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**The Socio-Economic Impacts of the UK's Exit from the EU amidst
and after Brexit on the British Identity: From Royal Ascendancy
to Commonwealth Ambivalence to Ethnic Dispersion, 2016-2020**

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Abstract

Because Brexit profoundly affected almost all aspects of the British life particularly the British society as the decision was finalized due to their votes, this dissertation aims at providing a historical overview of both the British identity and the European integration up to post-Brexit era to enumerate the British traits that pushed for Brexit. The final stage of this study includes enlisting and investigating the challenges in the face of a post-Brexit British identity and the factor for Britain to reach globalism. This research thus uses a humanistic approach where qualitative and descriptive methods are employed to collect, describe and analyze data from speeches, books and articles. Findings in this study encompass the unrest of Britishness since the collapse of the British Empire and then the introduction of the European Integration. The Brexit results confirmed this turbulence when the majority of positive votes on Brexit were English. This research corroborated the interdependent relation between the British politics, economy, and society which entails that Brexit is a plan which has been changing the nation's politics, economics, industry, domestic affairs, and the British identity. The conclusion drawn from this research is that the Brexit Deal calls for possible dispersion of the everly known Britishness that it will be a combination of Europeanism, Americanism, and mainly Englishness because of the universality of the English language that will ride Britain toward globalization.

List of Abbreviations

ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EMU	European Monetary Union
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	UK Independence Party
US	United States
WASP	White Anglo-Saxon Protestant
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

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General Introduction

General Introduction:

The British Civilization is the final format of Britain's long and diverse historical events which have been made by or happened to the different indwellers who lived in the English and lately the British lands. It is therefore interesting to investigate this wide field especially in relation to psychology as this combination would help in reaching a deeper understanding and analysis of the human identity, attitude and reactions towards the variety of events taking place in the surrounding environment. An example of this would be the study of the developments and changes undergone by the British identity since the economic and political event "Brexit" knocked the Kingdom's doors in 2016.

This research is an attempt to overlook the future image of the British identity as being affected by their nation's divorce from the European Union through enlisting the challenges that the British will face in their journey of re-identifying themselves in a world without the European Union as their shadow. Thus, the broad aim of this study is to approximately measure the extent to which Brexit has affected and will affect the British people's identification of themselves, with the final Deal and the aspect of the 'English Language' in the picture. Hence, the British would be able to decide on which identity they will adopt.

The unusualness of Brexit generates its controversial nature especially with regard to the concept of post-Brexit identity. Since the announcement of the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union, researches, blogs, news and others have been focusing solely on the economic and political impacts of this phenomenon on both parts and the world. Hence, the gap they have been paying little attention to is the British society's stand in this circumstance in relation to economy and politics. In fact, the Leave Campaign of Brexit used the immigration card to win the people's support to initiate the process of Brexit. The main

question of this research thus is: What is the proper post-Brexit identity for the Brits to reflect their independent status and reach the status of a global market to compete the world's superpowers?

Accordingly, this study will shed light on the social impact of Brexit which covers mainly the psychology of the British and specifically their identity; in other words, the identification as Americans, Europeans, British or English after Brexit. The British decision, thereupon, will be made with dependence on: the goal of Brexit that is independence, the final Deal to be reached, and the aspect of the English language being; first, a crucial element in the formation of identity, and second, a fundamental aspect in the definition of globalization. Starting from these points, this study aims at answering the following questions:

1. What is the historical background of the British identity? Which part(s) of the British identity led to Brexit?
2. Is Britain leaving Europe or the European Union only? And why is it abandoning Europeanism?
3. How and what challenges would affect the decision of the British people concerning their post-Brexit identity?
4. What impact does the Brexit Deal have on the identity of the English and how would the former change the latter?

In accordance with the research questions, objectives of this study will serve as affirmations for the possible answers to the addressed issues within the broader problem. First, the inhabitants of Britannia land are an amalgamation of different tribes, thus the first objective of this study is to indicate the component traits of Britishness that led to positive vote for Brexit. Furthermore, this research aims at discussing the British stand towards the

European Integration project, and the resulting relation between Britishness and Europeanism. The following objective is to enlist and indicate the link between the challenges facing the post-Brexit British identity formation. Lastly, a link is aimed to be made throughout this study between independence (Brexit's main objective), Brexit Deal, and the English language because these are the interdependent factors to answer the main question.

The rationale that pushed towards investigating this topic is because Brexit is a fertile land and a new topic where assumptions could be made and predictions about the different aspects evolving around the matter could be enlisted. One of the aspects involves the social dimension of the phenomenon which will be narrowed down in this research to the specific point tackling the British identity's new possible post-Brexit face. This specific idea was indeed discussed and still is, but in relation to the notion of freedom by the British that they claim has been stolen from them since Britain's accession to the EEC, also in relation to the fact that the official language of England has become a global language. Thus, this combination of thoughts received little attention, and so it is going to constitute the core of this study.

Existing literature on the topic of this research encompasses both primary and secondary resources from speeches and online surveys to books, articles, dissertations and blogs. A number of keywords and concepts will be explained with reliance on the sources used to construct this research. First, in relation to identification and the construction of national identities, the article entitled *Identity Constructions and European Integration: Great Britain as Reluctant European* by Hans-Joachim Knopf provides insight on the operation of national identities that he explains with reliance on social psychological theories which state that identities are stable; Knopf illustrates the British identity; however, this illustration contradicts the evolution of Britishness and this latter's attempts of adaptation to

the country's national and international challenges and crises like Brexit. The main ideas discussed by Knopf concerns the consideration of the nation as a psychological group; hence he projects the psychological group formation system on the construction of national identity. He explains in details both operations with the introduction of new terminology like ingroup (the group or the setting where an individual feels like belonging to because of the shared perception(s) about the nation's sovereignty, the shared history, and the shared perception about the nation's role in the future) and outgroup (the 'other' group which does not share the aforementioned characteristics with the ingroup).

Krishan Kumar on the other hand goes broader, studying the British identity at the political and economic level within the frame of internationalism in his article entitled *Nation and Empire: English and British National Identity in Comparative Perspective*. He emphasizes the article's elaboration on comparison between Britishness and Englishness and how the latter has been neglected by scholars. He concludes that Englishness would face hardships to perform independently because of the long existence of Britishness.

Linda Colley shares with Kumar the view that there is neglect on the part of scholars and she blames politicians the most; however, she believes that Britishness is the identification losing much of its significance. In her article *Does Britishness Still Matter in the Twenty-First Century-and How Much and How Well Do the Politicians Care?* She suggests change at the level of governance; dismiss old casualness, and suggests a move towards innovative and unusual focus by the Brits from all over the UK.

The idea about the link between the English language and the dream of independence of the British through Brexit is roughly analyzed by Timothy Garton-Ash in his weblog entitled *Is Britain European?* in which he discusses three major ideas: 1) The morphological structure of the word "Brexit". 2) The question about the insularity of Britain in times of

crises and its shift to become European, American or part of the whole world. 3) The Writer ends his article with the idea that England and Britain have always been in wars and conflicts and it became part of their identity that the ability to survive those conflicts is what defined them as an English-speaking empire or as an English-speaking constitutional monarchy. This is partly true, but there is also the state of being once a world power with the largest navy and the commercial dominance which Timothy Garton-Ash fails to capture in this weblog.

In the first two chapters of her doctoral dissertation entitled *Losing an Empire, Losing a Role?: the Commonwealth Vision, British Identity, and African Decolonization, 1959-1963*, Emily-Lowrance Floyd provides a different perspective for the British empire's collapse which is that there is a link between the British identity and the process of decolonization. She confirms this hypothesis through reliance on thorough analysis of the Whiggish discourse and vision which entails that Britain shifted its role from an imperial ruler to a neocolonial governor, which resulted in Britishness changing its identifying cause from imperial and missionary to democratic and liberal head of dependencies. Despite being just historical overview on both the relation between Britishness and the British Empire, and the emergence of the Whiggish vision and its relation to the Empire, the two chapters contributed to the development of this dissertation's first chapter.

Stephen Green gives an answer to the question concerning the identity crisis resulting from Brexit in his work *Brexit and the British: Who Are We Now?* (2017) He discusses in an affirmative tone: the reaction of the British to the result of their votes on Brexit with illustrations of statements from normal citizens. Then he states the historical challenge for a post-Brexit global Britain; he also confirms the ties that bind the British and Europeans. On the other hand, Green questions the situation amidst Brexit, the circumstances that led to Brexit, and nowadays British character. Then he doubts the relation between Brexit and global Britain that he later mentions another challenge for a world power post-Brexit Britain

which is the possibility of the UK's dispersion. At the end, he suggests a possible criterion for a fitting British identity to become a global country and preserve this status. What Green calls a 'mature global' Britishness is to accept the old identification of Europeanism and simultaneously welcome the new openness to the world. This identification does not align with what Brexit really aims at which is to dismiss the old identification of the British with Europeanism that was brought with the membership in the EU.

This work is classified in the Humanities because it involves the study of the English language which is a cultural aspect, states the history of the independent variable that is Brexit and illustrates the psychological dimension of the British which is their identity. It approaches the topic historically and analytically through the employment of methods of a qualitative, descriptive and correlational nature where collected data are simultaneously described and analyzed, criticized, and the nonexperimental relation between the variables is explained. Tools of collecting data encompass speeches, books, articles and videos.

The present research comprises three chapters. The first chapter covers the historic and thematic development of the British identity from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. It provides an insight on the evolution of Britishness according to the historic circumstances of the land, then the risks threatening the survival of Britishness. The second chapter is a combination of purely historical and economic overview of Brexit and the latter's contribution to the rise of identity crisis among the British between Britishness and Europeanism. The last chapter incorporates the ideas from previous chapters to analyze and explain the identity crisis, and draw a conclusion about the most appropriate identity for a global Britain or England based on the significant role of the English language in reaching the destined goal.

Chapter One: The Evolution of Britishness from 17th to 20th Century

Introduction:

Britishness as an idea was superimposed since England expanded its territory to include lands all over the globe, but initially the English laws were extended to incorporate each of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland under one political union. The imperialist thrives of England and its missionary cause of sharing knowledge had planted their seeds in the 1600s. Thus, the emancipation from medieval traditions and England's feudal system thanks to the divorce from the Roman Catholic Church, the national security through the navy and the sea wall, and the growth of interest in science and reason, drew altogether the English journey towards developing a unified nationalism embracing their destiny of expansion. In the end, Britishness was the nationalism that was resumed to cover the United Kingdom and a number of overseas countries. This chapter presents a historical development of the notion of Britishness and stresses its solid foundation that made this identification survive the bullets that targeted its essence of unity.

1.1. Religious identification of Britain:

The English belonged, as stated by Krishan Kumar, to an "imperial nation with double senses" (588). It was a combination of an external or overseas empire, and internal or land empire. England's internal expansion reached Scotland and Ireland with the former being parliamentary united with England in 1707, and the latter being annexed to the Kingdom in 1801. As a result, the kingdom has had embraced a variety of entities in addition to numerous and larger causes which "made meaningless the development of a special English national identity" (Kumar 589). Instead, the creation of one inclusive identity would be adequate and more effectively serve the new political entity. The British identity thus became the identity with which the inhabitants of this internal empire were identified, as Britons. Given this imperial nation has large causes; its first ground was religious. Britain was the Protestant nation that was destined to sustain the Protestant faith against the counter-

Reformation campaigns. Eventually, it succeeded by eliminating the emblems of the Catholic belief, namely France and Spain. With this victory, Britain marked the edge features of its nationhood (Kumar 587, 588).

According to Krishan Kumar, Protestantism and the British Empire sculptured the British identity of the eighteenth century. In fact, Protestantism contributed to the endurance and survival of the empire through its view of peace. Catholic monarchs ruled over the population through autocracy and despotism; they tried to keep their people distant from life on earth and constantly reminded through punishments those who made the slightest attempt to think out of the box. Therefore, the Catholic system of absolute power exercised over the people resulted usually in bloodshed and revolution. Protestantism; however, in accordance with the English imperialist principle, did not beat the drum to demonstrate its dominance. As a movement, Protestantism was not made state-based; it was just like the British empire (and mostly all other empires) which led to the outbreak of ethnic clashes (English, Scottish or Irish) through declaring the Crown, the Parliament, Protestantism and the British empire as the elements identifying the new political entity (Kumar 588). Notably with the reduction of ethnic homogenization, the British Empire excluded the possibilities of dispersion of inferiority among its subjects. Also, without the sort of loyalty to institutions of government, there could have emerged: revolutions calling for freedom from domination, the awakening of ethnicities, and thus the rise of nationalism which was a sign of the Empire's collapse. Briefly, Protestantism set a solid ground for the British Empire. The former gave the British the impression as being the example of parliamentary government and the model of peaceful progress (589).

