

Does Brexit Would Cause Domino Effect on Other European Union Countries? Is It The End of Regional Integrations?

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ABSTRACT: Based on the Lisbon Treaty Article 50 / Treaty of European Union (TEU), the United Kingdom implemented a referendum on July 23, 2016, called Brexit, to decide whether to leave or stay in the EU. The fact that the referendum has resulted in separation has led to a concentration of negative expectations for the future of the EU. In fact, this development can be perceived as a consequence of the rejection of the EU Constitution referendums in France and the Netherlands in 2005. Besides failing to work out the 2005 EU Constitutional crisis, Europe's facing 2008 global crisis and debt crisis, and its failure to manage this process all have increased the pessimism about the future of EU citizens and has revived the return of EU citizenship to nation citizenship. This can be labelled as "cultural fragmentation". The purpose of this study comprises whether the process beginning with Brexit and developed within this milieu will have a dominion effect among other countries in EU.

Key Code: Brexit, European Union, Domino Effect

I. DOMINO EFFECT

Baldwin (1993) describes the Domino effect as "the current wave of regionalism stems from two idiosyncratic events -- one in the New World and one in the Old -- that have been multiplied many times over by a domino effect" with saying this, describing it as a process of change that first affects the political decision-making processes of non-member countries, beginning with countries within regional integration.

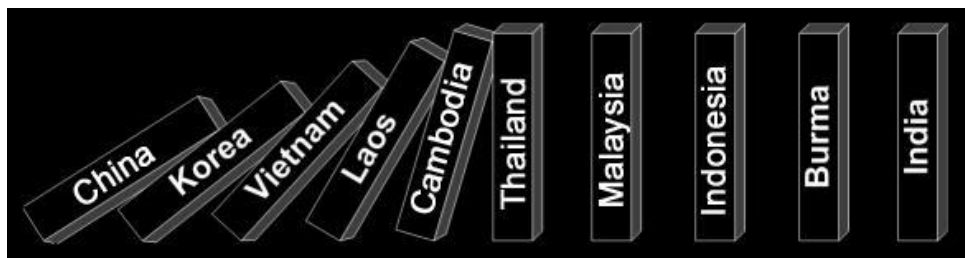
Domino effect is described as a diffusion / contagion effect of a positive or negative change as a process. This sequence change / contagiousness shows its effect more closely on the close / similar countries.

The Domino Effect / Theory was first used by the 34th President of the United States (1953-1961), Dwight David Eisenhower (14 October 1890 - Denison, Texas - March 28, 1969 - Washington D.C.) with the worry of the communist expansion that would create a contagion effect in South Asia.

Eisenhower's answer to a question about the spread of communism in 1954, would later be developed by others into the domino theory. The theory was simple: if a country fell under the influence of communism, then neighboring countries would also, and communism would spread throughout a region. The domino theory became a major influence on American foreign policy throughout the Cold War. (Mathew; 2012)

The Domino theory was considered as one of the United States' foreign policy instruments in the 1950s because of the concern that the achievement of communist success would create a contagion effect from neighboring countries, and a chained effect very quickly and in order to prevent this spread. With this worrying; President Dwight D. Eisenhower coins one of the most famous Cold War phrases when he suggests the fall of French Indochina to the communists could create a "domino" effect in Southeast Asia. The so-called "domino theory" dominated U.S. thinking about Vietnam for the next decade. "Estimates of the effect of the Vietnamese domino falling varied from communism spreading to its immediate neighbours to the 'loss' of all land in the region including Australia and New Zealand." (Smith; 2007)

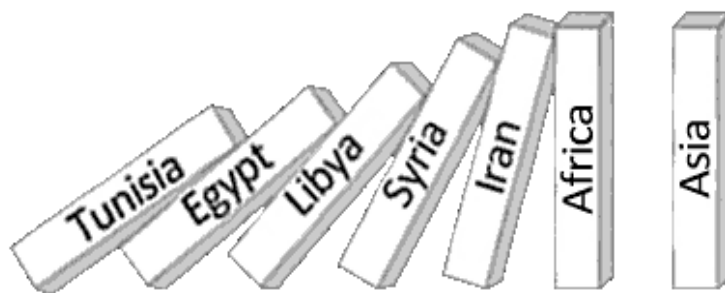
"Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the 'falling domino' principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences." (Eisenhower; 1954)



- Domino Theory

This theory came to life once again in 2000s with a more positive approach. This approach, called the "Democratic Domino Theory," was based on the belief that the war in Iraq would create a significant and rational sequence change for the region (the Middle East Countries). Therefore, "Some in the Bush administration believed that establishing a democracy in Iraq would lead to the spread of democracy in the Middle East, and lead to the overthrow of authoritarian regimes hostile to US interests. This was a short-lived iteration of the domino theory (and one that few have even heard of), and was discredited as years passed when the Iraqi model failed to inspire change in the region". (Mathew; 2012)

The Domino effect is both economically and politically influential. The fact that the East Asian economic crisis is effective on all the countries of the region, and in Russia and then in Turkey and its rapid spread can be explained as the effect of economic domino. On the other hand, Ravenhill (2010) stated that the political domino effect is more effective and stronger than the economical domino effect.



- Democratic Domino Theory

The European Union, the result of an international treaty signed in Rome in 1957, the capital of Italy, is designed to form a European Constitution for the European Union. The adoption of this Constitution was tied to its acceptance in all countries. After the failures of the constitutional referendums (2005-France-Netherlands) and the Brexit (Britain-Exit), the European Union, with its inability to survive the global crisis, has become a social laboratory subject that was studied for the first time since the long run and negative expectations intensified.

II. EUROPEAN UNION

If half century in the integration process is assessed, we can say that the process from the European Economic Community (EEC) to the European Union (EU) was shaped by two principles: "expansion and deepening principles". On the other hand, it can be seen that there is a dialectical relation between these two principles; In other words, these two principles are not independent of one another and can not be said that they influenced on progresses independently from each other, but on the contrary there is a mutual interaction and unspoken tension among the various factors involved. For this reason, it will be correct to examine the interaction in its own way and once again in the direction of the European harmony progress. (Stammen; 2008). The processes of Deepening and Expansion came into existence in a way constellation triggering each other and progression which is gradual and provides progresses in the direction of integration.

