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Course: Senior study (POL499H)

Violating Human Rights to Protect Human Rights:

The Rise of European Far Right Nationalism in the Face of Rising Islamic Fundamentalism

by

Jeannette Touma

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Name: Jeannette Touma

Signature: Jeannette

Date: 7/3/2023

Abstract

European nationalism has been present in European countries ever since the French revolution. However, in recent years, it has been on the rise. For many studies, the reason behind this recent surge in rising nationalism can be linked back to fears of threats to the European continent, on the territorial, political and socioeconomic levels. Those are mostly caused by extreme Islamic fundamentalist groups. It seems that recent extremists' attacks have forced many European countries, specifically focusing on France and UK for the purposes of this thesis, to pursue some countermeasures based on an extreme nationalist basis. These reactions, however, have been thought to abuse wide groups of innocent Islamic communities, in Europe, through far-right anti-Islamic policies. This senior study thesis will first research the relation between the two extremist ideologies, as well as the impact of the policies on Islamic communities, and Europe on the long run. It will analyze how France and UK have reacted to extremist activities through possibly violating human rights. The answers to the previously listed possibilities will be based on a case study analysis, for each country. The main hypotheses of this thesis revolve around the manifestations of extreme Islamic activities, and the extent to which they affect the rise of extremist European nationalism. This is turn seems to be leading to discriminatory anti-Islamic policies. The purpose of testing those hypotheses in the abovementioned case studies is to conclude on some better policies and possible future plans that might be more inclusive of those communities and considerate of their long term impact on Europe. The thesis might possibly lead to a middle ground, or at least a mitigation of the roots of this serious issue.

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Abbreviations Page

BNF → British National Front

EU → European Union

FNF → French National Front

GPS → Global Positioning System

MAMA → Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks

UK → United Kingdom

US → United States

A- Introduction

When looking at today's globalized world, one might be attracted by the diversity of political ideologies. Nevertheless, from a political analysis perspective, these ideological political differences can often be a source of conflict. That is the case when studying European right wing nationalism and extreme Islamic fundamentalism. Far Right European groups emerged ever since early revolutions in the continent. For the purposes of this thesis, "nationalism" will be attributed as the defining feature of European Far Right. In recent years, the rise of Far Right European nationalism, seems to have been ignited several times by Fundamentalism. Fundamentalism can be understood as the ideology that occurs the moment religion seeks to gain political influence. It is worth noting that this ideology is not limited to one religion, as most religions might contain fundamentalist elements. However, this thesis will focus on Islamic fundamentalism which appears to be opposing the modern Western values, specifically Europe. The rise of extreme religious fundamentalism accompanied with huge migration campaigns and extremist movements have led European nationalists to fear European Islamization and the change of the continent's identity. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the two-sided relationship between rising European Nationalism in the face of rising Islamic Fundamentalism.

Understanding the relationship between European far right nationalism and extreme Islamic fundamentalism is important. In a Western dominated world, counter ideologies are often disregarded. It should be evident that not all Muslims are extreme Islamists, which is often neglected by European perspectives. It is true that growing Muslim minorities have become a burden on the European sociopolitical and economic infrastructure, specifically France and the UK. However, the European reaction through which Islamic communities' human rights have been violated, tend to be neglected. It is essential to consider how in the practice of nationalism to protect Europe from extreme fundamentalists, many Islamic communities are mistreated. Therefore, the importance of this thesis lies in understanding two extremist ideologies, which might lead to a degree of conflict resolution.

Subsequently, this senior study thesis has the objectives of understanding how human rights are often violated in this ideological conflict, specifically in France and UK. In fact, banning migration, developing anti-Islamic policies, and growing Islamophobia are all a European nationalistic reaction to Islamic fundamentalism. Through analyzing the above-mentioned, this thesis has the objectives of finding a middle ground between extremism for the vulnerable. This will therefore reduce the burden of Islamic extremism on Europe, in turn leading to a lower human rights violation rates of Muslims in Europe.

The research questions of this thesis therefore become: How can the relationship between the two extremist ideologies, European nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism, specifically in France and the UK, be characterized? And, how were anti-Islamic policies, as a result of extreme Islamic fundamentalism, discriminatory against human rights in France and the UK?

Attempting to research answers to the above questions is important for multiple reasons. First, it is essential to understand the dynamics of interactions between the two ideologies. Understanding how extreme Islamic fundamentalism is triggering an anti-reaction characterized as extreme European nationalism is vital as it will lead to a clearer understanding of how the interactions between these two extremist ends are affecting the sociopolitical lives of Islamic communities in Europe. This will in turn lead to comprehend how anti-Islamic policies, in France and the UK, have been discriminatory against certain segments of the societies. These possible answers might be beneficial in creating new inclusive policies that respect human rights.

Accordingly, it seems that the relationship between both extremist ideologies is based on tensions, due to the presence of certain factors leading to the rise of extreme Islamic fundamentalism, which in turn is triggering a rise in extreme European nationalism represented in some types of discriminatory policies. Furthermore, it is necessary to analyze the long term impact of those policies as they could negatively impact, not only Islamic communities in Europe, but European societies as well.