The success of Reformation in Great Britain put the Britons in the mindset of becoming the "protestant nation" that is meant to be *God's elect* to uphold Protestantism

despite the dominance of Catholicism in neighbouring nations. Britons' belief that they are chosen and they have a constant enemy was encouraged by God and their British past. They believed that all the bloody and peaceful events of the past happened under God's watch and influence, sent by God as signs for the Britons to realize their special mission and purpose on earth. However, Protestants in the internal British Empire were overwhelmed with fear and embattlement by Counter-Reformation countries in continental Europe. Along the first half of the eighteenth century, Protestants in Britain were kept alarmed of any Catholic armed attack; they were under threat of taking away their identification (Colley 2003: 42). Nevertheless, Britons first hoped to survive, then owned victory, and finally could identify themselves and their purpose thanks to the Bible, literary works, and homilies¹. "*The Pilgrim's Protest*" by John Bunyan, an allegory published in London between 1678 and 1684 which fuelled mass patriotism through its provision of hope of victory regardless of the "indomitable struggle" (46). "*The Book of Martyrs*" (1563) by John Foxe kindled the flames of patriotism through its focus on the Roman Catholicism's relation to religious persecution (Colley 2003: 45). To sum up, Britons learnt that their purpose was to preserve their Protestantism against Catholicism whatever the cost. Hence, they would describe themselves as *martyrs* for this mission because they believed that they were "in God's special care" and their fight and struggle was their birthright; thus, their sacrifice was victory to satisfy God (Ibid, 47).

Historically, Britain's war with France in the mid eighteenth century ended in the British favour as they expanded their Empire, and although this was the result, part of the motives of North Americans were religious, as Jonathan Bratten stated. Jonathan argued that the French-Indian War or the Seven Years War (1754-1763) resulted in the modelling of the public policy by the religious rhetoric "at times when wars for religion were supposed to have ended."⁽³⁾ In detail, clergy protestants' words were influential as their voices were heard

¹ A homily is a religious discourse or advice that is written or spoken. While sermon is the spoken form of this composition and it is performed by a priest.

from British patriots when victory was announced in 1763. Protestant politicians as well spread words that the French are Catholics and their defeat meant the reduction of the Catholic threat (Bratten 7). Regardless of the different motives of the “religious colonists and the secular residents of the home country”, William Warren Sweet stated that Protestant England and Catholic French swamped North America in their conflict for imperial expansion as well as for religious supremacy (qtd. in Bratten). On the other hand, the historian Fred Anderson argued that this war was not merely for expansion of the British Empire, but also for the colonists to detach from Europe and Indians by defeating France through the help of Britain² (qtd. in Bratten). North Americans thus identified themselves as British and enjoyed the triumph over France. After 1763, North America was declared protestant under the wings of the British Empire (Bratten 9, 10).

Britishness of the eighteenth century was a form of nationalism that was principally a religious identification. During this century, a quick and remarkable transformation took place in the island of the farthest west of Europe: Great Britain became the British Empire. Britishness thus became a larger imperial nationalism, and it declared Protestantism as the religion of its individuals. Through a mixture of the British religious past and its religious belief in Protestantism’s supremacy, “it was made all the easier . . . to tie the larger identity to a religious cause.” (Kumar 595).

1.2. Economic Identification:

As a continuation for the two previous centuries’ journey towards progress, the 1800s performed as the real world experimental field for the 1600s and 1700s’ scientific theories. The process was given the name “industrialization” under the tent of the Industrial

²Fred Anderson. The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War (New York: Penguin Books, 2005) 53.

Revolution. According to Britannica, this process started in 1760 in all parts of Great Britain to expand afterwards to the world. Given the fact that nationalism is, in its modern understanding, a belief in the nation's achievements; it could be concluded that Britishness of the nineteenth century stemmed from Britain's economic achievement through the Industrial Revolution. However, this was not the case; at least until the late nineteenth century. Because it was a transition from an agrarian to an industrial society and a replacement of the handicraft with the machine, the majority of the working class therefore were found jobless. There resulted a social gap between the classes which implied the absence of a common sense of belonging. This working class wanted to belong, so they rebelled and violently manifested but this behaviour was superfluous because eventually they were either killed or outcast until Sir Robert Peel was appointed as Prime Minister in the British government. His first premiership covered the end of criminology, food shortages, unemployment; in addition to the flourishing of trade. By the end of his second premiership in 1846, Britain was secure and wealthy thanks to international trade.

According to Wikipedia, the Victorian Age set the ground for new values, allowed for political life to flourish, filled the British atmosphere with new trends of thought, embraced the Industrial Revolution that brought hopes for economic thrive, and finally crowned Britain as the largest empire in the world. The new rising industrial power was embraced by the fresh and young eighteen-year-old Queen Victoria. As she reached her thirties, Victorian values were being sculptured. They encompassed hard work, self-help, seriousness of character and thrift that shaped the contemporary British identity. Success and earning status in society advocated for hard individual effort with no reliance on heritage or government. The new age of industry and machinery gave the term utilitarianism a stronger sense as the machine marked the mastery of rationalism over emotions; consequently, Victorians insisted on rationality to rule over the individual. This new philosophy allowed for the rapid spread of

banks, cooperatives and friendly societies as individuals or groups spent money only on necessities and therefore the rest was saved to prepare for the instability of the future. The Great Exhibition of 1851 undoubtedly reflected the effect of Victorianism. It was an event that stressed the British superiority in the field of industry, in addition to being a presentation of the successful free trade, peace, wealth and international power exemplified by Britain³.

Nevertheless, being identified by industry as the workshop of the world came in contrast with individualism that was growing during the Victorian age; many people amidst economic progress were fixated on their goals to achieve wealth and earn social status⁴. This sort of thinking was the by-product of the government's strategy and the new philosophy of the Victorian age to keep Britons at home unaware of what was happening in the overseas empire. Bernard Potter mentioned that newspapers at the time backed the strategy by prioritizing domestic affairs and leaving the colonial news as the last matter to tackle. He also stated that history was not taught in classes. Awareness of the imperial events by the population at home might be as Professor Stephen Howe described it "destabilising for the government and rulers of the empire." So with this detachment from the lively conditions of the colonized, the question is whether the latter would identify themselves as British. Shockingly, numbers of educated elites in the Caribbean, Southern Africa, Bengal and other places identify themselves as British. While the US, Ireland, and Germany left the debate about their membership in this Diaspora opened.⁵

As much as the industrial revolution echoed in the world and even in its nanny country Britain, it enriched Britain as a state but kept its working class in their miserable conditions. By the end of the mid-19th century, Sir Robert Peel had indeed improved the

³Against The Current Productions. Britishness: In Search for a National Identity 1. Fragile Beginnings(Youtube, 2014).

⁴ibid.

⁵ ibid.

situations for the working class who were replaced by the machinery force, but change was enacted only when social reforms resulted in granting the right to vote for: urban skilled workers in 1867, and rural farmers in 1884. By the time the middle-liberal classes⁶ were declining from the late 1870s onwards, the working classes were thriving towards success by adopting the same values that helped the middle classes to earn their rank in society (McDowall 141-143). Thus, it was only by the end of this century that all Britons at home could identify themselves with industrialism. In 1840, however, the Industrial Revolution reached its end as the second quarter of the century announced the expansion of the empire after its remarkable success at the battle of Waterloo in 1815. Britain at the time decided to give its people a new cause in affiliation with industrialization; it was the weight of the ‘white man’s burden’ to civilize the weak and lawless peoples around the world. The British in fact saw their character fit for the mission because of the British embodiment of “free institutions and parliamentary government” and their Anglo-Saxon heritage (Kumar 590).

1.3. Imperial and Missionary Identification:

The nineteenth century Britain was the leading imperial power. During the first decade of this century, Britain was fighting its constant enemy and rival that is France. The fight resulted in Ireland pooling its parliament to the British through the Act of Union in 1801, and by 1815 France witnessed huge loss of its Napoleonic large empire. In addition to the remnants of Britain's first great North American empire, and nowadays Canada and the Indian Subcontinent that provided economic insurance⁷, the British government decided to expand its territory outside Europe-unlike its continental neighbours who were combining lands on the continent. It was high time for the Kingdom to give significance to its economic achievement, to provide Britons greater sense of identification and greater purpose by adding

⁶Middle-liberal classes were the product of the Industrial Revolution. They earned their status because they followed Victorian values.

⁷ *ibid.*

the cause of missionary imperialism to industrialization. According to Krishan Kumar, missionary imperialism is one kind of national belongings in which the dominant group does not identify itself with its ethnic origin but with its destiny of “the political, cultural or religious mission to which they have been called.”(579-580) Thus, Imperial nationalism and missionary nationalism are interlinked since the national group recognizes its existence with the mission that they believe are dedicated to accomplishing a large imperial cause. This group exhibits an intense feeling of loyalty, emotional attachment and fervour of patriotism towards the empire, its principles, or the ruling dynasty. Thus, this ethnic group “gets its principal identity and sense of belonging ... from its role as carrier of the imperial mission.”(Kumar 579)

The so-called “state-bearing people” in other empires are “the standard bearers of modernity and progress” in the British Empire (Kumar 590). Their cause is civilization of weak and lawless peoples as mentioned earlier. The British thus saw themselves fit for this imperial mission more than their other European neighbours because of the British trading system, its parliamentary government and its imperial genetic heritage. They indeed formed an empire that was different from other Europeans’ empires that the colonies became ‘lands of opportunity’ for British emigrants. The empire provided a new sense of freedom; Britons became able to travel, to move and to practice freely any activity in lands that were once under the sovereignty of its own peoples. Therefore, Britishness in this sense encompassed freedom. However in the economic discourse, Professor Dennis Judd from the New York University in London stated that freedom was supposed to be part of the British national identity, but since Britishness might have come to a cliff with the introduction of Free Trade theory⁸, this notion served no more as an element in the definition of Britishness. Stephen

⁸Against The Current Productions. Britishness: In Search for a National Identity 2. Ruling the Waves (Youtube, 2015).

Howe argued that free traders advocated for an informal empire which in the British case was that bloodshed ought to be avoided under the empire's dominance; that is the avoidance of the use of arms or presence of troops during the imperial mission⁹. However, there were instances when problems occurred in specific frontiers of the empire that called for one and only reaction on the part of the British politicians that is direct control. In the late nineteenth century, physical and political control became the British strategy to stop other imperialists to take over British colonies which allowed for reverting freedom to the imperial Britishness.

The rise of economic and imperialist rivals urged Britain to conclude that its economic strength laid in more unity. In such threatening circumstances, the empire became seen as a unified defensive shield and one unit for shared economic development. Nevertheless, the empire was at risk because of the possibility of colonies becoming unable to self-sufficing their needs. Only then the burden would become outweighed or worse become borne by the rest of the society while the privileged classes take over all the benefits.¹⁰ In the end, Britishness or the common imperial British identity was not believed to be the reason for the long survival of the empire. Trevor Lloyd believes that the British strength in the first decades of the nineteenth century came from its internal industrial development (64). Thus, it was unnecessary to empower the country by colonizing other territories.

1.4. The Loss of the British Empire:

Geographically, the British Empire covered a “quarter of the world land surface and more than one quarter of its population” by the end of the nineteenth century¹¹. It can be argued that it started losing power over its territories once it allowed the system of self-

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. British Empire. “Dominance and dominions.” (Encyclopaedia Britannica: 2020).

governing - though it appointed governor-generals who pay allegiance to the British government. Since this system was put into effect in 1847 with the colony of Canada becoming a dominion¹², this year hence was a landmark in the history of modern nationalism and decline of imperial power that one century ahead, the Empire started harvesting the outcome of self-governing with India in 1947 taking one step towards complete status of sovereignty. Such far-flung parts of the British Empire adopted the policy of completely controlling their internal affairs. After World War I (WWI), dominions became recognized as 'the British Commonwealth of Nations'. The concept and practice of independence spread to the colonies as well. Forthwith, Britain's loss of its thirteen colonies in America which created a gap in the British first Empire resulted in the British loss of a valuable part of their imperial identification as they connected themselves with the shared history and language with the Americans¹³. Additionally, away from the rich Indian subcontinent, Britain emerged as a less-powerful imperial force with fading imperial identification. And with its evacuation from Palestine in 1948 because of its exhausted situation after the Second World War (WWII), in addition to its withdrawal from the Suez Canal in 1956, the British position in the Middle East started to collapse¹⁴. Slowly, the British Empire lost its colonies in Africa and Asia and with its membership in NATO and later in the EEC, the position of its Commonwealth became at stake¹⁵.

In the words of Krihsan Kumar, "nationalism aided by wars . . . has been the main solvent of the modern empires." (579) Accordingly, Britishness with its imperial sense lost much of its existence after the Second World War. Colonies, protectorates and even dominions realized that their status in the political world shall be as independent nations and

¹² A dominion is a country whose former status was a colony, and once they were "obtained complete control over their international affairs ... they were granted a new status of dominions."

¹³ Charles E. Nowell. Western colonialism. "The growth of informal empire." (Encyclopaedia Britannica: 2020).

¹⁴ Charles E. Nowell. "British decolonization, 1945_56."

¹⁵"British decolonization after 1956."

states with the spread of the notion of 'independence'. Britain's land possessions indeed contributed to the Empire's power and profit, but the British government realized that the collapse of the empire became a foregone conclusion. It also came to decay the idea of the country's power being laid in its territorial possessions all over the world. Therefore, once nationalists became no longer enthusiastic with the idea of local autonomy under the protection of the British navy in particular, the United Kingdom as Trevor Lloyd described decided to abandon its possessions being more of an exhaustion than a provision (169).