From the year at which EEC (European Economic Community) was founded to the year of 2016, while the EU (European Union) has gained meaning with Five-Stage Deepening Process, European Single Act (1986-1987), Maastricht Treaty (1992-1993), Amsterdam Treaty (1997-1999), Nice Treaty (2001-2003), Lisbon Treaty (2007-2009), which set the best examples of regional integration and establishe monetary union, on the other hand, it has enlarged with following five-stage expansion process politics; first expansion (England, Ireland, Denmark - 1973), second expansion (Greece, 1981), third expansion (Spain, Portugal - 1986), Fourth Expansion (Austria, Finland, Sweden - 1995) and Fifth Expansion (Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Malta, Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus- 2004 and Romania, Bulgaria - 2007). However, while Öniş and Kutlay (2012) stated that all these successful and prospective steps are not supported by the necessary institutional transformation and that they soon turned into a mechanism accumulating new problems in itself, they specified that firstly the referendum of the constitutional process in France and the Netherlands (The referendums which were done for the European Constitution were rejected with noes at the rate of 56% in France on May 29 and 61.6% noes in Netherlands on June 1), put the EU into an existential crisis. Moreover, they stated that not having been able to achieved the institutional and legal changes enabling new members to bear without hindering the running of Union lead to result that bring in structural character to expansion fatigue. The main problem for the EU, however, was that the global economic crisis of 2007/2008 immediately turned into an euro crisis by springing up in Europe. In this framework, it is understood that the principle that every growth does not mean positively grow is valid within the integration efforts.

III. BREXIT

Based on the Lisbon Treaty Article 50 / Treaty on European Union (TEU) 50, Britain implemented a referendum on July 23, 2016 to leave from the EU or stay in. The Brexit implementation resulted in "yes", namely, separation from the EU outvoted. That desire for secession at the rate of 52%, that is, votes revealed in the direction of secession with a small (not negligible) difference, led to great controversy both in the continent and in the world.

Article 50 – Treaty on European Union (TEU)

50.1 Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements. (European Parliament; 2016) another relevant articles¹

According to Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, the referendum held on 23 June 2016 in the United Kingdom is meaningful, along with having a different importance for the UK, the European Union and the world. In this context, What does Brexit mean? Hunt, Wheeler (2017) have defined this question as “It is a word that has become used as a shorthand way of saying the UK leaving the EU - merging the words **Britain** and **exit** to get Brexit, in a same way as a possible. A referendum - a vote in which everyone (or nearly everyone) of voting age can take part - was held on Thursday 23 June, to decide whether the UK should leave or remain in the European Union. Leave won by 52% to 48%. The referendum turnout was 71.8%, with more than 30 million people voting.”

IV. RESULTS OF THE BREXIT REFERENDUM

It is an unexpected result for many, as a result of the Brexit referendum in favor of yes at the rate of 52% , that is, the votes was revealed in direction of splitting the UK from the European Union. Such an unexpected development in terms of majority has led to an increase in negative expectations, worries and uncertainty over the EU. Cavalier and Bossy (2016) explained that the result will have separate consequences for the world, the EU and the UK. Brexit would be significantly negative for real GDP growth in the UK in the short term, but its impact will be modestly negative elsewhere in Europe and negligible in the rest of the world.

It was suggested at the other comments on the outcome of the referendum that there will be significant changes in the negative direction for the EU and the UK or there will be minor changes and that there will be changes between these two extreme views. Another controversy is that the result will be domino effect or contagion effect on other EU countries.

While, Hunt and Wheeler (2017) explained this dilemma as "So at one extreme, "hard" Brexit could involve the UK refusing to compromise on issues like the free movement of people in order to maintain access to the EU single market. At the other end of the scale, a "soft" Brexit might follow a similar path to Norway, which is a member of the single market and has to accept the free movement of people as a result". Strumia (2016) did not see this 52% preference as a small difference of superiority. But rather while he defended that this will create a wave of uncertainty on the entire mainland he stated that it will also be a turning point for Europe Integration. He also concluded that it will be a similar problem for European citizenship. While, Cavalier and Bossy (2016) state that there will be economic, political and financial problems in the same way, they claimed that the main problem is uncertainty. Let us start with an obvious (this) fact. Brexit is a political event which primarily triggers political uncertainty. The realm of politics has little to do with household or corporations, and even less with financial markets. In most cases, we get used to this situation relatively easily. On rare occasions, like the present one, the torpor and procrastination of politicians spark economic uncertainty which is harmful to the business climate, investment and recruitment incentives, spending intentions, etc.

He also stated that Brexit's uncertainty is the most important problem, along with economic, political and financial problems. In addition, he stated that Brexit ambiguity is directly related to Brexit's own structure, and that this should not necessarily be compared to the Lehman² scenario. While he stated that the negative

¹ 2. A Member State which decides to withdraw shall notify the European Council of its intention. In the light of the guidelines provided by the European Council, the Union shall negotiate and conclude an agreement with that State, setting out the arrangements for its withdrawal, taking account of the framework for its future relationship with the Union. That agreement shall be negotiated in accordance with Article 218(3) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. It shall be concluded on behalf of the Union by the Council, acting by a qualified majority, after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament.

3. The Treaties shall cease to apply to the State in question from the date of entry into force of the withdrawal agreement or, failing that, two years after the notification referred to in paragraph 2, unless the European Council, in agreement with the Member State concerned, unanimously decides to extend this period.

4. For the purposes of paragraphs 2 and 3, the member of the European Council or of the Council representing the withdrawing Member State shall not participate in the discussions of the European Council or Council or in decisions concerning it. A qualified majority shall be defined in accordance with Article 238(3)(b) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

5. If a State which has withdrawn from the Union asks to rejoin, its request shall be subject to the procedure referred to in Article 49.

