

## ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

In second chapter, I discuss about citizenship with the question of ‘National versus European?’. The first part of this chapter discuss about current national citizenship models and categorize new post-national models. According to it, citizenship is mostly described as a

legal bond and political identity, together with sharing common values, tradition and culture. Thus, current national citizenship can be analyzed according to liberal individualist approach and civic republican approach.

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

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

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

rejects 'other' European in case of protection of national values. This is a result of being lack of European identity.

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