At the other end, there are different views in regards to the collapse of the British Empire. The Whiggish vision, for instance, implies the benignity of the British Empire's teleology in liberating the world. Emily Lowrance-Floyd stresses that this vision advocates that decolonization was part of the British plan for a modern and unique retreated empire in a form of commonwealth of nations (33). It was an aim that once was reached, Nicholas Owen states that Britain had considered it a success, or "...a national achievement..." (qtd. in Floyd 34). Moreover, Floyd states that the Whiggish vision of the British Empire was that it was based on a program of *transmission* of the British liberal politics and economic development to peoples in the world (33). This program is assumed to be processed throughout two phases: the first could be demonstrated in the action of colonization through which colonizers-the British specifically- claimed to be "civilizing" and helping the colonized to develop their economy through the help of the British successful economic experience. The latter provided the British with the priority to carry on this imperial mission. This superior attitude was reinforced when they claimed through Whiggish lenses that decolonization as the second phase of their imperial planned programme was about, Piers Brendon explains, "putting British [democratic] ideals of its liberal politics or "self-government into practice"¹⁶ to approve the success of its programme. The British thus after decolonization found themselves

¹⁶Piers Brendon, A Moral Audit of the British Empire (History Today, 2007) 44-47, qtd. in Floyd 35.

in a self-congratulatory phase where they celebrated this “national achievement” of their Empire’s end as being “ a quiet and easy death”, Ronald Hyam (qtd. in Floyd 35). According to Paul Ward, this analysis therefore is assumed to have been implemented in the British national identification¹⁷; that decolonization was a successful and deliberate end of which the public became proud of.

John Strachey believed that the peaceful dissolution of the British Empire engraved its effects in the national psyche of the British, the imperial people who were proud of the end of their empire in freedom (qtd. in Floyd 54). The responses to the moral challenges of the Empire being summed up in the establishment of the Commonwealth and indirect rule, and the swift shift from decolonization to self-governing that is the Whiggish vision, allowed for preventing possible rupture at the level of British national identification during the end of the empire (55). Because they were superiors in nature, they believed in their Empire’s fate of decline and graciously considered it a triumph and national achievement. It can be assumed that they regarded it as one phase in their long journey towards dominance and global power; that Britishness after the loss of the British Empire became identified with a new cause that is liberalization and democratization.

1.5. Britishness with the Rise of the Commonwealth:

Dr Duncan Bell from the University of Cambridge believed that Greater Britain’s diminishment would be through democratization which would result in the end of the Empire¹⁸. This would thus mark the dissociation of ‘imperial’ Britishness. It has been argued that the imperial mission had shifted the British attention to focus on imperial and missionary identification. However, by the late-19th another force pushed against this identification;

¹⁷qtd. in Emily Lowrance-Floyd 38.

¹⁸Against The Current Productions. [Britishness: In Search for a National Identity 2. Ruling the waves](#) (Youtube, 2015).

peoples entered the journey of nationhood and freedom of ruling. The nation-states¹⁹ notion was spreading worldwide “and nation began to feel the need to define itself as an *ethnie*, as a self-sufficient, organic entity with its own principles of development, its own ‘soul’.” (Kumar 591) Individuals linked freedom to their identification as people in the sense of national own language, own history, own literature and own values (591, 592). However, this voice demanding for a national identity was soon muted as the whole world became absorbed in the subversive armed conflicts: WWI and WWII.

In reality, Emily Lowrance-Floyd stated in her doctoral thesis that defenders of the British Empire believed that demands of colonies for self-governing and freedom to run internal affairs are the result of imitation of the successful British democratic and liberal rule. Under these circumstances, the British Empire was developed in the early twentieth century into Dominions under the tent of Greater Britain²⁰. It became more of a ‘free’ empire: an extension of British liberties as Emily described. Consequently, a moral challenge was presented that in order to maintain this extension and this free empire, British liberties had to be spread worldwide. The Commonwealth was hence the means to reach the end about maintenance of that extension (Floyd 43, 44). Ronald Robinson believed that the Commonwealth is a continuation of the British Empire. The historian Keith Hancock argued that the issue between *imperium* and *libertas*²¹ is resolved in the creation of the Commonwealth as the association where free peoples favour “liberty, equality and fraternity

¹⁹A nation state is a sovereign state (having its own government) dominated or ruled by a particular ethnicity that unite citizens or subjects by factors such as unique laws, traditions, language, and common history, which gives the nation its unique nature.

²⁰ Greater Britain is a term given to the British dominions such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand which played a remarkable role in the political life of the British Empire. The superlative ‘greater’ denotes either the extension of the Empire (the continuation of the motherland ‘Britannia’), or the utopian version of Britain set by those white settlements.

²¹ According to Emily Lowrance-Floyd, *imperium et libertas* are two contradictory words that created a “conundrum” as she described. *imperium* refers to “conquest and martial virtues” while *libertas* refers to self-governing and liberties. According to Ronald Robinson in Oxford and the Ideal of Commonwealth: Essays Presented to Sir Edgar Williams.“Oxford in Imperial Historiography”.eds. Frederick Madden and D.K. Fieldhouse (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 34. The Commonwealth resolved the conundrum of this contradiction as it is an extension of imperial rule through democracy and liberty.

of self-government” (qtd. in Emily 44). All arguments considered, it can be concluded that Britishness had been operating even after the end of the British Empire yet with a different mission. Post-empire’s Britishness is the belief in the cause of liberating the formerly British colonies through means of democracy and respect to modern liberties and freedom.

The Commonwealth after the Second World War became Britain’s card to keep playing the game of global dominance and power maintenance. Thus, the peoples in the dominions became significant component in the identification of Britishness. Additionally, the existence of national barriers between Britain and the countries of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the former did not gain much from trade with the latter. Christian Schweiger states that total annual average calculated with only twelve per cent between 1954 and 1956 (32). Indeed, the Commonwealth as a third circle of the UK’s foreign policy interest, served as a great asset until the mid-1950s when international mood of nationalism and freedom prompted the globe, the UK’s trade relations with Western Europe began, and relationship with the United States started to grow (32). This transition demonstrated Britain’s change of its foreign policy priorities. In the final analysis, the unbuckling of Britain’s ties with the Commonwealth contributed to the slow disconnection of the latter’s inhabitants from being identified as British.

1.6. Between Britishness and National identities:

Winston Churchill described that interest in Britishness was resumed to the thought that Britain belongs to no continent when external threat is reduced (Kumar 590). Krishan Kumar argues that national identities were muted because of the state of war in the world. It would have been absurd and distasteful if; for example, the English group asked for political form of Englishness while the whole empire, the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth were fighting side by side to protect the carrier British entity (592). It was until the second

half of the twentieth century that political accommodation of national identities started to take place. David Sanders in the words of Schweiger, “a growing number of former Empire countries gaining national independence”²², Britain then had no alternative but to shift towards Western Europe and the United States to protect its economy and pursue its objective to keep its status as a world power (32). Consequently, it is highly probable that this shift marked the beginning of emergence of Europeanism and mostly Americanism planting their seeds in the British identification soil. Britishness therefore might have faded with the loss of the Commonwealth²³.

In the 1980s, Britishness was being resumed to the counted number of Britain’s overseas territories, and the countries within the United Kingdom. It is also due to the change of status of British subjects to national citizens under the British Nationality Act of 1948 that ethnic national identities began to surmount Britishness during the second half of the twentieth century. Markedly, Kumar states that the United Kingdom witnessed a shake from its parts. The Scots decided to grab on the opportunity of the North Sea oil discovery in 1970 to take their independence and join the European Integration project. The Welsh demanded for a separate assembly. While the Irish were suffering religious struggle between Catholics and Protestants with the latter being mostly English. Thus, England almost lost the entire Irish land because of the headaches resulting from religious disagreement, and constant conflict leading up to the border issue between the Republic and Northern Ireland (Kumar 593). Under these circumstances, Britishness of the United Kingdom grew to a point of

²²qtd. in Christian Schweiger. Britain, Germany and the Future of the European Union. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 32.

²³The US might have a hand in the decline of Britain’s centre in the commonwealth. As commonly known, the US advocates for Human rights and liberties and this might have reached countries under dominance of empires through the elites or the bourgeoisie in the alleged countries, or through natives who were sent to study abroad in Europe or America. Trevor Llyod argues that the United States encouraged movements of independence as manifestation of its hostility towards imperialism in addition to stopping Communist expansion (168). (see *Losing an Empire, Losing a Role?: The Commonwealth Vision, British Identity, and African Decolonization, 1959-1963* By Emily Lowrance-Floyd, 50). The US’ aim is to push the UK towards Europe and the EEC for America to develop close relations with Europe’s powers such as France and Germany.

debate with the English namely and unconsciously having scratched their pride and superiority of being the core of the values and principles on which Britishness stood since the feeling came to existence. Nevertheless, those nationalist feelings were contained by media and political speeches which captured the matter of Britain's membership in the EEC as one British national cause around which all British citizens inside and outside the UK should gather and should prioritize over other regional issues. All in all, although the loss of the Commonwealth broke Britain's cause of liberalization and democratization, Britishness as a nationalism was assigned with a new mission; it is one to achieve co-existence and acceptance of the once rejected 'other', Continental Europe.

Conclusion:

Britons went from religious to industrial to imperial identification throughout the three centuries preceding the twentieth century. They were the ingroup being driven by the urge to protect and spread Protestantism, then to share with mankind the economic knowledge and progression of the Industrial Revolution. Their tool therefore was territorial expansion whatever the costs. Being the outgroup for the Brits who seized their lands, ethnic nationalists unwelcomed the British but the latter imposed their presence, and pushed the natives to unconsciously attach Britishness to their identification. However, natives rebelled against the physical and moral imperial dominance which resulted in stretching back Britishness to its narrowed geographical limits. Sooner, the Brits drank from the same vessel and were forced to sit down on the same table with whom they always considered the outgroup, Europe. Britishness thus along the late twentieth century and up to the twenty-first century has been challenged by Europeanism.

Chapter Two: Britain, the Awkward

Partner (1960-2021)

Introduction:

In an attempt to create one hegemonic body, where the variety of interests of the different nations in Europe are expected to be perceived by each nation as its own, the European countries decided to put the second thoughts about ‘ United States of Europe’ into action. Initially, the European Coal and Steel Community was created to avoid economic confrontation between Germany and France. Then the Community broadened its concept to create a single market under the European Economic Community. Finally, the project embraced political and social integration through the establishment of the European Union (EU). Becoming a federal organization, the EU pooling up power from its member states to its level as a result of integration had backfired with possible disintegration of member states opposing supranationalism¹. An apparent example would be the UK which in addition to the EU’s failure to manage the 2008 global crisis and debt crisis which created the suitable prompt for some sort of cultural fragmentation to take place, Britain came out of this phenomenon as reverting to its citizenship through disintegrating from the European citizenship.

2.1. Britain during the Creation of the ECSC and the EEC:

The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) is an agency that comprises set of institutions which are prioritized after its central institution, the High Authority. The latter is considered a critical body that governs the Community through controlling the productions and the free flow of coal and steel, fixing prices and removing tariffs, finally aiming at creating a free market within the community². The ECSC traces its roots back to the Schuman Plan. The French foreign minister Robert Schuman suggested the merger of the coal and steel

¹ According to Alistair Jones, Supranationalism is the process of ceding some extent of national decision making to a higher authority, although the decision making powers are limited to a specific issues. See Jones Alistair. Britain and the European Union (Edinburgh University Press, 2007) 102.

²The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. European Coal and Steel Community (Britannica: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2016).

industries of the European countries namely that of France and Germany which were likely to confront in the future, and hence recall the shredding events that once waved the stability and peace of the whole continent³. The Schuman Plan advocated for the idea of a common market.⁴

The following year, 1952 marked the signing of the Paris Treaty by the six founding members of the ECSC: Luxembourg, Netherlands, Belgium, France, Italy and Germany. Schuman's plan was however interrupted by Britain which sent an alternative of the plan in attempt to reduce the supranationalism of the Community⁵. Yet, the six members proceeded with the plan and signed the treaty on 18 April 1952. Britain was requested to join the ECSC but it turned down the offer claiming that it was not invited to the negotiations of the Schuman Plan. It also argued that the supranationalism of the Community controverts the power of the empire. Britain added that it had ensured its security by joining NATO, hence it is in no need for another institution's protection, especially that it agglomerates, as Bruce Carolan noted, "... a group of nations in which [they] have just saved four of them from the other two" (qtd. in Zebda 10).

Few years after the creation of the ECSC, the group of countries of this Community came to realize the success made by the unification of their coal and steel industry; consequently, they decided to expand the notion of the Community to involve all the economic sector of the member countries. In 1956, the Spaak Report⁶ was presented to the 'Six' member states and approved the following year through the signature of the Treaty of

³ "... France and Germany must take the lead together." Read in "United States of Europe" (International Churchill Society).

⁴ Sven Norberg and Martin Johansson. The History of the EEA Agreement and the First Twenty Years of its Existence (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2016) 7.