B- Scope of Study

In the study of Extreme European nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism, multiple unfolding events can assist in the analysis and can serve the listed objectives of this thesis. Nonetheless, the major ones seem to have taken place between 2015 – 2022. Indeed, this time period encompasses major anti-Islamic policies that were conducted in Europe, such as anti-migration laws and hate crimes. Moreover, it seems that multiple extremist activities were conducted during that time period in France and UK. Indeed, two major events that occurred between 2015 and 2022 were the Charlie Hebdo attacks as well as Brexit. For that reason, the time period would serve best in the analysis of the two ideologies, their relation, and their different consequences.

C- Literature Review and Gaps

Today's globalized world structure, have allowed for faster and easier movements. This was evident in the activities of extreme Islamic fundamentalist groups in Europe, in recent years. This extremism led to harmful consequences on majorities of the Islamic communities wanting to integrate in Europe through a far-right anti-Islamic European reaction. Based on the literature, multiple fields of study have been advanced. Those studies were focused on the relationship between both extremist ideologies. Others were assessing that relationship to explain the consequences on the European Islamic communities. These two developed fields of study relate back to the research questions of this senior study thesis through providing potential answers.

An Action-Reaction: Rising European Nationalism in the Face of Rising Extreme Islamic Fundamentalism

Multiple studies have been conducted to understand how far right nationalism has been growing between 2015 and 2022 in France and UK, and some possible triggers, such as the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, and the reasons behind it. In the post 9/11 world, specific political discourse used by certain European countries, particularly the UK, towards Muslims, held essential components discussing "moderate" Islam and terrorism, which raises several questions about how this traditionally

non-Western religion is perceived by Western democracies.[1] Furthermore, what was feared during that period, was a European crescent domination and Islamization, which was a constant motive for growing far right nationalist beliefs.[2] Nevertheless, this Islamic extremism has been in an instigated rise due to several internal and external factors.[3] Some examples could be hateful discourse, such as using the term "Islamophobia" in Europe, which has led to extreme Islamist counter-reactions.[2] Nonetheless, the issue here appears to not be revolving around religion in general, as the idea behind extreme right in Europe is rooted in Catholic beliefs and Catholic fundamentalism, but rather against the Islamic religion specifically.[10] All in all, through following a US' similar path, France would not be but threatening its own democracy through such possible counter-reactions.[4] One of the main reasons of growing Islamic fundamentalism is the frustration of the 2nd and 3rd generations of Muslims, who fled to Europe in the 1950s-1960s, and their mistreatment.[3] In the UK, the arrival of immigrants during that time has forced governments to ask themselves questions about these "minorities", and their future.[1] This has intensified in the post 9/11 world, when the answers to those questions have become clearer, as the presence of Muslims in Europe was now clearly considered a challenge to the status quo of European cultures.[1] For instance, Guillaume Faye, a French far right theorist, has long advocated that the true defense of the European identity should be targeted against the threat of "colonization" of the 3rd world countries, and, Islam.[2] The case is no different in the UK, where studies now use the term "multicultural nationalism", which signifies a hidden far right nationalist feeling, preserving the British identity with a fake will of "promoting" multiculturalism.[5] Studying the issue from the opposite perspective, it seems that the terrorist attacks that have taken place in both France

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[1] Gabriel, T., Smith, J. I., & Geaves, R. (2014). *Islam and the West Post 9/11*. Routledge.
[2] José Pedro Zúquete (2008) The European extreme-right and Islam: New directions?, Journal of Political Ideologies.
[3] Niblett, R. (2006). Islamic Extremism in Europe. *Statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on European Affairs*, 5.
[4] Plenel, E. (2016). *For the Muslims: Islamophobia in France*. Verso Books.
[5] Farrar, M., & Valli, Y. (2012). *Islam in the nest: Key issues in multiculturalism*. Springer.

and the UK, in the 7 years between 2015 and 2022, have uncovered hidden cells of "Islamist" groups.[3] This cannot but be considered as a valid argument for fear; Yet, the fear should be against terrorism, on both the lands and the people, not from Islam.[2] Moreover, there have been previous attempts for the launch of Islamist political parties in Europe, but many of them have actually tried to enter into alliances with extreme right parties, on common grounds, such as a US rejection.[10] Yet when it comes to the far-right consolidation of security, European Islamic communities' personal matters are disregarded.[4] Eventually, it seems that the European right is divided into three families; One of which, mainly located in France, seeks to constantly promote "European civilization" as a sole agenda for countering Islamization and Immigration "threats".[10] Therefore, literature acknowledges the effects of rising Islamic Fundamentalism in being a cause of increase European nationalism, yet still claims evident mistakes of the latter group.

