectional analysis of the impact of 'politicization' on the 'identification with Europe', various measures were considered in different time periods. These measures include; the citizens support for the European integration, the perceived benefit of the integration process, the people's support for their country's membership of the European Union, their level of trust of the European Union, their level of trust of the European Parliament, the people's pride in being 'European' vs. their pride in their national identity and their level of support of the unification of the European Community. All these were used to measure the rate to which the people identify with the European Union. The periods of politicization were measured against the period prior to politicization in each of the case countries; Denmark, United Kingdom,

Germany and France and the findings show that Politicization has a positive impact on the identification with Europe. The further analysis of the findings will be made in the next chapter, which constitutes the ‘findings, conclusions and recommendations’.

Chapter 5

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings

Since the mid-1980s, several changes took place in Europe that altered the perceived normal state of affairs. Prior to that period, the citizens of Europe were considered nonchalant and indifferent towards the issues that are addressed at the EU level. This situation however changed in the mid-80s when certain policy areas were introduced that directly affected the lives of the citizens. These policy areas that drew the interests of the people were first incorporated in the 1986 single European act; some of which include the removal of physical barriers (free movement of labour, goods and persons) which was officially implemented in 1992 when the Treaty on the European Union was passed (Hix and Hoyland: 2011). These new policy areas mainly gave way to a hybrid system of identification where the people move freely from their nation-states to other member states; this creates room for greater inter-marriages, cultural assimilation, and diversification of linguistic sentiments etc. resulting in a decrease in the citizens' excessive nationalism towards their nation-states. This has however created the pattern for several conflicts and deliberations on the parts of the citizens, and it has been elucidated that due to the complex nature of the conflicts, the citizens have become more aware of the European Union and now tend to look to it for a resolution of the crisis; hence the hypothesis; 'politicization tends to increase the identification with Europe'.

This project studied the impacts of ‘politicization’ on the ‘identification with Europe’. The aim was to establish if there is a positive correlation between ‘politicization’ and the ‘identification with Europe’. To analyse this relationship, certain measures were used to determine the level of the citizens ‘identification with Europe’; the level of support for the European integration was taken into consideration, the citizens perception about the benefits that their nation-states gain from being member states in the European Union, and the people’s level of support for further Unification.

The countries that were analysed include; Denmark, United Kingdom, France and Germany. These case countries were justified according to their optimism/pessimism towards the European integration. Denmark was generally reviewed as a sceptical member state due to its tendency to refrain from deepening in certain policy areas (the referendum and rejection of the constitutional treaty); the United Kingdom was also reviewed as a Euro-sceptic Country; France on the other hand had a hybrid combination of scepticism and positive attitude towards the European integration. Germany on the other hand stood out as it was ultimately pro-integration.

5.1.1 General information on the analysed case countries

5.1.1.1 Denmark

From the analysis that was made in the chapter four, it was established that ‘politicization’ has a positive impact on the ‘identification with Europe’ in Denmark. This is because the period before politicization, particularly 1981, registered approximately 59% level of the public’s support of the European Union. However, since the politicization period ensued in the mid-80s and skyrocketed in the early 1990s, there has been a progressive change in the ‘identification with Europe’. 1990 registered 73% in the support for the European integration, 1991 showed 77% in the citizen’s support, 1992 showed 72% in the level of support and 1993 registered 71%

in the citizen's support. Considering the fact that Denmark has been generally depicted as a Euro-sceptic Country, the citizen's support for the European integration during the periods of 'politicization' was on the high side when compared to the period before 'politicization'. Hence, in the case of Denmark, my Hypothesis was validated; 'politicization tends to increase the identification with Europe'.

5.1.1.2 United Kingdom

From the analysis made in chapter four, 'politicization' did not have much impact on the 'identification in Europe' in the United Kingdom. In fact, when compared to the period before 'politicization' the 'identification with Europe' declined a little during the period of 'politicization'. Of course, other factors could be taken to be the cause of such alterations; like the fact that the United Kingdom is an extremely sceptical country when it comes to the European integration process. Prior to the 'politicization' process, the support of the European integration in the United Kingdom was estimated at 64%, but during the period of 'politicization', 1990 registered 53% in the level of support for the European integration, 1991 registered 57% level of support for the European integration, 1992 showed 62% level of support for the European integration and then 1993 registered 59% support for the level of support for the European integration. This shows a negative relationship between 'politicization' and the 'identification with Europe'. On average both the periods before 'politicization' and the periods after indicate that United Kingdom is generally not very keen on supporting the European integration process, but then during the politicization process, the level of support for the integration went down a little which shifts the premise of my hypothesis giving a null hypothesis; 'politicization tends to decrease the identification with Europe'.