⁵ Ivan T. Berend. The History of European Integration: A new perspective (New York, Routledge, 2016) 41.

⁶ The Spaak Report is a description of the controlled features regarding further European integration through the establishment of the EEC and the Euratom. It was published by the Spaak Committee after its conference under the chairmanship of Paul-Henri Spaak. Read in Berki Roumaysa, The UK's Withdrawal from the EU and its Possible Future Implications on the UK's Economy (The University of 8 May 1945/ Guelma, 2018) 11-12.

Rome on 25 March 1957, that found the European Economic Community along with the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). The EEC paved the way for economic integration to reach its half journey by putting the idea of the common market into effect as one of its core groundings. This market was created to allow freedom of movement for capitals, goods, labour and services, that is the elimination of restrictions being illustrated in tariffs. Thus, the success of the Community was an invitation for the outer Seven to be part of the Community, among which it accepted the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark, Greece, Spain and Portugal.

Regardless of the internal economic abundance which “Britain [in the 1950s] have never had it so good” as Macmillan put it, and the UK-US’ special relationship that was developed especially after the two World Wars, Britain was forced to consider its membership in the EEC. First, in the late 1950s Britain’s economic performance was the lowest compared to the Western European’s. Second, the failure of the EFTA and the Suez Crisis pushed the Free-Trade advocate nation to look up the option of the Common Market. Third, according to Stephen George, the United Kingdom was motivated to join the Community and abandon its reluctance because of the growing fruitful economic links between the Commonwealth and the EEC as the Commonwealth used to hinder Britain’s membership because of the tariffs and arrangements between the two (37).

Consequently, Britain applied for EEC membership first in 1961 and second in 1967 but both applications were vetoed by the French president Charles De Gaulle. Gilbert M from *The Times* states that De Gaulle suspected Britain to be the US’ visa to ‘Americanize’ the Common Market (qtd. in Dogan). He also had economic anxieties illustrated in Britain’s assumptions to turn the Common Market into a Free Trade zone⁷. The first application

⁷ According to John Paul Salter’s *What is the difference between a free-trade area and a single market?*, A Free Trade Area is an arrangement where only goods have the advantage of free movement between the member

received rejection two years after its submission. De Gaulle justified his second vetoing with the weak economic conditions of Britain with the devaluation of the Pound Sterling that would harm the EEC's economy and currencies situation⁸. However, in fact, Britain's "native pragmatism [and] parliamentary experience", as Nicholls A.J put it, would grant her the managing post in the EEC (qtd. in Dogan). This advantage was to some extent driving De Gaulle's incentives to veto the UK's application to the Community since he had ambitions to lead the European members of the EC (George 35).

In 1970, the originally anti-European Prime Minister Harold Wilson was succeeded by the Pro-European Edward Heath whose premiership drew the landmark in both the European and British political arena. Once Heath became in office, the negotiations of accession began and quickly were resumed with the British success to join the EEC on 1 January 1973. According to Christian Schweiger, Britain could finally access the Common Market due to the membership bid offered by the Heath administration to the Community, and mainly because of the gradual negligence from the French part (23). Schweiger argues that Britain negotiated its membership on "unfavourable" terms. During the premiership of Edward Heath and when the economic benefits, that should have hit the UK once it became member of the EEC, did not materialize because Europe was hit by the Oil Crisis, the British public started manifesting as they were informed that the loose terms of the membership are in exchange with guarantees of promising economic prosper. Therefore, the circumstances and the facts resulted from the membership devastated the British expectations about the great European Common Market. In no time, the accession was put into question as the country witnessed no economic growth and the unemployment rates were rising (24).

countries in the area. Unlike the single or common market where labour, capital and goods are all allowed to move freely between the member countries. Yet, both approaches require unified tariff policy on external products.

⁸ David Weigall and Peter Strik, editors. The Origins and Development of the European Community (London: Leicester University Press, 1992) 131, 143.

2.2. The European Union in Motion:

The idea of unity moved from discretion to serious discussion and consideration after the nefarious leftovers of the Second World War which proved the negative impacts of dispersion on countries as separate pieces and on the world as one containing piece. The European Coal and Steel Community was created highlighting unity and integration. Not too long, the Community enlarged its territory to encompass not only Coal and Steel but the whole economy signing its new label ‘the European Economic Community’. The project of integration was crowned with the establishment of one of the successful organizations called ‘the European Union’.

The European Parliament marked the first step towards the European political integration. Its legislative power started to be energized with the foundation of the Single European Act (SEA) in 1987. The SEA is an agreement that was enacted by the EEC as an image of a unified front with more political and essentially economic aspects. Mathew J. Gabel states that the Single European Act granted the members of the Council a multiplicity of votes on all legislations which are related to the process of speeding up the completion of the common market. Significantly, Christian Schweiger argues that the member states were in charge of the Community’s fundamental decisions and that this accountability had curbed the supranationalist nature of the EU. On the whole, the long dive made by the SEA in the economic and political waves paved the way for an easy European Integration as being summed up in the creation of the European Union.

The execution of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 has set up the latest embodiment of the European integration, the European Union (EU). Socially, The Maastricht Treaty granted citizenship to all individuals from the member states, that is EU citizens were able “to vote and run for office in local and European Parliament.” (McDougall 2020) Furthermore, a

common currency (the euro) was to be used by the members except for the United Kingdom. The Treaty called for common security and foreign policy to be set in all EU states. Finally, The treaty “promoted common policies on crime, immigration, social welfare, and the environment” for the EU’s twenty-six member states (McDougall 2020). According to Mathew J. Gabel, it ensured its members’ security through Common Foreign and Security Policies. However, such policies faced obstacles in relation to matters of immigration, asylum and residency’s policies. The latter provided as cards for Eurosceptics to play against the process of European integration. An example would be the use of the immigration card by the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)⁹ and other Eurosceptic British parties to win more votes for Brexit.

Apparently, 16 September 1992 marked the first step of Britain’s exit from the European integration project. Because it could not maintain the value of their currencies within the exchange rate range among other EU currencies, the Bank of England announced the exit of the pound from the European Exchange Mechanism on the aforementioned date. ‘The Black Wednesday’ resulted in the empowerment of Eurosceptics¹⁰. Nevertheless, the departure of the Pound from the ERM and the failed attempts to participate in the Euro saved the UK when the European sovereign debt crisis hit the Euro-zone countries. Finally, issues like unemployment and inflation witnessed a fall down of their rates after the exit, which signalled the recovery of Britain since the swinging sixties of the twentieth century¹¹.

⁹In 1993, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) was founded by Alan Sked for the aim of the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union. In 2010, this party won with a minority of 3% with 900.000 votes, yet with no seats. However, in 2014 it won with 27% in the elections of the European Parliament strengthening its hostile current’s power inside the UK and the EU. See Michael Ray, United Kingdom Independence Party (Britannica: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2019).

¹⁰A person or a politician who developed sceptic feeling towards the European Union. They oppose any close connection between Britain and this organization.

¹¹Will Kenton. What Was Black Wednesday? (Investopedia, 2020).

2.3. Brexit on Doors:

It is evident to realize that the European Union's rules and regulations became countless, and its institutions grew bigger. The EU unified the security, international and trade policies. It established the European Central Bank which adopts the Euro, and set a Unified Visa "The Schengen" for its member states. This organization stood on a number of institutional pillars: the European Commission, the European Parliament, and both the European Council and the European Parliament which stood as legislative forces. There is also the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg. Thus, the British citizens became haunted with sense of dominance over their lives through dominance over their country. Within the EU, the seeds of Euroscepticism grew among the British both in the political scene and the streets. They thought agreeably that the real government is situated in faraway Brussels instead of nearby Westminster; the fact swerving the winds towards possible exit.

In addition to its supranationalist nature, the EU was facing a variety of problems as it welcomed a number of new countries. Ahmed El-Ghandour explains that the application of the economic policies on all countries fired back as there was disparity of power among the member states. Greece for example pulled down Germany and France to the bottom with its loan problem. As a solution, austerity law was enforced for each country to pay its dues. This issue therefore drove the Brits to consider the matter of Brexit petitioned inside the EU Parliament. The petition was signed by more than 100.000 British in 2011 to eventually result in the setup of a referendum on the matter. In the meantime, the British government was run by the remainder David Cameron whose majority of Conservative fellows voted against him and urged for the exit referendum. Markedly, the question of Britain's membership within the EU did not only divide parties within the general political spectrum, it dived deeper into the emergence of hostile current inside the parties themselves, inside the ruling Party

significantly. Politicians hence decided to contain this current to preserve the unity of the Conservative Party. Simultaneously, the problems of the EU were witnessing rapid exacerbation that this organization became more of a burden than a convenience. Britain at the time was at ease with its economy thriving because of its currency's autonomy from the Euro.¹²

The Union's economic problems formed one reason for Britain's exit. Ahmed El-Ghandour states that by 2014, the United Kingdom was receiving huge numbers of emigrants from Europe, and increased numbers of non-European immigrants as well after 2011. This issue was magnified by the media which captured this influx of immigrants as a significant issue as equal to the economic issues. The UKIP grabbed on the news and used the issue as a card to win anti-immigrants' votes. In 2015, the general elections took place where David Cameron promised a second public referendum on the matter of Brexit provided that the British ensured his victory. With UKIP by the Conservative side, the right wing party ensured its unity and won the elections. As promised, the referendum was set on June 23, 2016. Both Britain and the EU were not fully on board with Brexit and they thought the results would not end for the Brexiteers. But the Eurosceptics played on three sensitive cards: they stressed the EU's dominance over the UK, the large amounts of money being paid by Britain to the EU which, they claim, augments the accustomed budget for Britain by the EU, and finally immigration which resulted in unemployment and inflation in Britain. Consequently, the referendum results indicated approval of Brexit¹³.

Immigration cause empowered the Leave argument contrary to the Remain Campaign's argument that was based on the status of the British economy without the EU. Victory of Brexiteers stressed the British lineage to isolation and conservatism. They voted

¹² AJ+ "*kibrit*". Most Dangerous Divorce in History (YouTube: 2019).

¹³ AJ+ *Kibrit*.

for Brexit in fear from cultural trespass and losing workbenches for immigrants. According to statistics, it did not remain abstract feeling but rather it turned out to ‘hate crimes’ that increased to fifty-seven per cent in the year following the referendum¹⁴. Facing the results, the British government stood still as the referendum was used as means to reach an end and a promise that got affected. The EU’s request to Britain to send an official envoy with the final decision to activate Article 50 was answered. After the activation, the UK was given two years to draft an agreement and if the delay was exceeded, after 29 March 2019, Britain would be left with the option of ‘Hard Brexit’¹⁵.

Brexit in fact hinged between Hard Brexit and No Deal Brexit. The Latter entails Britain’s exit with no transition period in addition to the use of standard International Trading Rules which means the immediate set up of border checks and tariffs. Such end might result in; first, economic crash and huge delays at the borders of the UK and the EU, and second, food and medical supplies shortages as well¹⁶; which could have put the UK in a difficult position during the Covid-19 pandemic. No Deal creates a problem for EU leaders who were obliged to install hard borders in the UK, and with Northern Ireland as part of the kingdom, this could have renewed the struggle between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland which was dormant for twenty years. To avoid the fight, Irish hard Brexiteers suggested the abandonment of this procedure, but this was not compatible with EU laws. Nevertheless, this deal had its advantages as well as its disadvantages; on the one hand, it granted Britain the set up of its own borders and policies on migration with EU citizens being protected in Britain, while on the other hand, the British would be left unprotected in territories of the Union.

¹⁴ [Hate crime is unacceptable in any circumstances say the police](#) (NPCC: 2016).

¹⁵ ‘Hard Brexit’ refers to the UK’s definitive departure politically and economically. It would grant Britain freedom in setting rules, regulations, and trade deals with other countries as it was banned from the latter since the moment it joined the EEC. Although it is a strict deal, it offered immigrants protection and free movements before 2021. However, EU citizens must apply for “settled status” in order to guarantee this right. The advocates of Hard Brexit or the Conservative MPs thought of this deal as the accurate strategy to restore UK democracy. See Channel 4 News. [Brexit explained: what happens when the UK leaves the EU?](#) (YouTube: 2018).

¹⁶ Channel 4 News.

At the end, Boris Johnson announced the final Brexit free-trade deal with the EU on Christmas Eve 2020. He stated that it is Canada style free-trade deal which protects jobs in the country, allows goods to move freely, that is with no tariffs or quotas¹⁷ in the EU market¹⁸. The prime minister described this deal as a ‘comprehensive kind of a deal’ since it covers trade, finance, and labour movement. It is tariff and quota-free trade regarding goods. Moreover, fish industry entered a transition period of a five years-and-a-half during which the EU will have access to the British sea, however, as the time passes the access will be reducing until the end of the Transition period when both parts will negotiate a new agreement depending on the status quo¹⁹.