Protecting Europe from Extremism: An Islamic Collateral Damage

It is true that Europe is built on essential values of respect for human rights and dignity. Yet, a number of studies show that due to Islamic extremism, some European countries are dealing with Islamic communities contrary to Western values and beliefs. Indeed, racism has been a characteristic attributed to far right nationalist groups in Europe; One category of parties differentiates other groups only based on race, such as the British National Front (BNF), and another category of parties is obsessed with the nation's identity, with a fear of other races taking over, such as the French National Front (FNF).[6] The fact that France has put an emphasis on the unilateral loyalty of only French people to the French state, actually makes it hard for Muslims to bridge their way into the country.[7] On this note, it seems that an increased level of extreme nationalistic opinions dominating in a country leads to extreme national identification, and, a constant support to far right radical parties.[11] Moreover, the

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[6] Carter, E. (2013). The extreme right in Western Europe: Success or failure?. In *The extreme right in Western Europe*. Manchester University Press.

[7] Pauly, R. J. (2016). *Islam in Europe: integration or marginalization?*. Routledge.

integration processes do not appear to be beneficial, as many European governments still receive serious criticism from human rights groups and the judiciary for their integration policies.[3] Furthermore, when mentioning Islamic Immigration towards Europe, Xenophobia seems to be on top of the list, as far right nationalists in the UK and France seem to fear "internal homogeneity", pushing them to develop several anti-migration policies.[6] Moreover, in many instances, it seems that those nationalists themselves are intensifying the issue as their identification as nationalists is far from an identification with the nation, and close to a hate towards external communities.[11] Accordingly, British immigrants now need to prove a certain level of linguistic capacities, in addition to a high engagement and knowledge of the culture.[8] Nevertheless, even if their demand gets accepted, they would most probably be excluded from several benefits in many instances, such as economic ones.[7] The problem here lies in the lack of knowledge of the Islamic religion, and its sole stereotypical association with extremism; This has led Human rights groups to call upon both governments to include experts' opinions in their policy making to avoid such stereotypes, and push for enhanced policies.[8] Today, Anti-Islamic policies revolve around the perception of Muslims as extreme conservatives wanting to establish the next Utopian Caliphate, which is what Europe fears.[9] In addition, freedom of speech might also be a human right forgotten for European Islamic communities, because European governments believe it is a point of extreme difference between Islamic and European communities on both ends.[5] Indeed, it appears that after 9/11, Muslims had to choose between freedom of expression, and "careful silence".[8] The issue of freedom of expression extends to the Western media which in most instances is biased against Islam in general, portraying the wrong

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[8] Peter, F. (2008). Political rationalities, counter-terrorism and policies on Islam in the United Kingdom and France. *The social life of anti-terrorism laws*, 79.

[9] Long, K. J. (2017). *Contemporary Anti-Muslim Politics: Aggressions and Exclusions*. Rowman & Littlefield.

[10] "The European Extreme Right and Religious Extremism." In *Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism in Europe*.

[11] Lubbers, M. and M. T. A. Coenders. "Nationalistic Attitudes and Voting for the Radical Right in Europe."

image, therefore reducing their level of integration.[9] Thus, it seems that the literature understands the presence of several marginalization policies of Islam in Europe.

Gaps

The literature stresses on the main causes for the rise of Extreme Islamic fundamentalism and continues to explain its effects on the increase of far right nationalism in both UK and France. The findings of this literature are therefore important, especially that they went over the causes and consequences. Yet, they still entail some essential gaps. First, the literature briefly mentions the presence of several causes leading to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, but, it seems to lack in delving deeper into those causes. The current literature could have included the socioeconomic factors that contribute to an increase in radical Islamic fundamentalism. On this note, it seems that the literature entails a gap when attempting to address anti-Islamic policies, and their impact on Europe. When tackling those policies, the literature was limited through only discussing their present effect rather than delving into their long term impact, on Islamic communities, as well as Europe itself.

It is important to fill those gaps to better comprehend the relationship. First, it is essential to understand the socioeconomic factors leading to a rise of extreme Islamic fundamentalism in many cases as tackling those factors leads to tackling the roots of the wider issue. Through understanding the abovementioned, policies could shift from being discriminatory to inclusive in tackling the socioeconomic perspective of the issue. On that note, it is essential to fill in the second gap, as it would be important to tackle the long term impact of the anti-Islamic European policies, that the literature did not focus on in depth but rather shortly. This is needed to understand what these policies could lead to on the long term, such as possible further marginalization, human rights' violation, and discrimination.

D- Arguments, Hypotheses, Variables, and Concepts

Arguments

It can be argued that a range of sociopolitical and economic factors such as poverty and political oppression, that were not clearly addressed in the literature, are instigating a rise in extreme Islamic fundamentalism, leading in turn to a rise in extreme European Nationalism manifested through radical anti-Islamic policies. Furthermore, it can be argued that clearly understanding those anti-Islamic policies, specifically their long term impact which was barely touched upon in the literature, might lead to a mitigation of the issue from its roots for the satisfaction of both sides.