² U.S. banking giant Lehman Brothers filed for bankruptcy, sending shockwaves across the global financial markets. Now in 2016, has the world learned anything from the worst day in the history of banking?

result does not require an obligation / requirement and it is only a consultative situation, he also made a comparison with the parliament and the referendum results of other countries.

In the Republic of Ireland, a number of treaties have been rejected (Nice, Lisbon) but, following a series of concessions, a second vote provided a different result. In France and in the Netherlands, Treaties were ratified in parliament after earlier draft were rejected in a referendum (European constitution), but with a three-year period between the two events. Lastly, we saw in Greece, in 2015, that 24 hours was all it took for the government to operate a 180° turn on its position. The question at hand is different to all of the aforementioned examples. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Brexit will take place. It is on this assumption that we must attempt to assess its macroeconomic impact.

Whatever the outcome of the Brexit referendum, the example of the UK will remain sound, as it is specifically the UK, not any other Member State that triggered the whole debate on withdrawals from the EU (Kochenov; 2016)

Similar issues will be the subject of economic links “Nearly half a century after the first enlargement of the EU in the early 1970s, the economic circumstances of the EU and the UK are now so interwoven that their prospects cannot be independent over any foreseeable horizon. Perhaps the greatest economic uncertainty for the UK is the future course and prosperity of the euro area, by far the largest economy in this region of the world. EU reform matters hugely for the whole continent with or without Brexit”. (Ferry, Röttgen; 2016)

There came out vote of yes (participation) so as to join union formerly named as the European Economic Community (EEC) at the referendum in the UK in 1975. And then, more votes came out on June 23, 2016 so as to leave from an integration at which monetary union was ensured. So, what are the things that were changed between these the periods? What developments that pushed the community from hopeful future expectation to a worried future were experienced? When analyzed geographically, a very important part of the country voted in the direction of secession. While there came out votes in the direction of staying at EU at the rate of 59% in London, 56% in northern Ireland and 62% in Scotland; On what grounds can be explained that the rest of the country vote for secession from the EU? If it is not found sincere and well-intentioned answers to these questions, it should not be surprising that unexpected problems arise in other parts of the country.

Residence based on supranational citizenship “is the new nationality” only until national citizenship does not outlaw such residence. The study of EU citizenship has rather focused on its potential as transnational citizenship, on its political capacity, on its repercussions for solidarity (Strumia; 2016)

While Ferry Röttgen (2016) evaluated the UK and EU, For nearly sixty years, a seemingly irreversible momentum towards integration within the framework of the European Union has, for many, defined the future of the continent. On 23 June 2016, the electorate of the United Kingdom made a sovereign choice to leave the EU. After the British decision to leave, Europe’s trajectory, even its destiny, has again become a matter of choice.. While he describes this situation as a major disengagement and break point for the EU, he stated that it is a change for the UK. In addition, the EU’s three most powerful economies, Germany, France and Britain, predicted in a way that “none can be confident of having a place at the new top table”.

More immediately, the constellation of security threats in Eurasia calls for managing the Brexit divorce so that it does not weaken Europe further at a time of major challenges to the security, freedom and wellbeing of its peoples. The current situation is a worrying reminder of the unavoidable interdependencies of geographical neighbours: the UK can leave the EU but it cannot relocate away from Europe.(Ferry, Röttgen. 2016)

The greatest uncertainty for the UK is starting, and for the EU, reform with Brexit or without Brexit is absolutely necessary ...The same can be said of economic links. Nearly half a century after the first enlargement of the EU in the early 1970s, the economic circumstances of the EU and the UK are now so interwoven that their prospects cannot be independent over any foreseeable horizon. Perhaps the greatest economic uncertainty for the UK is the future course and prosperity of the euro area, by far the largest economy in this region of the world. EU reform matters hugely for the whole continent with or without Brexit. (Ferry, Röttgen. 2016)

By definition, a referendum is normally a choice between two well identified options. This was not the case of the Brexit referendum. No-one really knows what the alternative is to the UK’s membership of the European Union. This creates huge uncertainties, both immediate and in the longer term, and both at the political and institutional levels (Cavalier, Bossy, 2016, p.5)

The effects of Turkey's Brexit decision are discussed in some analyzes. Turkey was a key weapon in Leave's armoury and, although claims that the UK would not be able to stop it entering the EU were firmly denied, there was enough uncertainty about this - a fact that the ongoing migrant crisis in Europe unquestionably fed into.(bbc.com; 24.07.2016 access; 09.02.2017)

What will happen soon? Important dates about whether Brexit will become widespread or not, or whether the domino effect will take place or not, will lead to stronger comments on this issue. One of these is; Italy constitutional referendum: October to December 2016 (Italian voters rejected constitutional changes backed by the government, prompting Prime Minister Matteo Renzi to announce his resignation.) This

development, which takes place in Italy and is negative for the EU, may lead people to become conscious of national citizenship and pessimism about feeling better.

A few developments that will be realized in the near future:

- French presidential elections: April/May 2017
- Dutch general election: March 2017
- Austrian presidential election re-run: October 2, 2016 (That the pro-EU, Van der Bellen³ won the election by a narrow margin, satisfied the EU supporters. But the difference in the points (53% - 46%) appears that it will not be able to prevent from new concerns caused by election and referendum in terms of the EU's future.)