As for the sector of services, it remains behind shadows although the Prime Minister was asked for a clarification concerning the matter by Tom Newton Dunn from the Times Radio. Boris Johnson as an answer cited examples of services such as practicing law unconstrained around the European Union, in addition to the presence of talks about financial services contributing to the prosper of the dynamic city of London²⁰. This sector creates a sense of concern for the UK because it requires barriers in trading services which in the case of the UK will cost quite a lot as “more of 79% of the UK GDP²¹ comes from the service sector” and 65% is provided from the financial sector alone to the British GDP²². This Brexit Deal restricts the free movement of services and capitals yet people were granted visa-free for up to ninety days both in the UK and the EU. The UK opted out from the ERASMUS+

¹⁷ Tariffs are the amounts of money paid to the government on goods coming into the country. Quotas are the official allowed shares of something that an individual or group receive or contribute with.

¹⁸BBC. [Boris Johnson announces UK and EU trade deal @BBC News live – BBC](#) (YouTube: 2020).

¹⁹TLDR News. [How a Brexit Deal Was Reached on Christmas Eve: The EU and UK Finally Agreed to a Deal – TLDR News](#) (YouTube: 2020).

²⁰BBC.

²¹ GDP is the abbreviation for GROSS Domestic Product. It is “the total value of goods and services produced by a country in a year.”[Oxford: Learner’s Pocket Dictionary](#). 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008)183.

²²TLDR News. [How a Brexit Deal Was Reached on Christmas Eve: The EU and UK Finally Agreed to a Deal – TLDR News](#).

program; instead, as the PM declared in the Christmas Eve's press conference, Britain produced what is known as 'the Turing Scheme' for students not only to go to European universities but also to universities in the whole world²³. This program stresses on the long run the British aim to conquer the world through its globalist approach. Given these points, it can be concluded that the deal covered many aspects than the aforementioned but the main concerns as far as identity is concerned have been addressed.

2.4. Britishness and Europeanism (1970s-1980s):

Britain had finally succeeded to join the EEC in 1973 after two unsuccessful applications. It was pushed to be part of the European Integration project because of its failure to secure a safe road to global power through the Commonwealth and its relation with the US. Although it became officially a member of the European Economic Community, Stephen George states that Britain manifested reluctance and entitled its partnership with awkwardness (61). At the level of identification, Britishness notably excelled Europeanism; yet at some point their collision resulted in hostile feelings labelled as Euroscepticism. The phenomenon originated from the destructive conflicts of the European countries which burdened Britain and resulted in its loss of its Empire because of the First and Second World Wars. This feeling was clearly expressed by the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher whose strong sense of nationalism caused the development of fear from losing the country's sovereignty to supranational power like the EEC. She thus expressed an open hostility towards the European Integration and favoured, like Tony Blair, strong ties with the United States (Schweiger 26, 41).

On Europeanism; Stephen Green argues that wisdom, beauty and the huge destruction lay in the cradle of Europe's both deep and recent history. Europeans turned the tragic side of

²³ BBC.

their history into peace and prosperity through unity. Thus, this journey resulted in the creation of distinctive values which however were poured in one shared identity consisting of the deep self-awareness of each European (2015: 36). The nefarious leftovers of the First and Second World Wars urged Europeans to gather from whatever different races or ethnicities for the aim of associating in a just and tolerant environment. This act, based on the definition of integration by *Glossary of Social studies Terms and Vocabulary*, is labelled as the European Integration. Consequently, they put Churchill's words into practice through Europeanization which is best understood as the "process of change affecting domestic institutions, politics and public policy. Change (which) occurs when political behaviour at the European Union (EU) level has a transformative effect on domestic political behaviour." (Exadaktylos and Radaelli 2012, 1).²⁴ The European Identity thus became "an evolving set of arrangements for governance and management which recognises both a wider commonality and specific identities"²⁵ for the aim of restoring peace to the Continent and achieving economic prosperity and global power.

In its abstract sense, 'integration' is about subjugating to a supranational power which was embodied in the European Community. This act was not to be accepted by Britain as giving up its national sovereignty means loss of the British identity since sovereignty is one of the perceptions building the social identities, especially the British social identity. Although Churchill proposed the establishment of a United States of Europe, he previously clarified in 1930 in an essay, "But we [the British] have our own dreams. And our own task. We are linked, but not compromised. We are in Europe, but not of it. We are interested and associated but not absorbed."²⁶ Furthermore, Christian Schweiger states that Britain was

²⁴qtd. in Diogo Magalhaes. *European Integration Theory And The Future Of The European Union After Brexit* (Cornell University, 2019) 20.

²⁵Stephen Green. *The European Identity Historical and Cultural Realities We Cannot see* (London: Haus Publishing, 2015) 41.

²⁶qtd. in *United States of Europe*. (International Churchill Society, 1999).

different from other European countries because of “the unbroken tradition of [its] state” (29). It did not have a written constitution as it regarded such an act leads to division of power. Yet it had “some written constitutional elements”. It also did not witness political radicalism which usually results in the division and destruction among the political spectrum. Britain maintained a stable state institution except for the change that happened after the Glorious Revolution. Integration and membership subsequently led to political unrest and division in Britain.

“It is . . . not surprising that parts of English national identity are often regarded as threatened by a deepening of European integration.”(Knopf 19) Britain developed its reluctant behaviour and awkwardness into Euroscepticism as reaction to the growing European integration. In parallel, Krishan Kumar argues that with the disappearance of all causes identifying the British destiny, the second half of the twentieth century gave space to Englishness to perform its act (18). Under these circumstances, the English could finally ask the question ‘who we are?’ never thinking about having a national identity or needing one. Margaret Thatcher and John Major’s watchword was “England for the English” as they defied all other nationalities within the kingdom, and Europeanism outside Britain (19). This English nationalism emerged as “fundamentally shaped by opposition to European Integration”²⁷. Thus, the challenging nature of Europeanism for the British with their existence in the EC was encountered with continuous reluctance and distant behaviour that was all summed up in scepticism towards the ‘other’ of all times.

2.5. British Nationalism under Labour Government (1990-2010):

In 1990, John Major replaced his fellow Conservative PM Margaret Thatcher. His stand as Pro-European was fiercely challenged as his attempts to weaken Euroscepticism

²⁷ Ben Willings. Losing the Peace: Euroscepticism and the foundations of contemporary English Nationalism (2012) 1.

failed next to the strong hold onto anti-European Thatcherism by both the government and the public. Christian Schweiger states that during the premiership of John Major, “the perception of ‘us’ against ‘them’ on the continent became even more deeply engraved in the British psyche.”(28) Especially with incidents like the Black Wednesday, and the failure of the Common Foreign and Security Policy to efficiently adapt to policies of immigration, asylum and residency.²⁸ Under these circumstances, John Major managed an opt out for Britain from the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). In order to win the public support and lead a sceptical government, he wiped out his objective to drive Britain to the heart of Europe (Schweiger 28). Until the premiership of Margaret Thatcher, Britain remained an awkward partner, but once Thatcher introduced her intergovernmental and free market model policy towards the EC, Britain demonstrated an opponent to further integration (25). And by the mid-1990s, Wolfram Kaiser argues that the debate over Europe’s question inclined towards the view that the EEC was the enemy guided by “a sinister coalition of bureaucrats.” (qtd. in Schweiger 29)

The torch of leadership was finally handed to Labour after eighteen years of Conservative governance. Labour Party changed its label to ‘New Labour’ with spirit of newness and freshness under the lead of the young and moderator Tony Blair. “New Labour, new life for Britain” became the new brand of the party in 1996. Although both British government and public were in need for new and modern style of governance, Blair’s third way polity urging for the materialization of the foreign ties with Europe and America led the public to reconsider their ‘new Britain’ as importer of affluence as much as importer of wars when Blair supported the American war on Iraq and later on terrorism as a proof of his attempts to safeguard Britain’s ties with the United States. Christian Schweiger argues that the British European policy of Blair’s administration is a reflection of ‘normalisation’ of

²⁸ Mathew J. Gabel. European Union (Britannica: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2020).

supranationalism. That New Labour's policy had gradually dug out the previously 'us against them' perception from the British psyche and succeeded to some extent to convince the British public that Britain's aim to restore its global power lies in its status as "a strong ally" for America "in a strong Europe" as Blair stated. (qtd. in Schweiger 41). Following this approach, Blair was trying to 'Europeanize' Britain but both Eurosceptics and media ensured the public's endurance to scepticism towards Europe.

Under Labour governance, the United Kingdom hinged tightly on its Britishness as demonstrated in the growing Euroscepticism despite New Labour's attempts to Europeanize the country. It can be argued that the period from 1997 to 2010 especially during Blair's premiership had swung the British between Americanization and Europeanization but it was eventually resolved in Britishness with its unique superiority that can be seen in a number of instances. First, according to Tim Oliver et al., Tony Blair and Gordon Brown considered the UK's social and employment policies ahead of the EU's that they "uploaded them" to EU level (17). Second, "the unbroken tradition of the British state", as Schweiger describes, was manifested in Britain's victorious state after WWI and WWII, its stable political system which operates with no written constitution because of the centrality of Parliament, and finally the patriotism of the British public who is strongly tied to the British monarch and institutions of the state. Schweiger concludes, "British reluctance to pool national sovereignty in supranational institutional frameworks like the EU" is explained by all the facts mentioned above (30). In the final analysis, Britain remained the awkward partner whose growing Euroscepticism resulted in handing the public the word regarding the question of Europe in the 2016 in-and-out referendum.

2.6. Disintegration and the Domino Effect:

Because Britain was against ‘federal Europe’, which was the goal to be achieved through integration as stated by Anthony Pagden²⁹, the British Euroscepticism stemmed from the opposition towards such supranational entity. Consequently, the 2016 in-and-out British referendum was set to answer the question of Europe, and in hopes to liberalize Britain to perform independently from the EU in a globalized and liberal market in an economic age. According to Erik Jones, although integration was a tangled process where governments faced hardships to adjust to the new coordination, disintegration is a more complicated and accelerated process because the goal is to leave and control the domestic public policymaking. However, it had been proven wrong that disintegration is an expeditious operation. It is therefore logical that the displacement of the painful integration adjustments would be a taxing engagement. The existence of a number of nations within one state (nation-states) or unitary entity³⁰ like the UK, troubles the process. Erik Jones thinks that this suggests the deep impact of Europeanization (40, 41).

Green states, “Identity has both an inner and outward dimension, for societies and for nations as well as for individuals.” (2017: 5) Nationality is thus acknowledged by authors as the most important factor influencing citizens’ opinions regarding European integration (Duchesne et al 10). With reference to the definition of identity and its formation in both psychological theories: Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT)³¹, it can be concluded that after categorizing themselves and finally setting the group’s

²⁹qtd. in Zeribi Chokri. The Impact of UK’s Brexit on Northern Ireland’s Border with the EU (2020), 4.

³⁰ Unitary state is a system where all powers are centralized in one government. The UK is following this system with the monarch is the head of the state and the prime minister is the head of the government.

³¹For more details, check Hans-Joachim Knopf. Identity Constructions and European Integration: Great Britain as Reluctant European (Italy: 2011).

stereotyping and bias (the cognitive categories and perceptions) then achieving group favouritism by holding onto the national sovereignty, characterizing by historical record of victory, and the future role as world power. The British eventually set themselves as the 'ingroup' being distinctly different from the 'outgroup', 'the other', or Europe. Additionally, as much as they hang heavy on the national identity they constructed, there is an element stated by Risse Kappen as part of his conceptualization of identity; it involves the possibility of stability's quiver of the social identities when a crisis occurs. Kappen supported this claim by the conceptualization of social identities as cognitive constructions, which means that individuals' cognition and psyche changes according to situations and events, so when a situation like 'integration' finally planted its roots in the British minds, they were willing to change their categorization and perceptions to consider marginalizing their superiority and bias and homogenize with the 'formerly' named the outgroup. This was the case when New Labour took the lead of the British government; it 'normalized' the British European Policy that "the EU rules and procedures [were] no longer demonized" provided that the "British interests[were] safeguarded." (Schweiger 14)

As for nowadays situation in which the British are travelling back to their first categorization that is 'us versus them' to undo the integration and finalize the exit, and with regard to the psychological aspect, the British public is being unconsciously driven by 'populist' influence whose ultimate aim is to maintain their position in power by means of persuading the 'people' of the necessity of the direct relationship between leaders and governed in order to work in harmony for the benefit of the nation that is the home of both ³²parts; and hence achieving their shared goals and aims³³. Erik Jones states that political rhetoric stresses the important issues and enlists priorities. Thus, politicians focused on

³³ For more details about the relationship between populism and Brexit, check Dani Rodrick, [Many forms of populism](#).

Europe and argued the insignificance of other problems (38, 39). In 2013 David Cameron promised to discuss Britain's European question in his Bloomberg speech (Jones 35). Consequently, the result of the 2016 referendum provided specific settings for the question of Europe to be debated away from national or "real priorities" as Erik Jones states (39). The inability to discuss matters other than Europe's British question highlights the failure of the UK to line up its domestic politics on its main concerns, which eventually resulted in possible British disintegration (Oliver 412). Consequently, Brexit had put the British in a state of illusion, 'imagining their community' (Kappeler's concept 'Imagined Community'³⁴) if they agree to their leaders' decisions and truthfully become a world power again in an isolation from the outgroup, as an independent entity, and as more British and less European.