Hypotheses

It can be hypothesized that if threats to European identity caused by extreme Islamic fundamentalism proceed to affect Europe, then far-right anti-Islamic policies, triggered by Extreme European nationalism, are more likely to occur, especially in France and UK. (H1)

It can also be hypothesized that sociopolitical radicalization by both sides, will more likely lead to a violation of several Islamic communities' human rights, in ways such as oppression, Islamophobia, travel bans, and discrimination, in France and UK. (H2)

Variables

In H1, it appears that the rise of extreme Islamic fundamentalism reoccurring in the form of threats to European identity is triggering a rise in extreme European nationalism embodied in radical anti-Islamic policies. Therefore, in this hypothesis (H1), the independent variable becomes the anti-Islamic policies, while the threats to European identity becomes the dependent variable.

Moreover, in H2, it seems that the reoccurring radicalization by both sides is leading to a reaction in the form of violation against Islamic communities in Europe, specifically France and UK. Thus, in this hypothesis (H2), the independent variable is the violation of human rights, whereas the dependent variable is the sociopolitical radicalization.

Concepts

In regards to the operationalization of the hypothesis, four concepts are to be better defined. In H1, the <u>threats to European identity</u> will be understood based on an analysis of the factors that might, directly or indirectly, put a pressure on Europe's sociopolitical life. These threats will be understood as any action that has pressured aspects of the European sociopolitical life, such as radicalization, imbalance in societal beliefs, societal tensions, and attacks on freedom of speech. In H1 as well, <u>anti-Islamic policies</u> consist of the decisions taken by both France and UK between 2015 and 2022 that aimed to counter the rise of extreme Islamic fundamentalism. These anti-Islamic policies appear discriminatory against several Islamic communities in Europe, and they consist of policies such as Burqa ban and anti-radicalization measures in France, as well as anti-migration policies, surveillance and monitoring in the UK. In H2, <u>sociopolitical radicalization</u> will be defined for both sides. Moreover, in terms of extreme Islamic fundamentalism, sociopolitical radicalization will be understood in terms of any extreme movement triggering a reaction by far right European nationalists, such as the use of violence, ideological influence, and training. In terms of extreme European nationalism, sociopolitical radicalization will be understood in terms of any extreme movement triggering a reaction by Islamic fundamentalists, or in no extreme cases the Islamic communities living in Europe, such as xenophobia, Islamophobia, and political violence.

E- Method and Justification

The upcoming research and analysis will be based on qualitative data that will help in answering the proposed research questions. The research will be mainly based on online data, which hold essential reports such as newspapers' accounts, digital archives, and academic databases. France24, Al Jazeera, the Guardian, and Reuters, and Vox News' articles, as well as some other resources, will be a basis for further research. The importance of a diverse list of media outlets lies in ensuring that the

seriously polarized issue, is being widely covered. Therefore, all of the listed resources are essential for conducting a relevant analysis.

The case studies' analysis model will be adopted. This model will be implemented in order to analyze two cases that occurred within the time scope and the geographical areas of the thesis.

The first case to be analyzed will be the series of extremist attacks on the Charlie Hebdo French magazine that started in 2015. This case entails essential elements that could lead to an enhanced analysis and possible recommendations. In the Charlie Hebdo case, elements of both Extreme nationalism and Extreme Islamic fundamentalism could be located. It is evident that this case entails essential differences in characteristics and values between two different societies of the world; two different ideologies. This difference has led to extremist behaviors by both sides due to the misunderstandings that it has instilled.

The second case to be analyzed will the 2016 Brexit vote, where the UK left the European Union (EU). The roots of the issue show that one of Brexit's underlying causes was driven by nationalist sentiments. Furthermore, the analysis of this case could lead to an enhanced understanding of how the British fear of threats on the country's identity could lead to an extreme reaction.

Choosing to analyze two cases contributes to wider inclusiveness of the time period, and a wider coverage of European regions. The analysis of both cases will lead to a conclusion on the further recommendations that could be adopted to the rise of extreme Islamic fundamentalism, and its impact on the rise of extreme European nationalism.

F- Analysis and Findings

It seems that several unfortunate factors on a sociopolitical scale, such as political oppression and poverty, in several regions around the world, are pushing for a rise in extreme Islamic fundamentalism. Moreover, this extremism, when manifested by extremist violent actions in regions such as Europe, is met by a counter-reaction, extreme European nationalism. This action-reaction relationship is being

manifested in anti-Islamic policies that are harming wide Islamic communities in Europe, as well as possibly harming Europe, on the long run.

This thesis has aimed to study previous research and literature on the issue of rising European nationalism as a reaction to rising Islamic Fundamentalism. However, several gaps were offered, such as the lack of attention to the sociopolitical aspect of the issue, as well as the counter effect of European Anti-Islamic policies, on Europe itself. Nevertheless, this section of the thesis will try to analyze two case studies: The Charlie Hebdo case (France-2015) and the Brexit Vote case (UK-2016). Analyzing these two cases is thought to be helpful in confirming the possible answers to the research questions, the hypotheses, and in presenting further answers to the literature gaps and the arguments. For this case study analysis, the two case studies were chosen in order to better cover the European areas targeted by the issue; both France and UK.