Cavalier Bossy (2016) sees this result as a divorce. The divorce will be long, acrimonious and probably costly for both parties Brexit will stimulate already strong Eurosceptical sentiment elsewhere on the continent. But we think there is little likelihood that a similar referendum will be held in Eurozone countries in the foreseeable future.(Cavalier, Bossy, 2016, s.1)

Voters in France, Italy and the Netherlands are demanding their own votes on European Union membership and the euro, as the continent faces a “contagion” of referendums. (www.telegraph.co.uk; access; 25.01.2017)

Italy;

In Italy, the anti-establishment Five Star movement on Tuesday declared it would demand a referendum on the euro. The party wants the euro to be split – one for the rich north and one for the south. Beppe Grillo, the party's leader, has called for a full referendum on EU membership. He said: “The mere fact that a country like Great Britain is holding a referendum on whether to leave the EU signals the failure of the European Union.” (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/> access: 25.01.2017)

Britain's vote to leave the European Union has started the bloc's “disintegration”, Italy's minister for European affairs has said. Sandro Gozi⁴, an ally of outgoing Italian prime minister Matteo Renzi, said his country was facing a “period of uncertainty” following the vote this weekend to reject a planned constitutional reform. (independent.co.uk.access; 23.02.2017) Five Star won 19 out of 20 mayoral elections on Sunday, including in Rome and Turin, in a major blow to Matteo Renzi, the Prime Minister. (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/> access: 25.01.2017)

Netherlands;

As for the Netherlands, the country was divided into two in terms of leaving from the EU; the interpretations made are in this direction. In the Netherlands, the polls show that a majority of voters want a referendum on membership, and voters are evenly split over in the subject of stay or go. ((<Http://www.telegraph.co.uk/> access: 25.01.2017) There is no definite decision held on leaving or staying in Netherlands. Of course, every negative development that will take place within this process will result in a stronger voice in the direction of leaving in the country. Parliamentary elections to be held on 15 March constitute an important decision and conclusion for the Netherlands and the EU. The impacts, such as the Brexit approval in the UK, the election of Donald Trump as the US president, and the uncertainty of the Transatlantic Trading and Investment Partnership, which is planned to be signed between the US and the European Union, caused to be made the comments concerning that the right wing strengthened in EU member states. Geert Wilders is the face of the extreme right in the Netherlands. Wilders, known for their anti-Islamic rhetoric, argue that his country must be left from the EU. Every vote taken by the party whose leader is Geert Wilders and that the party is against EU will put "stay process in EU" of Netherland and also EU itself in a trouble.

Hungary;

Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban as one of the harshest critics of the EU demands a Europe "of nations", not an EU superstate and recently spoke out against Brussels' handing of the migrant crisis. On the subject of Brexit, by acknowledged the leaving of Britain from EU, the Hungarian Prime Minister have ordered the European Union (EU) to stop moaning about Brexit and let Theresa May get on with the divorce negotiations. (Millar; 2017). Although Hungary looks optimistic about the EU at around 60%, the economic problems occurring, are emerging as a development that will increase anti-EU. However, Hungary depends on the EU economically and with a shrinking economy the Government has repeatedly blamed the bloc for withholding cash.

³ 12th President of Austria since 26 January 2017

⁴ Italy's Prime Minister

In addition, the leader received a lot of support from his country for this intervention and according to polls from the Pew research centre, 77 per cent of people in Hungary reject “interventions from the outside”. Here, even if the decisions taken within the Union are perceived as "outside", it increases the doubts about the idea of secession from the EU.

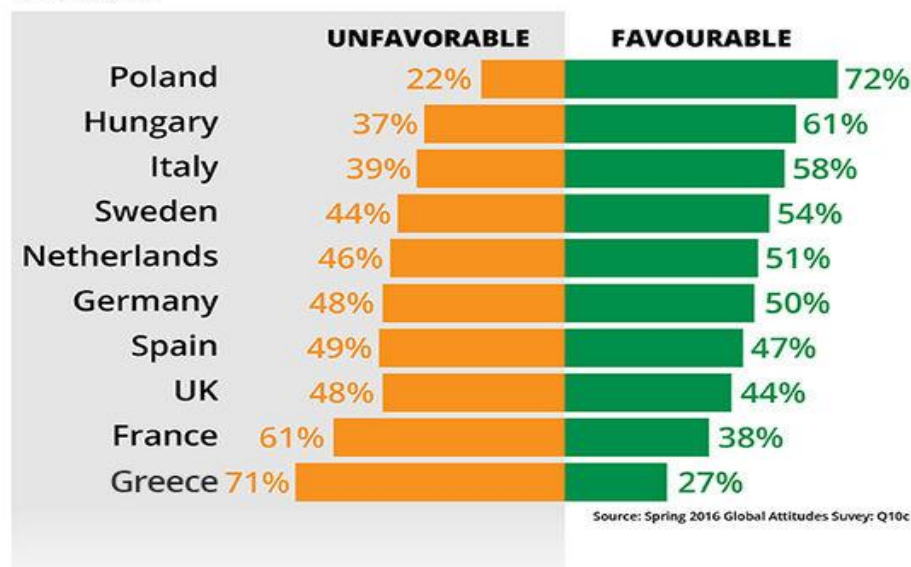
Denmark;

Perring, Pallenber (2016) states that EU hostility is on an increasing course in the country, while optimistic expectations and beliefs about the EU in Denmark are close to 75%. (Standard Eurobarometer 83, 2015) One of the Nordic countries (Denmark, Sweden and Finland) Denmark which gave a special importance to the loss of Britain (Foster, express.co.uk, access, 27.03.2017), is seen the Brexit as a development that will increase the negativity in the eyes of the Danish society. Many fear a loss of national sovereignty, which large numbers of Danes admitting that is the main reason for their distant attitude towards Brussels. The kingdom has already sunk into a serious crisis twice - once in 1992 when a majority of the Danes voted against the Maastricht treaty, that had to be renegotiated after a 'no' from Copenhagen and when a 200 a small majority voted against the euro. (Perring, Pallenberg, 2016) Given the fact that a considerable majority of the people of Denmark prefer to stay within the EU, a Brexit-like referendum and outcome are not expected for Denmark in the near future. Since the government (Rasmussen Government) was not able to provide the majority in the parliament and also Danish People's Party (DF) and the Red Green Alliance (RGA) party which provided the greatest support to the government accepted the Brexit result as a victory, the government have demanded a similar referendum for Denmark. (the.local.dk, access; 10.03.2017) Even if it is not recently, as the economic troubles increase, the referendum demand will be accepted more widely.