Conclusion:

Despite growing Euroscepticism around Europe, majority if not the entire EU member states seem to be untroubled by their membership. Britain however expressed reluctance and scepticism towards the project of European Integration and remained 'the awkward partner' along the period of its membership until it exited the EU officially with a trade deal. Brexit is a phenomenon in the sense that it has foreseen impact at the social level since it was handed to the public in the form of a simple question about Britain's continued membership in the EU. The decision was however influenced by the media and political rhetoric which resulted in a reasonable percentage. The fact that Britain's membership in the EEC was just a means to improve its economic performance, its rank as the fifth economic power nowadays highlights Britain's destiny as a world power independently from Europe.

³⁴ Hans-Joachim Knopf. Identity Constructions and European Integration : Great Britain as reluctant European (Italy, 2001) 8.

**Chapter Three: Post-Brexit British
Identity, Historical and Geographical
Challenges and the English Language**

Introduction:

Britain's failure to co-exist within the European continent through its membership in the EU is traced back to its painful memories with the European countries, and its geographic isolation from the continent's land. Besides, Europe's multiculturalism opposed the British conservatism and scepticism towards foreigners. Furthermore, the impact of media and politicians aided the abandonment of Europeanism amidst Brexit and Covid-19 pandemic. The latter was indeed a trial period for Britain's isolation from the world, and Europe namely. Regardless, this lockdown did not affect the post-Brexit identity that the British aspired to during the four years of Brexit, Britishness remained the promising pure identification after the exit; however, once the deal was presented and signed, it became threatened with the rise of ethnic nationalities of the kingdom. Englishness is to perform as the national identity because of the affiliation to the English WASP American society, and thanks to the globalist nature of the English language.

3.1. Shared History with Europe and the US:

Christianity gathered Europeans once, and indeed reached Ireland which to be annexed later to Britannia; however, once this worship weighed heavily on Britain's rule and dynasty, that the Roman Catholic Church resembled the nowadays 'supranational' organizations, the British monarch freed itself from the shackles of Catholicism. This detachment acted as Britain's first step towards disconnection from Europe. Apparently, Reformation contributed to the British progress and move towards enlightenment and scientific development brought through the Renaissance and the discovery trend to enter the mood of openness and embrace the spirit of expansion. Therefore, the factor of shared religion as part of the shared history between Britain and Europe functioned as a burden as it veiled the former with its obstructive doctrines. On the other hand, adopting Protestantism as

the peaceful religious approach, the Brits believed they were assigned to spread this religion as being 'God's elect' for this mission. Being the confessed religion by the Americans proved the Brits' success in their mission. Consequently, the latter felt more associated with the White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) American society than to the White multi-ethnic Catholic Europeans.

Subsequently, the British Empire swamped in the fear-based conflicts between Europeans that led to the World Wars. Because of: imperialism to prove global power, nationalism for countries to prove their existence in an imperial world, and militarism which entails the progress in military industry in the majority of the European countries, Britain found itself driven by these three causes to engage in the First World War. Later, Britain participated in the Second World War for the aim of "sav[ing] the balance of power, and to control the Atlantic Ocean and the sea surrounding Britain." (Llyod 166-167) Although it came out victorious from both wars, Britain as part of the warring countries along with the whole world entered the age of uncertainty. To clarify, the sense of nationalism that spread throughout the colonies after WWII resulted in uncertainty about Britishness with the British Empire collapsing and turning into the Commonwealth of Nations. This side effect of the Second World War alarmed British politicians of the danger affecting the identification of their nation being illustrated in the transition of Britishness from embracing imperialism and thus global power to dissociation entailing the decline of Britain's status of power in the world. The Brits thus declared Europe as the hindrance and source of troubles. This perception played as a factor in maintaining the density of "the fog in the channel between Britain and the continent"¹; in other words, between Britishness and Europeanism.

¹ Christian Schweiger. Britain, Germany and the Future of the European Union. "The Reluctant European: Britain and European Integration Since 1945" (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007) 17.

In fact, as Britain and Europe did not share the same approach following the Second World War, the British could not identify themselves as Europeans but rather as British with more lineages towards Americanism. Britain listed the US as its second priority in its post-war foreign policy as they fought the Germans side-by-side, in addition to the Marshall Plan from which England took the lion's share with a total of 24.4%². Thereafter, Britain developed strong ties with America under the premierships of Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair. Nevertheless and despite the politics-based UK-US relationship, the Brits' objective of restoring their status of power in the world has been the end that has been justified by its temporary involvement in the European Project and the long-term association with the United States. In spite of its shared history with Europe and the US, the UK prefers to thrive as British, yet only European or American when it cannot stand alone.

3.2. Geographical Extension through the Thirteen Colonies:

Strong association between the Brits and the Americans is stemmed from the English view of the thirteen colonies, David Hackett Fisher argues, as “cultural, political, and religious extension” to England (qtd. in Colley: 1992 324). This extension came under the label of the ‘first British Empire’ that was hence solely English. Although one might argue that many British settlers in the new continent were escaping religious persecution from their homeland, Puritanism for instance remains a religious group from the sector of Protestantism from the whole religious institute of Christianity. Politically, the Brits or the colonists in the British colonies in the new world considered themselves as subjects to the English crown, thus they declared their accountability to the British government despite the presence of their own governments. Cultural breakthroughs could be seen in the use of the English language by most people in the colonies, the adoption of Victorian values such as individualism,

²The Effects of the Marshall Plan Aids to the Development of the Agricultural Sector in Turkey, the 1948-1953 Period (ResearchGate, 2014).

competition and hard work³. Therefore, the geographical extension of England to its colonies in the New World created a sense of relevance and commonality; it also linked both lands through history of shared memories and common objectives. Britain as a whole “belonged to a trans-channel polity” that was generally Western⁴ including both Europe and North America. Culturally, colonists’ interest in newspapers and almanacs⁵ resulted in Britain experiencing an increase in its literacy rates for both sexes during the 1700s and along the 1800s; in addition to the use of almanacs to feed the British with anti-Catholicism feelings as mentioned in the first chapter.

Puritanism, as appealing strongly to Protestantism of John Calvin, started to flourish once its believers left England and settled in what they named ‘Plymouth’ in the New Continent. Its population grew from fifty individuals to hundreds of settlers in the Boston area whose settlers eventually were gathered in 1691 in Massachusetts (O’Callaghan 16, 17). Protestantism was also introduced in New Netherland, Virginia Colony, and Carolina Colony which signals the beginning of America with a significant majority of Protestants⁶. This religion contributed to the foundation of the Massachusetts Puritans’ ideal about an exemplary American society. John Winthrop declared, “[Americans] shall be like a city on a hill.” because “The eyes of all people are upon [them].”⁷ It can be concluded thus that Protestantism created a commonality between the English and the Americans regarding their superiority and their perception of themselves as exemplary. All in all, the geographical extension of Britain to the eastern part of the new continent has played a significant role in

³The Elements of Culture (LIBRAIRE Publishing, 2010).

⁴Timothy Garton-Ash. Is Britain European? (The Guardian: prospect, 2001).

⁵Economist Intelligence Unit. United States. “Cultural and religious development, Colonial culture.” (Encyclopaedia Britannica: Britannica, 2021).

⁶Wikipedia contributors. History of Protestantism in the United States (Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, 2021).

⁷qtd. in D. Bryn O’Callaghan. An Illustrated History of the USA (Essex: Longman, 1990) 17.

the religious identification of the British, or simply Britishness. This extension allowed for the foundation of shared history, shared destiny, and importantly for shared culture.

The replacement of the working class with machinery, and land roads with railroads and railways required raw materials such as coal, steel, iron and others. The thirteen colonies or the British colonies in America acted as the provision of some of the raw materials (excluding coal and iron) for the British Industrial Revolution. The products of this revolution were exported to the British colonies. This Atlantic network however was based on slavery which despite the abandonment of labour force, continued to be a cornerstone in the Triangular Trade⁸. Thus, slaves were taken from Africa to sugar plantations in order to ensure the provision of food and agricultural goods. Thereafter, the American colonies revolted against the British Acts of Navigation (1751-1849) which prohibited the colonies to trade with other countries except with the metropolis⁹. Between 1775 and 1783, the American colonies declared their War of Independence, and in 1790 the American states planted the seeds of their own Industrial Revolution with the opening up of a British-style textile factory in Rhode Island by Samuel Slater whose “factory labor and entrepreneurial innovation” called the Slater Mill acted as a significant aspect in industrialization¹⁰. Indeed, the United States started the ‘Second’ Industrial Revolution, but it was the only country after Britain. This stresses the virtual and maybe the concrete ties between the two. This also indicated the British success in their imperial mission of spreading economic development. Moreover, the long-term consequences and innovations of industrialization leave the impression that both Britishness and Americanism shared the same future besides sharing a long history of shared memories.

⁸A trade system in which countries exchange their imports and exports from goods or products as a form of payment.

⁹It is the center of governance and economic leadership to which all colonies and/ or dependencies belong and refer to in all matters.

¹⁰Investopedia Editors. What Caused the American Industrial Revolution?(Investopedia, 2020).

Achieving coexistence and economic success indicates the development of a shared bond between the white colonists specifically in the thirteen colonies. In fact, Religious conformity allowed for harmonious life, and Victorian values contributed to the success of the American Industrial Revolution. Moreover, Readership and literacy played their significant role in; first, educating the mass about the importance of science; and second, functioning as an informing medium about the success of the British Industrial Revolution and its affluent results. Success for the Americans, as well as for the British, is realized through hard work and responsibility¹¹. The spirit of competition and the pursuit of wealth and respectability united the Brits and the Americans on adopting individualism. The latter marked how this approach and ideal contributed to the former's accidental realization of global power. There is also the factor of abandoning emotions and adopting rationalism¹² in order to rationalize the spending and thus secure the future in an industrial environment. In the midst of all of this, newspapers in Britain and in its American colonies were the cultural mediums¹³ to keep the masses updated about the economy and the news about foreign countries. All in all, it would have been natural for both cultures in the thirteen colonies and their homeland to be somehow analogical especially with the use of the same language. Therefore, although the American colonies eventually gained their independence, the stamp of the British culture remained sculptured in the American culture which highlights the potent identification ties between the two.

3.3. The English Language as a Continental and Global Language:

It has been argued earlier that the territorial expansion of Great Britain to the Eastern lands of the New World resulted in building historic ties including politics, economy, and

¹¹The Elements of Culture (LIBRAIRE Publishing, 2010).

¹²ibid.

¹³Economist Intelligence Unit. United States. "Cultural and religious development, Colonial culture." (Encyclopaedia Britannica: Britannica, 16 May 2021).

even culture between nowadays England and the United States. So, as long as shared memories and language as a significant cultural aspect of a given society are all concerned, the British and mainly the English found a middle ground that was reached thanks to the shared language which enabled on the long run the unified thoughts about the two countries' futures.

The Bains professor of English language and Philology, Simeon Potter, speaks thoroughly in an article in Britannica about the English language. Briefly, He states that English is originated from the West Germanic languages group of the Proto-Indo European family. It evolved from the standard old English to Middle English to Early Modern English that embraced both Latin and 'London English' or English. Later, with the Restoration, the 'elegant' French took over the 'barbarous' English as the scholar John Dryden describes. By the eighteenth century, English Grammarians rehabilitated English with the introduction and publishing of English dictionaries. Afterwards, the Oxford English Dictionary in the nineteenth and twentieth century became the revised version of the English dictionary which represented the English in the British Commonwealth and the United States. To conclude, the English language's openness of vocabulary allowed for its variety in the different parts where it is spoken by the public or taught officially in schools.

Due to England's interest in capturing nearby and faraway lands, its language as its means of communication was carried with the English colonists, and was spread with the geographical extension of this language's motherland. Therefore, English was enriched with new words and extended to a number of varieties. To begin with, Received Pronunciation (RP) is the standard accent used by people living in London and southeast of England. It is considered an accent of prestige, as claimed by Potter. In addition, it was adopted by public schools and universities such as Winchester and others, Oxford and Cambridge (Potter).

Outside the continent, American English dialect with its three regional dialects and sub dialects is situated in its Atlantic seaboard where the first settlements were made. Nevertheless, though most immigrants were English before the declaration of independence in 1776, the United States witnessed immigrant influx from different parts in Europe. By the same token, the increasing and constant flow of immigrants with its introduction of new varieties of different ethnic origins beated the attempts of the TV, transportation and urbanization to level out the dialectal differences in the American continent. Despite these varieties, the English language was calculated to a profit for the English dream of dominating the world.