5.1.1.3 Germany

Germany, an extremely pro-integration process showed that there exists a positive relationship between ‘politicization’ and the ‘identification with Europe’ from the analysis done in chapter four. Prior to the integration process, the level of support for the citizens’ support for the European integration was estimated at 65%, but during the politicization process there was a substantial increase in the citizen’s support of the European integration. In 1990, the level of the citizen’s support was 81%; in 1991 the support level was 79%, 1992 also showed 79% level of support for the European integration. 1993 however was the peak as the citizens’ level of support was 85%. This validates my hypothesis beyond doubt; indeed, ‘politicization tends to increase the identification with Europe’.

5.1.1.4 France

France was justified on the basis of its mixed tendency of being pro-integration and euro-sceptic. The analysis in chapter four shows that in 1981 (prior to the politicization period), the support for the European integration was approximately 80%, however, there was a substantial decline after the politicization period; in 1990, the support for the European integration was 66%, in 1991, the support for European integration was 77%, in 1992, the support for the European integration was 54% and in 1993, the citizens’ support for the European integration was 53%. This shows that after the ‘politicization’ process, the citizens’ level of support for the European integration reduced, hence, the France case tunes more towards the null hypothesis; ‘politicization tends to decrease the identification with Europe’.

5.1.2 Description of model specification for hypothesis validation

For the model specification, the Stata software was used to compute the regression analysis. The support for the European integration was used as the proxy for

‘identification with Europe’. There was no particular proxy for computing the ‘politicization’ period; hence 0 was used as a dummy variable for the period before politicization and 1 was used for the period after ‘politicization’.

The result of the regression analysis showed that the period prior to politicization amounted to 50.61% when all the case countries were analysed; the period after ‘politicization’ on the other hand amounted to 58.35%. This proves that my Hypothesis is correct since there was a 7.74% increase in the citizens’ level of support for the European integration after the politicization period.

5.2 Conclusion

This thesis was aimed at assessing how ‘politicization’, which emerged in Europe in the mid-eighties have influenced the way citizens identify with Europe. It focused on the case of ‘politicization’ in Denmark, United Kingdom, France and Germany; justifiably so because of their diverse views on the European integration process, where Denmark and United Kingdom are mainly sceptical of the European integration process, France on the other hand alternates between scepticism and support of the European integration, Germany was categorised as a generally pro-integration member state.

Before the mid-eighties, it was ascertained that the citizens in the European Union member states indulged in what was tagged the ‘permissive consensus’ a term that was coined by V.O key in 1961 to describe the nonchalant attitude of the European citizens towards the policy areas that are covered at the European Union level (Hix and Hoyland, 2011: p.107). This lack of interest however came to an end in the mid-eighties as a result of the policies that were introduced in the Single European act of

1986; these policies like the removal of physical barriers (free movement of goods and persons), directly affected the lives of the people and so, their interest in the policy areas was increased (Hix and Hoyland: 2011: p.193). The period when the people expressed their zeal to participate in the policy areas that affects them has been described as the 'politicization' period.

Over the years, several explanations have been given for the context of European integration; there have been the neo-functionalists (propounded by Ernst Haas in the 1950s), who maintain that policies at the European Union level emanate from pressures from political elites on their national governments to delegate certain policy areas to the supranational level, which tends to have a relative 'spill-over' effect on other sectors of the economy; hence economic integration could spill-over to political integration (Cini: 2010: p.83). The Liberal intergovernmentalists (propounded by Moravcsik) further gave their own explanations; according to them, policy areas are mainly tackled and 'dominated' by the governments of the member states, particularly their political parties and generally, the bigger member states tend to overshadow the smaller member states (Hix and Hoyland, 2011: p.16). What these theories fail to mention is the place of the citizens in all these; justifiably so, because when these theories were popularised, the European Union was still immersed in the period of 'permissive consensus'. However, issues have become politicised in the European Union and new theories have been introduced to explain this phenomenon. Hooghe and Marks came up with an explanation of the context of 'politicization' as it affects the European integration/European identity.