The Charlie Hebdo Case – France

When searching the Internet for the "facts" of the Charlie Hebdo case, much of the Western media, specifically French media for the purposes of this case, obviously takes one side. Moreover, this case was thought perfect for this senior study thesis as it is the perfect depiction for how the differences in the ideologies of two difference societies can lead to extremism, from both sides. However, and referring back to what the hypotheses, specifically H2, were trying to tackle, despite the fact that extremism is often triggered by two sides, one side directly has to afford its consequences, which happen to be the European Islamic communities. Nevertheless, the analysis of this case will aim to study and prove how those extremist reactions against this minor group in a wider society are also affecting that society itself.

The first news outlet targeted for research on this specific case was "France24". In their archives on their online website, a title from 7 January 2015 states: "Charlie Hebdo and the battle for freedom of speech". Indeed, on the 7th of January 2015, 17 people's lives were taken away by what is claimed as a

terrorist attack on the Paris offices of the "Satiric" magazine, Charlie Hebdo. The attacks followed released cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed in a Charlie Hebdo number. This is considered offensive to Islamic beliefs as it is thought that the Prophet should not portrayed. Yet, here the attacks were not carried out by "Islamic/Muslim communities", but rather by extreme Islamist groups, which raises essential questions on the backlash Islamic communities, in Europe, received themselves post these attacks.

It should be noted that the violent attacks on the magazine are definitely unacceptable, as they included highly extremist behaviors. Nevertheless, this case study aims to conclude possible answers to major issues, such as the extent to which radicalization by the European side is often a trigger to extreme Islamic fundamentalism, manifested in extremist acts. In addition to researching the extent to which such extreme Islamist fundamentalist activities have led many Islamic communities in Europe to be hated upon and stereotyped against through far-right nationalist Anti-Islamic policies.

In an opinion article titled "reprinting the Charlie Hebdo cartoons is not about free speech" on "Al-Jazeera" news outlet, "Asma Barlas" mainly tackles "freedom of speech". The article was posted in 2020, after Charlie Hebdo editor's will to reprint the cartoons, that triggered the whole situation in 2015, for the 2020 trial. Barlas mentions several essential Islamic communities' descriptions in dealing with the issue throughout her article. Nonetheless, one essential idea to focus on for this analysis is about the serious link Barlas makes between "freedom of speech" and the "want for power". Indeed, if one were to think about it, what is the purpose out of drawing a "funny" cartoon of the Prophet? The idea to be understood here is the Western will and the Western's constant need to show dominance over other populations, the Islamic communities precisely for this thesis.

Moreover, when discussing different communities, the difference of ideologies, beliefs, and values are essential factors to be considered. Indeed, the idea of "freedom of speech" for the French community in general is different from that of the Islamic communities. From a European perception, there is no

limit to freedom of speech, which is different for the Islamic communities, especially when it touches upon such sensitive religious topics.

Nonetheless, moving a few years back in time to 2010, a French law on banning burqa and veils can be located. The controversy here is essential as it lies in proving that freedom of speech and expression is one sided. This links back to the idea of the surge in European nationalist dominance over most of the Islamic communities' lives' in Europe, as previously mentioned in the literature and this analysis. A veil on a woman's head seems threatening enough to a whole country, yet a cartoon of the "Prophet" should not be. This seems reoccurring through what the literature had already mentioned on the European pursuit of enforcing their values on the Islamic communities there. Which first is a form of dominance; And second, is a form of enforcement of those minor communities to adapt to the same values but in a new interpretation and a new form. The idea relates back to the title as well as the introduction of this senior study thesis. When Europe opens its borders to accept people from outside its territories, is Europe fully prepared to be accepting of its duties to protect their human rights, dignities, and freedoms the way European countries claim they do? Or is it just another form of Western dominance over external populations, specifically Islamic communities, that have been the victims of the post Charlie Hebdo period?

Speaking of the post Charlie Hebdo period, many sociopolitical factors changed in France when dealing with minority Islamic communities. On a societal level, an article posted by "Reuters" in 2015, directly following the attacks, discusses the harsh reality of Muslims in France during that specific period. Aside from the many anti-Islamic presence, and anti-Migration campaigns and protests, personal attacks were reoccurring on the daily on the basis of Islamophobia and anti-Islamic sentiments. For example, women with veils would be publicly attacked during the day on the streets. On a political level, the post Charlie Hebdo attacks in France opened up space for far right parties to rise and prosper. Indeed, in a 2015 regional election rally in Lille, Marine le Pen, the leader of the

Front National (FN, a far-right French political party) explicitly stated that the attacks were a result of many of the government's mistakes, one of which is the "crazy, undiscerning immigration policy". The literature review tackled examples on how the rise of extreme Islamic fundamentalism leads to a rise in extreme European nationalism. Indeed, it does. The same article by the "Guardian" talking about Le Pen's rally post 2015 attacks, also talks about the reinforcement of the far right's position in France after the incident. And, what this leads to, once again as mentioned in the literature review, is a marginalization of innocent Muslim communities that are not part of the original problem.