Because of its superior, exceptional and exemplary character, Britain had always pursued global power. According to the historic development of the English language, the English had been working towards globalization since they simplified their language “over a course of thousand years” as David Crystal and Simeon Potter stated in their article in Britannica. They explained thoroughly the syntactic and morphological structure’s development of the English language. The inflections for example were reduced to few forms. Besides, English is characterized with “flexibility in function” and “openness of vocabulary”. To explain, Crystal and Potter state that the words can be multi-functional either by adding prefixes or suffixes, or none; the meaning of the words depends on the context which is often determined depending on what follows the word or precedes it. For the openness of vocabulary, it can be said that English adds words from other languages and creates “compounds and derivatives”. That is it adopts freely and adapts with changes when necessary in case of naming new objects¹⁴. In fact, conclusion will be reached later stating that ‘Britannia’ as the icon of the nineteenth century imperialism contributed to the survival and supremacy of the English language both as the lingua franca of the world and “as the

¹⁴David Crystal and Simeon Potter. English Language (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2020).

language which borrowed (and been enriched by) more words from more languages than any other in the world.” (Green 2017: 31)

Stephen Green argues that change of identity can happen when geographical change of language takes place (2015: 24). Throughout the next paragraphs, an elaboration will be made of the idea that the English language played a remarkable role along the three phases of Britishness development: religious, industrial, and imperial identification. To begin with, Britain justified its imperial mission with bringing civilization to its colonized peoples through religion which had to be perceived by the colonized as the granter of salvation, and since the Brits believed that Protestantism is the peaceful religion and that they were chosen to spread this new Christian sector, it was supposed to be easy to convince the illiterate societies. Communication thus was made in English which was taught to ease contact between both parts in order to accomplish the religious mission. English hence was spread among the ruled societies. An example of an English religious book about Protestantism would be John Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* (1563). This book, Colin Kidd states, [it] “was ordered to be set along with the Bible in all churches” (58), so it had its influence in England and Scotland. Also, the Bibles later by the mid-nineteenth century will be published in English, Richard W. Bailey recorded (qtd. in Wright 139). Consequently, through language, imperialists spread their religion and their language to exploit both human and natural resources of the indigenous peoples.

Second, industrial identification of the British was associated with their Industrial Revolution and the latter’s permanent effects that are still touched nowadays. Sue Wright quoted Herbert Heaton’s conclusion that becoming the largest transatlantic investor and largest exporter and importer, British trade played the role of the “material benefit” that helped the spread of the English language (138). In detail, Wright states that The massive scientific development during and after the British Industrial Revolution required the learning

of the English language to grab knowledge about these new technologies (139). Thus, the workforce was taught English to understand the industrial processes and the basic instructions for an effective running of the machines. Consequently, English can be associated with the British industrial identification.

Subjugation and cleansing of minds under the act of imperialism required communication; spoken and written language thus was used despite the predominance of the violent language. Firstly, Empire is defined by Niall Ferguson as the exercise of power by a strong country over a 'social formation'. Thus, he places language as the first among the distinctive features shared by all colonies because it is the tool used for imperial expansion that is dominating using their power to impose "culture, religious dogmas, education" (Bacaicoa Albaladejo 7, 9). Ferguson projects his definition on the case of the British Empire and its use of the English language (qtd. in Bacaicoa Albaladejo 9). This act is accomplished through the process of 'linguicism'. This latter, Bacaicoa Albaladejo reports, is the label given by Robert Phillipson to the situation where a language is imposed on a certain territory (11). Tove Skutnabb-Kangas states that Power and resources are divided unequally between masses which are grouped on the basis of language (qtd. in Skutnabb-Kangas 1). Based on Sandra Bacaicoa Albaladejo's explanation of 'the English linguistic imperialism', and David Crystal's 'language as the international medium for communication', it can be said that linguicism allows for the English linguistic imperialism to maintain and assert the supremacy of the English language by the British, who are according to Crystal the rulers of the strong country which used its English language as an "international medium for communication" (qtd. in Bacaicoa Albaladejo 12, 13) . In the final analysis, the geographical extension of the English language through imperialism allowed for extension of Britishness to the first and second British Empire.

Although Britain lost its Eastern overseas Empire, the English language retained its status of power and dominance because it was carried by the formerly British transatlantic Empire consisting of the Thirteen Colonies which later became the leading power in the world under the label of the United States of America. English was carried by the elites in the newly independent countries who decided to retain the skills of this language to provide them a communication bridge between all parts of the world (Wright 141). However, it can be argued that the Americans were supposed to develop a new language different from the colonizers' (if they could be described as such) language. In fact, the reason behind adopting English by the US even after its independence from Britain and despite the revolutionary endeavour against the British colonizer, was that the top-down shift would be an idealistic venture (141). Moreover, Daniels recorded that the English language was thereafter accepted by the immigrant masses to the United States¹⁵ as it was, as Sue Wright stated, less populated and a fresh land with industrial development (142). The mastery of the English language became officially conditioned along with the ideology of "fresh start" and "melting pot" to American citizenship in 1906. And despite the resistance of this ideology by conservative immigrants like the Germans, they were eventually pushed to accept "linguistic assimilation" (142, 143).

After World War One, the US used its Wilsonian effect to use and implement English in diplomatic matters. Woodrow Wilson ordered the publication of the Versailles Treaties (1919), Sèvre and Trianon Treaties (1920)¹⁶ both in English and French (Wright 143). This allowed for the English to take one step towards becoming the diplomatic lingua franca. After WWII, English was the language of two of the victorious powers of both the US and the UK. Until the collapse of Communism in 1990, English and Russian were both the lingua francas

¹⁵qtd. in Sue Wright. Language Policy and Language Planning from Nationalism to Globalization. "English as a lingua franca" (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) 142.

¹⁶Sèvre and Trianon Treaties are part of the Paris Peace Treaties (1919-1920) to set the new division of colonial lands.

of the world (144). Speaking of the US, it introduced the intergovernmental organizations and the free market philosophy, and although it was not dominating the market, it was leading the economy because of its deep influence on international economic organizations and national government's credits (144, 145). This global economy is an American paradigm that allowed the US to lead and dominate the world economy through influencing the intergovernmental organizations and thus the national governments which resulted in the enforcement of the American ideology and thus its domination (145). Economic globalization was aided by the adoption of the free market philosophy and intergovernmentalism¹⁷ which both originated from the US whose official language is English. Hence, the philosophy was translated into policy by institutions like Dow Jones and Reuters¹⁸ whose headquarters are situated in the US and the UK, and they use English to express their policy (Wright 145-146). Industrialization contributed to the growing interest in learning English as it is the language of the body of information of the industries. Thus, this language became no more monopolized by the elites and the rich world, and as mentioned earlier, the workforce of the countries seeking knowledge about the continued industrial innovations were taught the high levels of English to communicate internationally (146, 147).

As discussed in the previous chapter, Britishness remained the identification of the nations of the British Commonwealth because of the British imperial history that resulted in the geographical expansion of the emperor. Furthermore, the cultural aspect of the English language as being used in official institutions, between governments, and even in daily life, strengthened Britishness of the Commonwealth. The British colonialism stamped its impact in places like Africa where, for example, the English language dominates the African life. English was set up along with Afrikaans as two of the eleven official languages in South

¹⁷Intergovernmentalism is the state of cooperation between governments where decision making powers of countries are preserved to each government, unlike supranationalism.

¹⁸Dow Jones and Reuters are multimedia news providers.

Africa (Kamwangamalu 1). While in other parts of this continent, English is being learnt as a first or a second foreign language to adapt in nowadays anglicized world. As mentioned earlier, this language is spread in these areas thanks to technology. In the final analysis, although English is widely spread in Africa, it is not the lingua franca of the whole continent; a West African pidgin English is considered a lingua franca.

According to statistics from Wikipedia, the English language has been declared the lingua franca in Europe because of its status as the primary *de jure* official language in nine out of thirteen European countries¹⁹. The latter is a composition of British sovereign and non-sovereign states which indicates the spread of the English language and its primacy despite the loose identity ties between the motherland of this language and the European countries. Furthermore, the adoption of this language by the EU as its official language signals in reality the fulfillment of the superpowers' aim like the USA to facilitate communication and dominate the world by spreading English through modern means like technology: media, film making, and television programs' industry.

3.4. Europeanism Amidst and After Brexit:

With the emergence of Brexit, Europeanism was put into question by both Europeans and Brits. The domino effect of Brexit initiated a debate about the core of Europeanism's existence and its survival amidst and after Brexit. In fact, this phenomenon was implemented once the European countries succeeded in homogenizing under one unifying organization. And Britain was first the reluctant guest then the 'awkward partner' then the potential defector and finally the determined leaver of the European Union.

¹⁹ Wikipedia contributors. "List of countries and territories where English is an official language." (Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. 2021).

The debate held between Europeans of the EU over Europeanism revolved around two questions: why did the UK think about leaving the union? And what if another EU country decides to exit this organization? Reasons for Brexit were mainly economic, covered with social and identity-based arguments that were guided by politicians through the media. For example, the Conservative politician Boris Johnson argued that the EU regulations revoke the British national laws as the former was given more authority over agriculture, competition policy, and copyright laws²⁰. This infers the transfer of the British national sovereignty to the supranational EU. The campaign of eurosceptic UKIP focused on the issue of immigration that was not only captured by the media but the latter magnified the issue's risks as there were "more than 15,000 articles published online by 20 national news outlets."²¹ Populists used this argument based on the modern understanding of identity. Francis Fukuyama states that respecting the human being and their inner soul reflects the understanding and estimation of identity²². Exaggerated collectiveness thus, like the EU's, veils the inner soul of the individuals and as mentioned earlier that one of the pillars of the British character is the belief in individualism. Thus, the British were convinced of the necessity to reduce the flow of immigrants that was increased thanks to the principle of the EU regarding the free movement of people. Eventually, these arguments instructed the Brits towards the vote for Brexit although it cost the UK four years of negotiations that resulted in a financial settlement estimated at about thirty-two billion pounds.

Because the EU was established on the basis of unity and inclusion of the most possible number of countries, the UK's exit challenged the phenomenon of Europeanism and resulted in an expected domino effect. Pulling up national sovereignty and granting permission to the EU to increasingly control sensitive domains were among the paid bills in

²⁰ Timothy B. Lee. Brexit: the 7 most important arguments for Britain to leave the EU (Vox, 2016)

²¹ Jane Martinson. Media painted bleak picture of immigration before Brexit vote, study finds (The Guardian, 2017)

²² Francis Fukuyama. Francis Fukuyama: Identity Politics (Erstestiftung magazine, 2019).

exchange for economic prosperity. However, the UK decided to break this bond which gave hope to other EU members to think about such action. This organization could not allow for the dispersion of its members which will eventually result in its dissolution. Therefore, it decided to reveal how painful and costly disintegration from this union could be. From the in-and-out British referendum in 2016 until the final drafting of the Withdrawal Agreement in 2020, Britain went through a number of talks, and received two prime ministers in a timespan of four years. The EU and British Brexiteers were finding a gap whenever a deal was presented regarding tariffs or the Irish border, but because Brexit was a done deal for the country's Brexiteer politicians, Boris Johnson ended the matter and signed a check of about forty billion euro to the EU. It was not only the costly bill that was paid as a tax for Brexit but also the crack and division among the British public and political spectrum caused by membership question. The economic and social effects of Brexit on the British wiped out the idea of disintegration from other EU member states' agenda.

Preserving Europeanism through EU membership was the remainers' stand. On the other hand, Brexiteers were mostly eurosceptics but the degree of separation from the EU was disputed between hard brexiteers and soft brexiteers; thus an identity crisis took place between adopting both Britishness and Europeanism or completely discarding the latter. Formerly, Britain suffered its geographic, economic, and then social belonging to the European continent. It started with the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, to religious disagreement between Protestant Britain and Catholic European countries, to the scramble for lands and the French Indian War in the American colonies, to the Second World War that cost Greater Britain its overseas' empire where the sun never sets, to the creation of the EEC and the economic competition, to the UK's membership in the EU and all the troubles brought to the former by this membership. First, Europe was a source of trouble, then the EU functioned as a hindrance for the UK to practice freely its right to sign trade deals with

whatever country, and its right to set its own rules and laws under no supranational authority. The Brexit Deal however was not hard enough for Britain to navigate its own path towards globalization, but it is one step towards farthest detachment from the EU. Thus, Britain's official exit from the EU means the British identify as no more Europeans because: the European citizenship is granted only for citizens of the member states, also both Europeans and British after Brexit do not share the same sovereignty, and finally each has a different futuristic view for their sovereign.

3.5. Britishness Amidst and After Brexit:

Because the Brexit Deal is far from the beginning of an end as Adam Marshall recorded²³, the EU is enjoying the fact that this deal did not receive much approval from the British themselves because they claim it did not distance them from Europe that Britain sooner or later will wish for closer relationship with the EU. Furthermore, Scotland and Northern Ireland's votes to remain in the EU in 2016 signalled their benefit from the UK's membership, and highlighted their disapproval of an independent Britain. Signing the Withdrawal Agreement in December 2020, Scottish and Northern Irish spotted light of hope of their independence from the UK. Britishness thus will lose much of its 'kingship' sense as it was first the identification of Britons in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and certainly in England.