A survey from the Pew Research Centre published on June 8th showed that 61 per cent of respondents in France had an unfavourable view of the EU, the second highest after Greece (71%). The UK was on 48%. Germany was a surprisingly high 48%. Italy (39%) and Sweden (44%) were close behind. Austria was not covered by the survey, but the close-run presidential election in May this year underlined the depth of hostility towards immigration. The right-wing Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ, or Freedom Party, was narrowly defeated by the Green Party-backed independent candidate. A clear majority (57 per cent) of Czech people also view EU membership of their country as a risk, according to a study by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung published last week. (Turner Graham, Derrien Guillaume, 2016)

EU FAVORABILITY VARIES WIDELY IN EUROPE

Views of EU

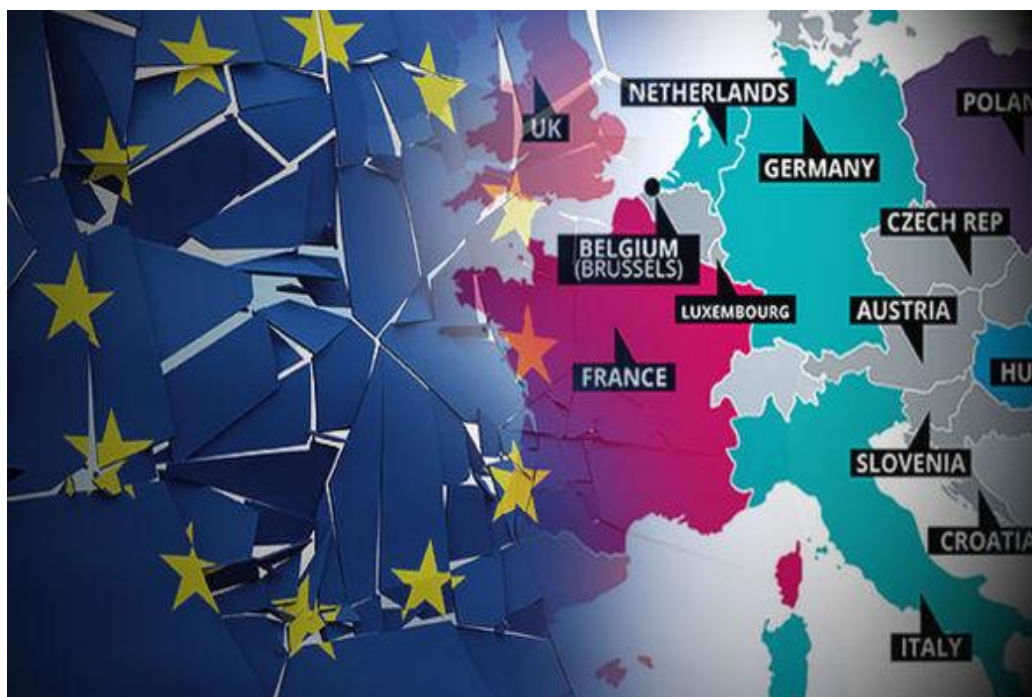


Of course, the Residual UK would continue to be heard in the OECD and the ICN (International Competition Network) (assuming it were to be admitted!); and a cooperation agreement of some kind could be negotiated with the EU, in the same way that the EU has agreements, for example, with the USA, Canada, and Switzerland. However, a cooperation agreement would be very different from being a major player within the current institutional framework of the EU. (Whish; 2016)

At the level of the Residual UK and Scotland, I assume that an independent Scotland would establish its own competition regime: indeed, to be admitted as a new Member State of the EU, it would be required to do so; Scotland would then become a member of the ECN (European Competition Network). (Whish; 2016)

On the basis of the crisis in the eurozone, it is claimed that there is a paradox of "economic integration / political fragmentation" which is a structural problem caused largely by the architecture of the eurozone rather than "irresponsible politics of the member states" (Öniş, Kutlay; 2012).

What impact would Brexit have on the competition policy of the EU, the Residual UK and Scotland? Assuming that the UK were to leave the EU, the EU would have to decide what future relationship it wishes to have with the Residual UK. The EEA option? The Swiss option? The Turkish option? The Canadian option (a Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement was agreed between the EU and Canada on 29 February 2016? (Wish; 2016)



MAPPED: Czexit, Pexit, Frexit - EU referendum CONTAGION sweeps Europe amid political quake THIS shocking map shows the rise of an anti-Brussels sentiment that is quickly spreading across Europe post Britain's decision on the EU referendum. (<http://www.express.co.uk/> access; 27.01.2017)

With Euroscepticism rising, a leave vote could prompt some member states to renegotiate their relationship with Brussels. As the German finance minister has underlined, a British exit from the EU could trigger a knock-on effect in several of the bloc's Eurosceptic member states. Asked by the German news magazine Der Spiegel whether other countries might leave the EU after a Brexit vote, Wolfgang Schäuble said: "You can't rule it out ... How would the Netherlands, which has traditionally been very closely allied with Britain, react, for example?"

There is little doubt that with Euroscepticism on the rise, Brexit would strengthen populist, anti-Brussels parties not just in the Netherlands but across the EU, increasing the potential for fragmentation and leading to what some – including the former chief of Britain's defence staff Lord Bramall – see as a real risk of the structure unravelling." Only 38% of respondents in France said they had a favourable view of the EU, down 17 points from last year. Support for the EU in Spain fell by 16 points to 47%, in Germany by eight points to 50%, and in Britain by seven points to 44%. The EU won most backing in Poland and Hungary, at 72% and 61%; (the guardian; access 31.01.2017)

V. FUTURE OF EUROPEAN UNION AND BREXIT

This decision, which led to a structural change in the UK, could lead to finding a new way and the new definitions for the EU.