The literature, specifically Carter (2013), mentioned a serious characteristic of the far-right French Party National Front. Indeed, the literature states that a main work conduct of the NF is based upon a constant fear of external people taking over European culture and identity. Further proof on this specific point happens to have occurred 6 years post the 2015 Charlie Hebdo attacks, in 2021. 24 April marks the date when the French government forced the closure of mosques and Muslim organizations in France, under the pretext was "fighting against terrorism". This once again adds up to the idea already mentioned in the literature on the lack of integration methods for Muslims in Europe, specifically France for this case.

Moreover, despite the previously stated fact that the attacks definitely cannot be justified, the arguments seem evident for the case. Indeed, the case study tackled some sociopolitical and economic factors that the gaps section entailed, such as the oppression of Islamic values' interpretation and beliefs in Europe which were the freedoms of expression and speech. Nonetheless, the lack of those specific sociopolitical elements has led to a rise in extreme fundamentalist acts. In this case, the acts were represented in the attacks on the Charlie Hebdo magazine, which in turn led to further anti-Islamic policies.

Furthermore, another main gap in the literature the lack in addressing the long term impact of the anti-Islamic policies on both the Islamic communities in Europe, and Europe itself. Indeed, the

success of Marine Le Pen in making it into the second round of the 2022 French presidential elections, and then losing the final round but with a higher turnout then the one of the 2017 elections can lead to several conclusions about the long term impact of far-right anti-Islamic policies, on different levels. On the long run, it seems that shifts in the societal dynamic, ideologies, and beliefs of the French people are evident. From 33.9% of votes in 2017, to 41.67%, the far-right anti-Islamic mobilization influence is increasing. And here, it is not only limited to the far-right beliefs of Le Pen only, but also her actual political campaign. Despite the fact that her 2022 campaign, as described by "France24", was "polished", the underlying far-right anti-Islamic and anti-immigration beliefs are still present, explicit, and evident. On the long run, this leads to a lack of integration of Islamic communities in several areas of the European life, on both the political and the societal levels. Yet, with such agendas gaining more power, extreme Islamic activities are more likely to occur, which is as stated in the literature, one of the "internal causes for its rise".

On a final note, it appears that both H1 and H2 as well as their variables could be located in the case study analysis of France for this part of the section. For H1, the threats to European identity were manifested in the attacks on the Charlie Hebdo magazine, which pushed the French to enforce their own "freedom of expression and speech" values. Moreover, the anti-Islamic policies were manifested on the sociopolitical level in both the rise of anti-Islamic movements as well as the rise of far-right parties that wanted to amend accordingly. In H2, the sociopolitical radicalization can be perceived from both sides. First by the extreme attacks from the fundamentalists side, and second by the extreme westernized beliefs and the want to enforce them by the extreme European nationalist side. Moreover, the human rights violations were also clear through the direct attacks on Muslims on French streets, Islamophobia, the rallies, and the campaigns. Thus, for both hypotheses, the relation between the variables is clear.

The Brexit Vote – The United Kingdom

This case study was chosen to be analyzed after the France's case study considering that a major part of it is related to the series of attacks on France between 2015 and 2016. This shows the interdependence and closeness in the reactions of more than one European state to the same issue. To begin with, Brexit is the name attributed to Britain's exit from the EU. Indeed, in June of 2016, the UK held a referendum asking its people on whether it should remain a member of the EU, or not. The voting turnout was approximately 52% with the idea of withdrawing from the EU. And four years later, in January 2020, the UK left the EU.

The reasons for even considering such a major decision such as Brexit were many. The major Brexit arguments, as to several media outlets and reports, were related to political and economic implications such as the EU threats on British sovereignty, the different enforced EU regulations, the EU's corporate interests in the UK, and some more reasons. Nevertheless, other essential but underlying Brexit arguments appear to be in direct relation with the topic of this thesis: EU's openness to too many immigrants, and the UK's will for the development of a more rational immigration system without the EU's interference. As "Vox news" describe it, the intellectual case for Brexit is based on politics and economics, whereas the emotional case for Brexit is heavily influenced by immigration. Indeed, a report by the "Independent TV", a British news outlet, states that a third of Brexit voters believe immigration should be banned as it is serving as an undercover agenda for the islamization of Europe. Moreover, the literature, specifically Zuquette, mentions that a fear from external communities is valid when it is a fear from terrorism and extremist acts, but not from Islamization. In the literature as well, it seems that the fear of "internal homogeneity" imposed by immigration is also widely shared in the UK. However here, that is not the case. In fact, it seems that Brexit voters' fear from Islamic communities is more of a stereotype labeling certain communities on the expense of the

mistakes of others. In other words, it seems that this hate against Islamic communities is because of extreme Islamic fundamentalists, as thoroughly discussed in the literature.