Since the 1970s, Scotland has been seeking devolution to ultimately achieve independence from the UK. Tony Blair took advantage of the Scottish pursuit of devolution so he promised them a referendum on the matter provided they guaranteed his victory in the 1997 general elections. Blair won with a landslide and the Scottish assembly was created in 1997. Although a devolved assembly²⁴ is nothing like a sovereign parliament²⁵, it remains a

²³Reuters Staff. [Factbox: British reactions to new Brexit deal](#) (Reuters, 2017)

²⁴The House of Representatives that gained limited power from a central government through transfer or delegation.

step towards Scotland's independence. However, the 2014 referendum on Scotland's separation from the UK resulted in fifty-five Scottish voting to remain under the British rule of law²⁶. Fear of losing Scotland after more than 300 hundred years of unity withered, but the results of the vote indicated the issue regarding the Scottish identification as British. Without delay, the Scottish assured their stand as Europhelic²⁷ in the 2016 in-and-out referendum with sixty-two per cent of them voted to remain in the EU²⁸. Thereafter, the YouGov showed that forty-nine per cent of the Scottish voted for their country's independence. Henceforth, with the final Brexit Deal of 2020 that did not deliver the promise of retrieving full access to British waters especially with the Scottish companies benefitting from the British fishing industry's quotas, Scotland's economic power will thrive, and its sovereignty status will be gained in case that it ends the union with Britain and reapply to the European Union. Arguing on the basis of gaining national control of the Scottish waters, it is evident and feasible for Scotland to be a sovereign country. With this possibility, the British national identity is losing part of its geographical formation and it is likely to abandon its imperial cause especially with the loss of Northern Ireland as well.

Due to the instalment of checkpoints in the Irish Sea, Northern Ireland became part of the EU's special Customs Area²⁹ with the Republic of Ireland. Unification of the whole island became the quite option both to end the problematic position of Northern Ireland and close the adjacent proximity between the rest of the UK and the EU. The state of being at once subordinate to the British head of state politically and integral within the EU's Customs

²⁵It is an assembly whose legislation is decentralized and its power is unlimited which grant it the status of complete independence.

²⁶TLDR News.[Will Scotland Leave the UK Because of Brexit? - Brexit Explained](#) (YouTube: TLDR News, 2019).

²⁷Unlike a Euroseptic, Europhelic is a description given to the public and politicians who support the UK-EU relationship.

²⁸BBC.[UK votes to leave the EU](#)

²⁹ Generally, the area where imported or exported goods are kept in the official department which collects taxes and /or tariffs levied by government on goods coming into or leaving the country.

Area economically is leaving the Northern Irish burdened with feeling of puzzlement and state of rupture. This situation led to an aggressive and intolerant expression of nationalism between Loyalists and Republicans³⁰ with the former's sense of loss to the latter³¹. Loyalists felt betrayed by Great Britain whose Prime Minister Boris Johnson did not deliver his promise of avoiding a hard Irish border in the Brexit Deal. According to the current circumstances, Britishness is likely diminishing against strong alienation towards Europeanism and Irishness. As a fertile land for troubles, it would be for Great Britain's benefit to keep the border in the Irish Sea and grant Northern Ireland the permission to unite with the Republic of Ireland. If aligned with Scotland's independence, such end will give Britishness new geographical identification and Englishness would rise as a stretched national identity.

3.6. Post-Brexit Englishness through Global English Language:

It was argued earlier that possible Scotexit and Iresxit from the UK can be heard in the distance. This has the impact on the core identification of Britishness because the inhabitants of these countries were the first carrying the British identity once the English expansion started in nearby lands. Britishness as it was known started to wane with Britain's goal of independence through Brexit which initiated the domino effect on the countries making up the UK. Then the Brexit Deal spotted light on both Scotland's independence and Northern Ireland's pursuit to unite with the Irish Republic. Therefore, Englishness will rise as the identity serving England and its sea territories to achieve the status of a world power through the aid of the universality of the English language.

³⁰Loyalists are the Protestant Unionists who want Northern Irish to remain part of the UK. While the Republicans are the Catholic nationalists wishing for unity of the whole Island of Ireland.

³¹Shawn Pogatchnik. Northern Ireland 'playing with matches' amid Brexit trade deal tensions (Politico, 2021)

Initially, it is believed that Englishness has been receiving less attention because of the lengthy and long-term effect of the British imperial history which aided the emergence of Britishness and supported its spread and dominance over ethnic nationalities. Krishan Kumar argues that Britain and Britishness have thankfully received attention from a number of historical works, while English and Englishness remains an “enigma” that needs to be understood by both the English themselves and the outsiders (2). He believes that this neglect is the result of the non-national nature of the English nationalism, which makes it a peculiarity that is different and unique in its character (3). Kumar states Tom Nairn’s explanation of the situation. Nairn concludes that this nationalism is anachronistic in its nature, that it belongs only to the monarchical and royalist era; that if the English monarchy ceases to exist, Englishness will fade away. Krishan Kumar opposes Nairn’s idea arguing that this anachronism makes Englishness “a particular variety of nationalism” (3). Following the same thread, the particular nature of this nationalism traces back to its spread in the form of Britishness through colonialism and imperialism. Although it is contradictory to include imperialism and nationalism within the same context, it is acceptable in the case of the British Empire because ethnic nationalities were buried by imperialist nationalism, that is Britishness being prevailed by the English nationalism, and thus the continued dominance of the English language. Nevertheless, Britishness surmounted Englishness with the latter becoming part of a large amalgamation of a variety of ethnic nationalities under the British imperial, then the neo-colonial, then the modern commonwealth system of ruling.

The gradual decline of the British imperial legacy affected correlationaly Britishness that lost one of its foundation pillars that is the imperial cause. Thus, the political imposition of Englishness started to spark its presence through the English language. The latter becoming the widely used language in the United States of America and its adoption as the US’ official language allowed for the global spread of English because of the strong status of

power in America. Moreover, this language prevailed in all aspects of life because of the prevalence of the USA along the period following WWII until the end of the seventies (Truchot 142). Setting up English as the language of politics in Europe was another step for Englishness to perform in isolation from Britishness. By the same token, Sue Wright states that the British parliamentary democracy (1928) attracted followers who had to learn English in order to better understand this political ideology (139). All in all, Britishness remained the prominent nationalism despite the ubiquitousness of the English language as a sign of possible rise of Englishness. This is due to the fact that England continues to operate within the British United Kingdom, hence, the potential dispersion of this kingdom may allow for Englishness, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh to exist separately.

Considering Scotland becoming a sovereign country, and Northern Ireland joining the Republic of Ireland, the pursuit of global power will be a challenge to England (along with Wales and other overseas territories) as it has always stemmed its status as a world power from its imperial character with all its traditional, modern, and postmodern forms. Henceforth, the English language as an essential part in the formation of a certain culture that is one of the identifiers used to express belonging, will act as the asset for England to overcome the challenge. However, it is going to require constitutional reform as Linda Colley suggested regarding the success of Britishness which can be projected on Englishness as well. She states that the British citizenship remains “an evenly developed as a language and concept” because of the absence of a written constitution which might act as a base stone in a changing kingdom, as it could be the case for the UK in upcoming years (2009: 27). Manifestly, Colley states that monarchs do not work with written constitutions because they are ruling over different peoples from dispersed areas. Those people were treated as subjects by the imperialists who used “baggy and capacious” language which resulted in no need for a

“discrete national citizenship” for those individuals to refer to.³² All those under the British rule of law were British subjects under the label ‘Britons’. But now that Britishness is waning, England is in need of a written constitution and a “strong language of citizenship”³³ for its individuals to acquire a nationalism through which they will be able to believe in the importance of their nation, overcome the future obstacles, and work hard to meet their nation’s needs and goals. This need is accompanied with constitutional reform as Colley believes, and as suggested by the Marquis of Salisbury in his meeting with Anne Applebaum; she reports his words³⁴:

The United Kingdom, he told me, is “in danger of losing consensus.” So why not remake it into a real federation? There would have to be an English assembly, perhaps replacing the House of Commons, and a federal assembly, perhaps replacing the House of Lords; there would have to be new conversations about the constitution, and maybe the courts.

Political reform accompanies economic reform which should be the case in a post-Brexit Britain. The English language will play its leading role in Britain’s path towards world power due to its adoption by almost half of the world from America, to Asia, to Australia, to Africa, to the European continent. This language constitutes Americanism, Europeanism, Britishness and thus universalism. Therefore, the current British or the future Englanders could identify themselves as the English native speakers whose language crossed the Atlantic Ocean to function as the official language in America, and thus spread to the whole world through the British imperialism and later the American globalisation. In a Scotexit and/or Irexit scenario, Post-Brexit citizens of England could identify themselves as the nationalists

³²Linda Colley. Does Britishness Still Matter in the Twenty-First century- and How Much and How Well Do the Politicians Care?(London: Blackwell Publishing, 2009) 26-27.

³³ibid, 28.

³⁴Anne Applebaum. Brexit Reveals a Whole New Set of Political Wounds (The Atlantic, 2020)

whose country's sovereignty was resumed at all costs, economic, political and social. They would become the distinct group holding a shared history that is different from Europe. The group which emigrated to the New World and consisted a majority there to eventually demand complete independence and become the largest sovereignty on earth. The national group that always aspired to dominate the world using all means from colonialism to neo-colonialism to contemporary means of persuasion and manipulation through education and media. English group whose language has been the significant means to subjugate the human race; through which the masses will be controlled under the supervision of politicians and media to feed the hungry English souls for domination and authoritarianism. In an anglicized and materialist world, the English will be the independent individuals under the rule of their sovereign country whose aim is to turn London into the centre of gravity of the world by the aid of their universal English language.

Conclusion:

With possible Scotexit and Irexit, the first imperial sense of Britishness will fade away and national identities will finally come to light. However, Britain's objective of reaching globalization through the English language will not be affected by Scotland's independence or Ireland's unification. These future possibilities therefore entail the contingency of a new geographical form for Britishness; that is no more Britishness in the sense of kingship. Englishness will be the identity, or Englishness with imposed Europeanism because of the Brexit Deal. In different circumstances without any tent over their heads, the English are believed to dive into this capitalist world through the aid of the universality of the English language being the means of communication that will be empowered by populism and media.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

This work was an attempt to analyze the extent to which the Brexit Deal serves Britain's goal of retrieving sovereignty and earning status as a global power. The inclusion of the chronological evolution and devolution of the British identity, in addition to the study of the historical and geographical challenges facing post-Brexit Britishness allowed for drawing a link between the Brexit Deal, post-Brexit globalist identity, and independence. This work eventually arrived to the conclusion that the Deal entails possible dispersion of the United Kingdom. Thus, a new factor was found to continue and ease the process of dominating the world market, and preserve for Britishness its superiority and exceptionality. The English language was found to be the refuge.

This dissertation's research questions were answered throughout the chapters. First, Britishness moved from religious identification with Protestantism, to economic recognition with the Industrial Revolution, to imperial identification with the British Empire. It witnessed deterioration with the falldown of the British Empire, and since then it lost equilibrium. The British identity gained its characteristic of **superiority** from the British belief in being 'God's elect' with the religious identification. **Ambition** was the trait brought to the British from the settlers of Engla land who sought explorations of foreign lands and dominance over their peoples. **Individualism** is the Victorian value that nurtured the British superiority and pursuit of authority and power. **Nationalism** is the Thatcherite reverence that fuelled Euroscepticism and embraced all the aforementioned characteristics. **Reluctance** came as a result of the reverence of national sovereignty, the excessive pride of the imperial past, and the strong attachment to individualism and rejection of the other.

Second, the fusion of all the previous traits and their resulting in reluctance ended in Britishness rejecting supranational Europeanism, and thus the British leaving the EU to

detach from Europeanism. The Brexit Deal was supposed to cut all ties with the EU, it rather threatens with possible Scottish and Northern Irish independence from the UK, that is the backfiring of Britishness' nationalism and individualism as being framed in losing the kingship Britishness to separate nationalities like Englishness, Scottish, Irish and possibly Welsh.

The challenges that were supposed to complicate the formation of the post-Brexit British identity were either chosen to be neglected like the shared history and geography with Europe, or to be utilized to serve the goal of globalism like the historical and geographical and even the linguistic ties with the United States. Accordingly, the linguistic challenge of the English language turned into an insurance for Britishness to be performed as mostly English, considerably American, and hardly forcefully European identity to prove the nation's ability to perform under no supranational tent.

Because the Brexit Deal offered some sort of continued interaction and allegiance to the EU, post-Brexit Britishness will turn into Englishness keeping both its superiority and achieve globalism through dependence on the universal English language which is the global means of communication, the diction of media, and the language taught in all schools over the world. In the case of Scotexit and Irexit from the UK, Britishness will be Englishness in one of its aspects, Europeanism in another (at least until the total breakup from the EU), and Americanism regarding: the shared history, the geographical extension, and the shared language.

Due to the specific and narrowed nature of this topic, and the limited span of time, this research provides space for further points to tackle in future relevant studies. The possibility of losing both Scotland and Northern Ireland along with the British everlasting reluctance may force Britain to reconsider its disintegration, as it has always been identified

as a kingdom amidst presidencies. Another subject to assessment would be the fate of Euroscepticism during the transition period that concerns fisheries and possible reintegration.

The present study recommends social awareness of the tactics used by populists to manipulate the masses' minds. It also urges questioning news provided by the media which is used by populists to achieve their goals especially that all parts are using the same language that any inferences or hidden messages ought to be well analyzed in order to be perceived as what they really imply. Also, the English may on the long run abandon the learning of foreign languages because of the universality of their language. However, life is all about change, and a new world power with a new language may dominate the universal scene. Therefore, the English are requested to encourage fueling the English public interest in expanding their linguistic package of other languages.

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