"For nearly sixty years, a seemingly irreversible momentum towards integration within the framework of the European Union has, for many, defined the future of the continent. On 23 June 2016, the electorate of the United Kingdom made a sovereign choice to leave the EU. After the British decision to leave, Europe's trajectory, even its destiny, has again become a matter of choice. Brexit marks both a major constitutional

change for the UK and a significant rupture for the EU. If only for this reason, the negotiation of the terms of Brexit must take a long-term view, beyond the possibly drawn-out negotiations that will begin in the coming months. "(Ferry, Rottgen; 2016)

In 26 Member States, majorities of respondents say they are optimistic about the future of the EU. There are large variations between countries: three-quarters or more of respondents are optimistic about the future of the EU in Ireland (77%) and in Romania (75%), whereas this majority is 50% or below in France (50%), Austria (49%) and the UK (49%). Cyprus and Greece stand out, being the only two countries where majorities of the population are pessimistic about the future of the EU (54% and 57% respectively). Optimism has increased in 15 Member States since autumn 2014, notably in Italy (53%, +8 percentage points) and Croatia (74%, +7). It is unchanged in two countries, and has decreased in 11 countries, with the steepest falls in Poland (67%, -7) and in Latvia (59%, -6). (Standart Barometer: 2015) Although, most of the member countries have future expectations, which are ups and downs and in positive or negative direction, it is noteworthy that there are prospective pessimistic anticipations that may be considered important in every country.

Whish (2016) stated that Brexit will have mainly bilateral consequences for the future of the EU. First of these is to begin new regulations by making reforms on the European Union Merger Regulation (EU Merger Regulation) which was initiated by the European Union in early 2000s, and the second is to go to make reform on Treaties on the Functions of the European Union (TFEU).

Euro-scepticism has not only shaken confidence in further European integration, but has provoked several attempts to re-theorize the process of European integration. (Hooghe, Marks; 2007)

In the early decades of European integration, Euro-scepticism was rooted in opposition to market integration. Since the Maastricht Treaty, Euro-scepticism has taken on an additional dimension: defence of national community. (Hooghe, Marks; 2007)

Hooghe ve Marx (2007) Hooghe and Marx (2007) bring three important elements into forefront. Euro-scepticism has not only shaken confidence in further European integration, but has provoked several attempts to re-theorize the process of European integration. In the early decades of European integration, Euro-scepticism was rooted in opposition to market integration. Since the Maastricht Treaty, Euro-scepticism has taken on an additional dimension: defence of national community.

Examining public support for EU policies in the early 2000s Lauren McLaren distinguishes economic, cultural and institutional factors. Her analysis confirms that exclusive national identities motivate Euro-scepticism. National identity is one of the most important causes of Euro-scepticism/ antagonism.

Examining public support for EU policies in the early 2000s Lauren McLaren distinguishes economic, cultural and institutional factors. Her analysis confirms that exclusive national identities motivate Euro-scepticism (Hooghe, Marx; 2007) Nation identity is one of the most important causes of EU hostility.

It can be said that the extreme right parties are extremely successful in exploiting the unemployment problems created by the crisis period and especially in exploiting the fears about foreigners and refugees with which these problems brought and in terms of turning them into political gains. The formations such as the Golden Dawn in Greece, the UK Independence Party in England, and the National Front in France are among the most typical representations of this situation. Moreover, the rising extreme right, hardens the central right and left politics and rapidly narrows the field of democratic politics. (Berezin, 2009, Translated by Öniş, 2014) probe the changing face of Euro-scepticism in Britain, a country where both national-cultural and economic objections to European integration are salient. (Hooghe, Marks; 2007) That the result of Brexit is obvious.

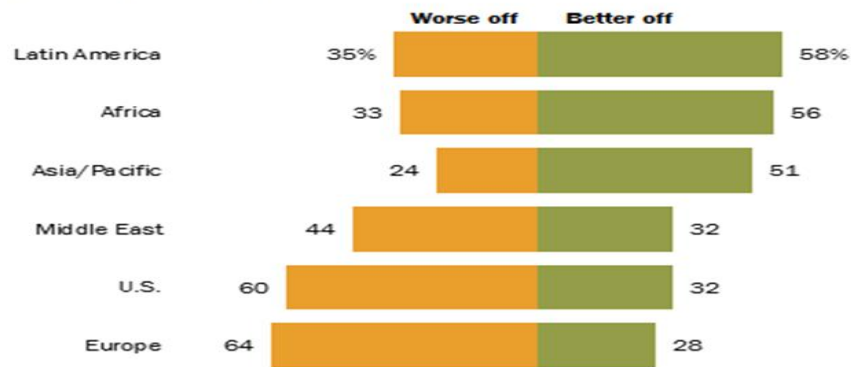
After gaining ground spectacularly, immigration is now seen as the most important issue facing the EU, overtaking the economic themes that have led the hierarchy of main concerns since this question was first asked in autumn 2010 (EB74). The most important issue for Europeans overall, immigration is in first position in 20 Member States. Concerns over terrorism have also increased sharply. Meanwhile, concern about economic themes has continued its downward trend. (European Commission; 2015)

For example, in today's Turkey where the EU influence has gradually lost its importance, stagnation in relations of Turkey and EU is not only due to problems related to Turkey's membership but also deriving from internal problems and contradictions of Europe concerning area of economy and democracy. (Öniş, Kutlay 2012)

Euro-scepticism refers to scepticism about Europe or European integration. Euro-scepticism as encompassing a range of critical positions on European integration, as well as outright opposition. Euro-scepticism was tied to macroeconomic performance, rising with inflation and unemployment and falling with economic growth. (Hooghe, Marks; 2007) Since such comments made long before Brexit were not taken into consideration or were overlooked, the necessary and adequate measures were not needed to ensure that the community is well-being. Every negative development leads to suspicions about the future of European Union and these suspicions turn into ambivalence and EU antagonism.

Europeans pessimistic about economic future

When children today in our country grow up, do you think they will be ___ financially than their parents?



Note: Percentages are regional medians. Europe median of France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom.
Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes Survey.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

These doubts have led to the fact that according to the research (PEW Research Center), only 28% of the EU country community has the optimistic expectations of the future. In a very important position like 64%, the expectation is that the future will be even worse.



UK: Britain will begin talks on the terms of its exit and trade deals. David Cameron could be forced to quit.