Furthermore, it is essential to note that several extremist activities occurred in Europe pre 2016, such as the 2005 London metro bombings, or the 2007 Glasgow airport attack. However, the Charlie Hebdo case seems to have had a major impact on the British's fear for such threats.

In this section of the analysis, further explanations on the events of the Brexit vote will be provided. Most importantly, it should be noted that the Brexit's immigration motive, presented earlier in this analysis, was not solely revolving around one certain population, ethnicity, or religion. However, after careful research, one could notice that in 2015 specifically, Europe was faced with a serious number of asylum seekers which later on turned into a major refugee crisis. Moreover, those asylum seekers were initially mainly incoming from the Middle East, specifically because of the Syrian war. Analytically, this can lead to some conclusions related the stereotypes already presented in the literature. The refugee crisis was quickly politicized in the UK. In fact, conflicts between politicians from within the UK were reoccurring regularly because of the matter. For instance, far right nationalist parties were being attacked and targeted by some opposition parties for taking advantage of the Syrian refugees' crisis to promote their political agendas. This type of political mobilization further leads, and indeed led, to societal mobilization. So, even if the immigration argument of Brexit was not explicitly opposed to Islamic presence in the UK and Europe, such far-right mobilization acts did lead to anti-Islamic policies on the long run, mainly in the post Brexit period.

The Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks (MAMA) British organization denounced a rise in Islamophobia post the Brexit referendum. Indeed, 66% of the tweets during that period of time were denouncing explicit anti-Islamic sentiments. Hate crimes were on the rise as well during that time, such as direct attacks against veiled women on UK streets. This targets the Islamophobia danger to be targeted, not

against the Islamic communities that were planning on entering the UK post Brexit, but rather against those that were already established there pre-Brexit.

Moreover, the literature review mentions the failure of the proper development of integration plans for Islamic communities in Europe. Indeed, the Brexit vote seems to have made it even more complex. To explain, it has not only become harder for Islamic communities to cross UK borders post Brexit, but also for Islamic communities already living in the UK to pursue their pre-Brexit normal life. If through their Brexit supportive votes some of the British people considered immigration as a motive, it will therefore be difficult to convince them of alternative measures for Islamic integration in the country. Those alternatives might consist, but are not limited to, governmental plans for Islamic integration in the UK specifically, and Europe generally, for example. And, even if they eventually find such plans acceptable, they will want it to happen based on their own European values and beliefs, once again related back to the idea of replacing elements of the Islamic identity with European values and beliefs, in fear that if done otherwise, an Islamization of Europe will occur.

To further prove the sociopolitical aspect of extreme Islamic fundamentalism previously provided in this thesis, additional examples will be provided. In 2019 for instance, the head of the British counter-terror police publicly stated that it is right wing extremism itself that is imposing the most serious threats on the UK's internal security. Indeed, this statement fits perfectly alongside the argument previously presented in this thesis. On the long run, the rapid and extreme increase of European nationalism manifested through far-right anti-Islamic policies will only lead to more extreme countering by Islamic fundamentalist groups. Additionally, a violation of innocent European located Islamic communities' basic rights will proceed to occur. This can happen either through their marginalization as seen in this case, or through an enforcement of a European lifestyle upon them.

In regards to the anti-migration's policies effects and consequences, a 2022 article by "Al Jazeera" titled "UK's anti-migrant hostile environment policy dehumanizes us all" discusses an aspect of them.

The article mainly focuses on the GPS tools that are often enforced on people that get out of migration detention, in order to fully track their location, 24/7. The issue here is serious, and deeper than it might actually seem. The reason is that studies show that only 1% of people out of migration detention do not comply with the bail condition. This implies that such a measure is an explicit, direct, and controversial violation of human rights. This might also imply that such a measure is being enforced on innocent human beings because of the extremist acts of others. Thus, it seems that UK's advocacy of Human rights and freedoms is not always fully applied, at least not to the extent to which it is claimed to be. In accordance with the presented arguments of this study, questions should be raised for the future, and the long term impact of such dehumanizing policies. Thinking into the roots of the issue for the long term, the rapid advancement of technology might indeed allow for a variety of other dehumanizing methods to be developed, and eventually used for the wrong causes unethically.

Another example of anti-migration policies is presented on the country's governmental website, and it is related to the restructuring of the migration plan. It is explicitly mentioned that the migration plans and policies have been readdressed and restructured due to the high crime rates. This proves once again what has been already stated. More people are being judged and stereotyped against because of the extremist activities of some.

As a sovereign country, the UK definitely has the outmost right to decide what happens inside its own territories. However, as a leading Human rights' advocates, major questions are to be further raised.

Is the topic also being used as a form of Western dominance over minority groups in the country? Whatever the answer is, on the long run, this far-right dominance and extremism might cause harm to the country itself. Aside from what has already been mentioned, the lack of integration of Islamic communities in several aspects of the European life will lead to less social cohesion and more fragmentations of the societies. This might happen when there is a high marginalization in the educational system specifically.