Hooghe and Marks, having researched on the existing theories of the European integration seem to imply that there is a missing component in the existing theories;

hence they embarked on a research program that proves the efficacy of citizens' participation in European Union politics. They contend that the new era is a post-elite era where citizens are becoming more involved with the European Union policies. Interests have been instigation among the citizens; hence policy actorship in the European Union is no longer left in the hands of the political elites and political parties. This phenomena, or rather theory was tagged 'Post-functionalism' (Hooghe and Marks, 2008). I built on the work of Hooghe and Marks and further hypothesised that 'politicization tends to increase the identification with Europe'.

'Identification with Europe', put simply, is the closeness that is felt to Europe leading to greater inclination towards Europe (Roose, 2013: pp.281). This thesis analysed the level of support European citizens have for the European integration to compute the strength of the people's identification with Europe. To determine the direction of the relationship between 'politicization' and the 'identification with Europe', the people's level of support for the European integration before the period of politicization and their level of support of the European integration during/after the politicization period were compared using the regression method of quantification, the result of this quantification is that there exists a positive relationship between 'politicization' and the 'identification with Europe'; which validates the premise of my hypothesis.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the results of my research, it is evident that the relationship between 'politicization' and the 'identification with Europe' takes a positive direction; this is to say that indeed 'politicization' tends to increase the level of people's identification towards the European Union. Hence, to improve on the way people identify with Europe, there is a need to increase 'politicization'. For this to happen I recommend

several ways by which people's interests could be instigated (based on the research I have done).

I discovered that it was not until the mid-eighties that issues became politicized in the European Union. This was evidently as a result of the kinds of policy areas that were introduced in the Single European Act; the removal of physical barriers included. This goes a long way to show that when issues directly affect the people, their interests tend to increase. The policy areas that were introduced in the mid-eighties gave room for European Union citizenship, free movement of people and labour, free inter-state trade relations, easy migration etc. These issues made the citizens to speak up and attempt to address the supranational institutions directly; hence, for greater participation on the part of the citizens, there is a need to draw the policy areas closer to the people, as this would give better clarity on what the European Union is about.

Drawing from the above point, I further recommend that next to drawing policy areas closer to the people, the European Union should attempt to create certain patterns and policies that would draw on more solidarity from its citizens, that way; they get to view relating with the European Union as part of their civic responsibility. For instance, at the moment, there is no defined European Army. If a European Army can be introduced which would demand the EU citizen's solidarity and zeal to defend Europe from within and externally, this would further increase the citizen's sense of identification.

From the review of literatures, I discovered that globalization has also been an instigator of 'politicization'. By this I refer to the European Union's pursuit of universalistic policy approach which has encouraged transnationalism and

technological advancement. The implication of this is that there has been growth in inter-state relations; also the media has transcended as a result of technological advancement, making communication of European Union politics more effective around Europe. This has improved on people's knowledge of EU politics and has given them a better understanding of the policy areas that affect their daily lives. Hence, my recommendation is that better mediums of communication should be introduced that would further educate the masses on EU politics, as I believe that part of the reason why they were nonchalant towards the politics at the European Union level was because they were not well enlightened about the issues debated at the institutional level and they basically did not have a deep understanding of what the European Union is.

I further reviewed that the gradual shaping of the European public sphere has also been considered an instigator of 'politicization'. This European public sphere consists of intellectuals and informed public who have emerged in the eighties to debate Europe. Their discussions have taken the form of think-tanks, referendums, they have also written books and journals about European politics, which has further broadened the knowledge of the masses and made them see some perks that could be generated from supporting the European integration. To encourage this growing European public sphere, I recommend that better mediums and resources be presented to these groups of individuals to encourage and give them more ways to diffuse issues that relate to European Union, for better public awareness.

Overall, I encourage the European institutions to find ways to improve on 'politicization' as I believe that its impact on the 'identification with Europe' is a positive one.

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