Scotland: Brexit would reignite calls for another referendum on Scottish independence

Ireland: Brexit could affect trade and migration across Ireland's border with the UK

France: The National Front will seize on Brexit ahead of the presidential election in 2017

Spain: Brexit would fuel Euroscepticism before Spain's election on Sunday June 26

Nordic countries: Denmark, Sweden and Finland would lose Britain as a pro-free trade ally in the EU

Netherlands: Anti-EU politicians would seek to ride momentum ahead of the next Dutch election

Brussels: EU chiefs will be forced into damage control to keep the bloc together

Germany: Brexit would stir up anti-EU feeling ahead of the federal elections in 2017

Poland and Hungary: Brexit could spark euroscepticism even though citizens broadly back the EU

Italy: Public opinion could continue to shift in a Eurosceptic direction after Brexit

Greece: Brexit could lead to a push for Grexit - a potential Greek exit - amid the euro crisis

Source: <http://www.express.co.uk/> (Access: 26.01.2017)

British Prime Minister Theresa May's long-anticipated speech: A little over 6 months ago, the British people voted for change. They voted to shape a brighter future for our country.

They voted to leave the European Union and embrace the world. And they did so with their eyes open: accepting that the road ahead will be uncertain at times, but believing that it leads towards a brighter future for their children — and their grandchildren too. ... I want this United Kingdom to emerge from this period of change stronger, fairer, more united and more outward-looking than ever before. We will continue to be reliable partners, willing allies and close friends. We want to buy your goods and services, sell you ours, trade with you as freely as possible, and work with one another to make sure we are all safer, more secure and more prosperous through continued friendship. (Amur, 2017)

The comprehensive restructuring on the axis of crises has become a decisive feature in the half-century adventure of EU integration. In this context, the ongoing eurozone crisis is pushing the EU into a new paradigm of integration. Because, as it was argued in the article, the paradox of "economic integration / political fragmentation" underlies at the root of the euro crisis rather than the irresponsible policies of the member countries. According to this, the EU could move to the level of monetary integration at the supra-national level, but it was not able to be realized the parallel political subsidiarity, because it was not able to resist the opposition of the nation-states. (Öniş, Kutlay; 2012)

In this case, for example, the domino effect that will emerge after the bankruptcy of Greece and the crushing of big economies such as Spain and Italy will quickly turn financial problems into a banking crisis, resulting in the lockdown of the eurozone financial system. While, it is very difficult to calculate the economic cost that would arise if the Eurozone were dissolved but there is no doubt that it would shake the European economies very deeply. Moreover, the scenario for the disintegration of the eurozone, which may also constitute a major break point in European integration, may lead to the beginning the integration wheels to turn reverse and thus to the collapse of total European integration. (Öniş, Kutlay; 2012)

The whole possibility of this turnaround is derived from the fact that Union ignores the possibility of a crisis. Moreover, even if unity was ensured at the institutional level, unity was not achieved in the bottom layer, community layer. While the community was prosperous, the concept of European citizenship was not offensive to anyone. So prosperous peoples could not reach the consciousness of this concept. The element which reveals this situation lack of European citizen consciousness is economic crisis. The economic crisis has become a driving force which is directed the people to populist nationalist rhetoric and national citizenship.

VI. BREXIT AND IMMIGRATION

In the referendum debate about the UK's membership of the European Union (EU), a major argument of the Leave campaign is that Brexit would allow more control over the flow of immigrants to the UK from the rest of the EU. Many people are concerned that high levels of immigration may have hurt their jobs, wages and quality of life. (Wadsworth, etc, 2016)

Tilford (2016) ((Tilford; 2016) By making pre-Brexit predictions, he stated that the decision to leave in the event of Brexit's vote is based on immigrant hostility. If Britain votes to leave the EU it will be because of hostility to immigration. The immigrant problem is not the only England, but the main problem of the EU.

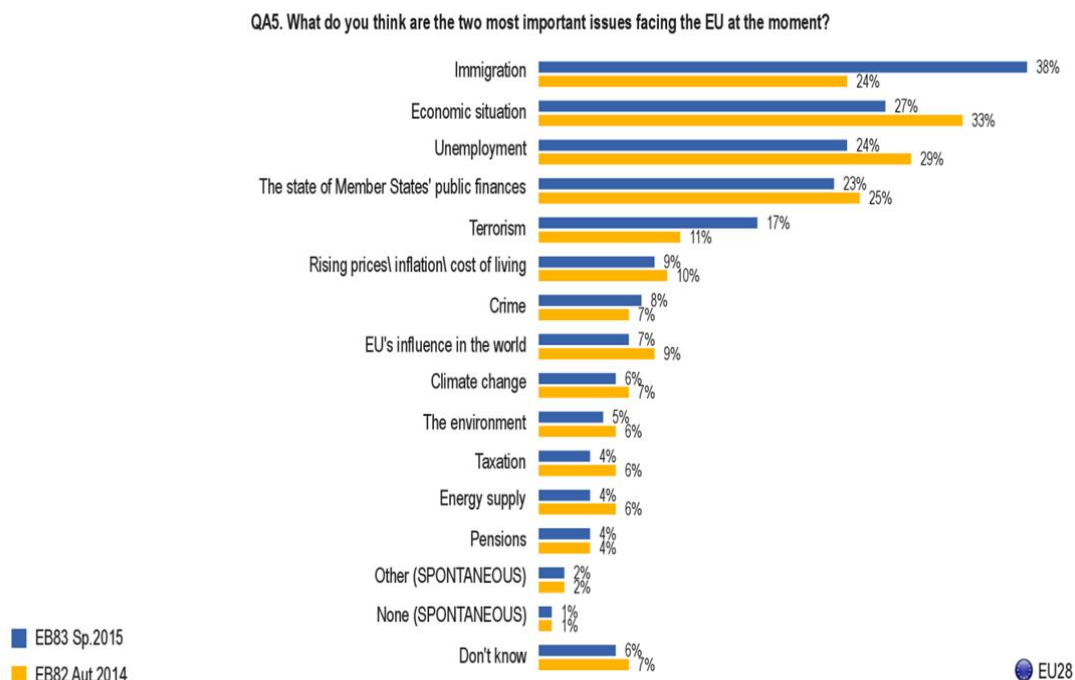
In the referendum debate about the UK's membership of the European Union (EU), a major argument of the Leave campaign is that Brexit would allow more control over the flow of immigrants to the UK from the rest of the EU. Many people are concerned that high levels of immigration may have hurt their jobs, wages and quality of life. (Wadsworth, Dhingra. 2016) As the fear of immigrant flock is turned into an immigrant hostility political groups using populist and harsh discourses themselves provides advantage. Many people are concerned that immigration reduces the pay and job chances of the Uborn due to more competition for jobs. (Wadsworth, Dhingra. 2016)