In regards to the case analysis of the UK, through the Brexit vote, it also seems that both hypotheses and variables could be clearly understood. The threats to the European identity were manifested through the high influx of immigrants which seemed to many as a path for the Islamization of the country and the continent. Furthermore, the retaliation was a strict amendment to the British migration policies that in many instances looked dehumanizing. In the second hypothesis, H2, sociopolitical radicalization could be located, by the extreme Islamic fundamentalist activities, and by the extreme far-right nationalist discourse evident through Brexit. Furthermore, there was a clear violation of human rights caused by that targeted against Islamic communities through hate crimes, harsh discourse, enforcement of values, mobilization of the case for elections purposes, and tense migration policies and bans. Thus, for both hypotheses, the relation between the variables is clear.

G- Conclusion

The main aim of this senior study thesis was to understand and analyze the interactions between two extremist, but very different, ideologies.

This study entailed two essential research questions seeking potential answers as to the nature of the relationship between extreme Islamic fundamentalism and extreme European nationalism, and their potentially harmful consequences. Furthermore, and in order to start formulating possible answers for these questions, a literature review was conducted.

The literature review tackled several aspects of the issue, such as closely researching the type of interactions between both ideologies and trying to hint at some characterizing features of both extremist groups. Throughout that part of the thesis, it seemed that the relationship was one of action-reaction, where each ideology is triggered by the other's threatening actions. Moreover, in further parts of the literature, the issue of "collateral damage" was pointed at. And, even if this was used metaphorically, there indeed appears to be, a collateral damage targeting innocent Islamic communities in Europe.

Furthermore, the literature entailed some gaps, that were diverse between the lack of explanation on the socioeconomic and political factors leading for extreme fundamentalism, as well as the long term impact of anti-Islamic policies.

Both arguments and hypotheses tried to cover the presented gaps and answer the research questions, respectively. The arguments were contending that sociopolitical factors do have an impact on extreme fundamentalism, as well as arguing in favor of the presence of a long term impact of anti-Islamic policies. The hypotheses on the other hand were trying to create a relationship between the two ideologies, and that human rights are indeed actually occurring. The two hypotheses offered a clear link between the different variables. Moreover, it seems that when the European identity is put under threat, a retaliation is presented by far-right groups under the form of Anti-Islamic policies. In addition, it seems the radicalization by both extremist groups, on the sociopolitical level, is eventually leading to a Human rights' abuse and violation of the Islamic communities already established in Europe.

In order to better assess those two hypotheses, two case studies were chosen for further analysis, covering the two European countries that this study introduced, France and UK. After thorough analysis of each of the cases, the hypotheses were approved. Moreover, a common pattern could be perceived. In both the Charlie Hebdo (France) case, and the Brexit vote (UK) case, a Western dominance appears explicitly. This dominance was highlighted in instances where both countries would want to impose their own ideologies on those communities. Yet, they would also violate European Islamic communities' most basic rights for extremist crimes that they did not commit. Another commonality between both cases was the mobilization of the societies through political agenda revolving around those non-European communities. It appeared that whenever a major political decision or event would happen, societal tensions such as hate crimes or Islamophobia would increase.

The major takeaways of this study should be focused upon the need to understand the long term impact of such policies on both Europe, and the minority communities. Further policies that aim to reduce extreme Islamic fundamentalism in Europe should be targeted towards extreme Islamic fundamentalist groups rather than Islamic communities established in Europe. In other words, France or UK, representing Europe in this thesis, should be afraid of those threats imposed by the extremist violent groups working for harmful plans rather than the innocent communities working for prosperous lives in Europe. Further policies on this matter should be targeted towards an integration of those communities into the European lives, be it in schools, universities, or other major institutions. Other policies could include a direct targeting of Islamophobia in societies, through which measures addressing hate crimes and discrimination, could be adopted, on a societal, political, and legal level. Moving forward, the root causes of the issue need to be further addressed. Instead of attacking the Islamic communities established in Europe through anti-Islamic policies, policymakers can assist them on both the societal and economic level. This might help them avoid getting involved in radical activities because of unsatisfactory socioeconomic living conditions. Future policies could address a more serious investment of those communities in education, job trainings, community building initiatives, or community outreach programs. Finally, future research or policies could address the international factor of the issue. Considering that extremist activities do not know borders and territories, it is essential to address their fluidity through possible studies such as information and practice sharing between countries. Counter radicalization programs that have been successfully adopted by one country could be shared with others. In addition, further studies should be targeted towards the improvement of international anti-extremism plans. Moreover, funding could be provided on an international scale for the enhancement of the socioeconomic situation of several communities to prevent possible future radicalization, in countries where assistance is merely, or not, provided.

Nevertheless, whatever the type of policy to be adopted in the future might be, the main outcome to be remembered out of this thesis, is that extremism by one side will always be met with extremism by the other.

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