Main Concerns At European Level: Evolutions

After a 14-point increase since autumn 2014, immigration is now seen as the most important issue⁵ currently facing the EU (38%). It is followed by the economic situation (27%, -6 percentage points since autumn 2014, and -32 since autumn 2011), unemployment (24%, -5, and -14 since spring 2013) and the state of Member States' public finances (23%, -2, and -11 since spring 2012) which have all continued the downward trend common to the economic themes. Conversely, concern about terrorism

has risen sharply (17%, +6) following the terrorist attacks which have taken place in Europe (France, Denmark, and a thwarted attack in Belgium) since the autumn 2014 Standard Eurobarometer survey. (Standart, Barometer; 2015)

⁵ Respondents were asked to select two issues within a pre-defined list.



European Commission, Standart Barometer: 2015

Mentioned by close to four in ten Europeans (38%), **immigration** is now seen as the main issue facing the EU in 20 Member States (up from four in autumn 2014). This item is mentioned by half of the population or more in Malta (65%), Germany (55%), Estonia (54%) and Denmark (50%). Portugal (16%) and Greece (27%) are the two only countries where immigration is not mentioned as one of the three most important issues facing the EU. In second place at EU level, the **economic situation** is cited by 27% of Europeans, and is identified as the most important problem in three countries (down

from 13 in autumn 2014): Cyprus (47%), Greece (40%) and Spain (37%). Mentioned by close to a quarter of respondents (24%), **unemployment** comes first in Ireland (31%) and Croatia (25%). The **state of Member States' public finances** is in fourth position at EU level (23%), and is the first item mentioned in Finland (39%) and in Portugal (37%). Fifth at EU level (17%), **terrorism** comes first in Romania (28%) and second in four countries: the Czech Republic (30%), Malta (27%), Bulgaria (25%) and Poland (22%). In Croatia, **terrorism** is in equal second place with the **economic situation** and the **state of Member States' public finances** (24% for all three items).(Standart Barometer; 2015)

Turkey and EU 19 for illegal refugees signed a send back agreement on March 2016.

Collett⁶ (2016) briefly explained the refugee agreement between Turkey and the EU. The 28 EU heads of state forged the March 18 deal with Turkey with their backs seemingly against the wall, and in an atmosphere of palpable panic. At its core, the agreement aims to address the overwhelming flow of smuggled migrants and asylum seekers traveling across the Aegean from Turkey to the Greek islands by allowing Greece to return to Turkey “all new irregular migrants” arriving after March 20. In exchange, EU Member States will increase resettlement of Syrian refugees residing in Turkey, accelerate visa liberalization for Turkish nationals, and boost existing financial support for Turkey’s refugee population.

The EU will come face to face with much more important problems when it comes to an immigration wave coming from the outside, which can not cope with the immigration issue that takes place in itself. For this reason, Turkey is a key country for the EU.

Brexit was a vote against London, globalization and multiculturalism as much as a vote against Europe. Those who will have to live longest with the consequences wanted a different choice.

The vote was grounded in nostalgia. The Brexit campaign was almost entirely negative and devoid of plans for an alternative future. It played on an old idea of sovereignty, old English ideas about the difference between the island nation and the mainland of Europe, alarm over immigrants and claims that the U.K. was somehow subsidizing Europe. Not surprisingly, British citizens of voted mostly to remain in the EU. Brexit was manifestly a vote against multiculturalism and for English nationalism. The nastiest part of the campaign was persistent fanning of anti-immigrant sentiment extending into racism and open religious bias.(Calhoun; 2016)

⁶ Director of the Brussels-based Migration Policy Institute Europe

And the Future of Europe?

Disintegrative pressure could be just as great on the European continent. Of course this depends on the political response in 27 different countries. But there are strong signs that several — including “core” countries such as France, Italy and the Netherlands — may hold referenda of their own. It is entirely possible Brexit will be remembered as an early step in the unraveling of the EU. This might not go all the way. A new core Europe could form, building on the Holy Roman and Hapsburg Empires. This might still be called the European Union, but it would be an altogether different project. (Calhoun, 2016)

VII. CONCLUSION

The European Union took the first step towards the EU with the European Coal Steel Community (ECSC), which was created in 1950. Having completed the Customs Union and Common Market phases, the Union passed on January 1, 1999, to the common currency. Significant developments were made in the direction of development such as Customs Union and the common market between the two periods. When progress was made with depth and expansion efforts, this time there occurred a problem of "expansion fatigue". In May and June of 2005, the fact that the outcome of the European Union Constitution referendums in France and the Netherlands is in the direction of "no" can in fact be perceived as the beginning of disintegration and uncertainty of the union. Following this, the EU, which failed to overcome the 2008 crisis, was faced with a European debt crisis triggered by high economic morale, optimistic expectations for the future and the combination of low interest rates (Ulusoy, Ela, 2014). These processes turned into "critical inactivity syndrome" where countries blamed each other and serious steps could not be taken to improve. The EU has entered a more serious disintegration process with the British Brexit (British - exit) referendum. Whether the referendum in the United Kingdom, in the direction of leaving the Union, leaps to other countries within the EU, in other words, the realization of a domino effect became a possible process for the EU. Europe, which provides economic and monetary union, has faced “cultural fragmentation”. In this study, Brexit and effects of Brexit's domino/contagion were investigated. Besides The cancellation of the TPP (Trans Pacific Partnership) agreement by the US and the uncertainty of the TTIP (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership) agreement between the US and the EU could create global disruptions in regional integration. In this study, essentially Brexit and effects of Brexit's domino/contagion were investigated.

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