The Image of European Identities

-The European Union and Instagram

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to look at the discourses of European identity from two different angles. The first angle is European identity from an EU perspective which EU seeks to create amongst the European citizens. This is studied in the book *European Foreign Policy*, consisting of legislations and treaties connected to the Common Foreign and Security Policy. The second angle is the images of European identity that are portrayed on Instagram This is studied by examining images with hashtag "European" which were compiled into statistical evidence and four of the images will be deeper analysed. The methods that were used were mixed methods, comparative case study, as well as images analysis. Two theories were used to incorporate all aspects of the material: discourse analysis and semiotics of images. The EU has as an aim in specific treaties and resolutions to create unity, community, and common values between the people of Europe; this aim has been more or less successfully reached. There are also a number of different concepts concerning identity that brings forth the many aspects and layers of identity. Instagram is a social media outlet that shows the opinion of the general public and they create an unforced European identity that the users decide themselves to identify with. The research on Instagram shows that identity is portrayed through images and hashtags. To conclude, European identity is ever changing and it is possible to identify with it in different ways. Is European identity important in order for the EU to survive.

Key words:

European identity, European Union, Instagram, Common Foreign and Security Policy, Social media.

List of Abbreviations

CFSP - Common Foreign and Security Policy

EC – European Communities

ECSC - European Coal and Steel Community

EDC - European Defense Community

EEC - European Economic Community

EFTA - European Free Trade Association

EPC - European Political Cooperation

EU – European Union

EUI - European University Institute

Euratom - European Atomic Energy Community

OEEC - Organization for European Economic Cooperation

SEA – Single European Act

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1. Introduction

1.1 The Notion of European Identity

Identity discourse is present everywhere in the world in different contexts, we might identify with the nation we live in, our family, our friends, a group of people with the same interests as ourselves such as soccer, or people of the same gender. Thomas Hylland Eriksen mentions two different ways to identify: we-hood and us-hood. We-hood appears when a group is interdependent by a shared task and us-hood appears when a group has a common enemy. People can find their identification in a number of different contexts and those contexts differs for each person.[1] Depending on our current situation the things we identify with might differ, one example of this can be that a person from Scania identify themselves as Scanian in Sweden but if he or she travels outside the country he or she might instead identify firstly as Swedish.

The various identities that exist are divided into two subgroups: social identities and political identities; this division is done by Richard Herrmann and Marilynn B. Brewer in *Transnational Identities.* Social identities is when there exists a psychological link between individual, social, or communities, one example of a social identity might be memberships in social groups. Political identities on the other hand are created when there are shared beliefs in a group concerning the origin of the group.[2] As mentioned previously most people have multiple identities; either nested (with one inside the other) or cross-cutting (members of one group might share an identity with people in that group but also with people in other groups).[3] An identity is something that can take long to establish and it can sometimes be hard to make a new identity familiar, that is one obstacle that the European Union (EU) has met when they have worked towards European integration. Another obstacle for the EU is that a social identity integrates people at the same time as it divides

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[1] Hylland Eriksen, Thomas. "We and Us: Two Modes of Group Identification." *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 32, no. 4 (1995): 427-436

[2] Richard K. Herrmann and Marilynn B. Brewer, "Identities and Institutions: Becoming European in the EU" In *Transnational Identities: becoming European in the EU,* ed. Richard K. Herrmann, Thomas Risse, and Marilynn B. Brewer (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc. 2004), 5-7.

[3] Herrmann and Brewer. "Identities and Institutions: Becoming European in the EU." In *Transnational Identities* ed. Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer, 8.

them, it is not the same thing to identify *with* as to identify *as*. There is a difference in feeling European and saying that you are European.[4]

After the end of the two World Wars; Jean Monnet, Robert Schumann, and Winston Churchill, among others, began to lay the foundations for the EU and it was also the birth of a Europe that strove towards one common European identity. One of the original aims from European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Treaty in 1951 and the Treaty of Rome in 1957 was: "to lay the foundation for an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe".[5] If we look at the distinction between social and political identity that Hermann and Brewer does the identity that is discussed in the quotation above is probably more of a political identity with a shared history and a belonging to Europe. At that same time the conception European identity was established by the Union and ever since that time the EU has fought to integrate the people of Europe by making the European identity present in the minds of the citizens; however, they have tried to establish both a social and political identity. Despite this a European identity has existed previously in Europe, however; the concept of a European identity is something new that the European Union has created.

The European identity that is present today is a creation partially by European history, but also by the EU who brought the concept forth as something to work towards. By creating the EU the founding fathers hoped that Europe would become united as one strong unit that would bring peace within and scare of unwanted enemies. The Union has a hope of uniting the nations politically and to unite the people in their hearts and minds. European identity is a feeling of fellowship, solidarity, and of sharing common interests with people from other parts within Europe. People themselves choose who or what they identify with and some people have a hard time identifying with something that they do not understand nor feel a connection with.[6] A European flag, anthem, TV-channel, politics, and security are some of the aspects that the EU has and are still utilizing when generating unity around European identity.[7] To integrate Europeans in Europe is a challenge that the EU are still struggling with on many levels. In order to unite a scattered people a common ground that

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[4] Citrin and Sides in "More than Nationals: How Identity Choice Matters in the New Europe." In *Transnational Identities*, edited Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer, Marilynn*, 163.
[5] Shore *Building Europe*, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 15-16.
[6] Meinhof, Ulrike H. "Europe viewed from below" In *Transnational Identities,* ed. Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc. 2004), 214-227.
[7] Shore *Building Europe*, 40-43.

brings unity is a necessity. However unity can take place in different locations, social media brings a new form of unity.

1.2 Research Problem and Aim

Identity and what we identify with is a choice for every individual to decide for themselves. The national identity is the identity that is closest to the heart for many people since that identity is something that they have learnt to identify with from their parents and their close surroundings. On many different occasions in the history of Europe the map of Europe has been redrawn and the borders between the nations have changed, still today the borders change. During some of the more previous redrawing of the European borders the nation have become more present in the mind of the European citizens; however until the end of the 19th century most citizens in Sweden identified with their close surroundings such as their village. In the early nineteenth hundred's the nation became more evident in people's lives and their identification began to include the nation as well as their closest surroundings. The history of European identity is often mentioned as an obstacle when discussing the difficulties in establishing it as a natural part in the European citizen's lives; however; with time this might change. [8]

The aim of this study is to look at the discourse of European identity from two different angles. The first angle is the European identity that the EU has worked and is working towards creating as an established identity amongst the citizens of Europe. The second point of view is the one that is portrayed in the images on Instagram when searching for hashtag "European". Since "European" is the term for the citizens in Europe it was an obvious choice to use as a search word on Instagram when studying European identity. After the two different angles have been established I will compare the two cases of European identity with each other, the main focus will be on similarities that bind them together and differences that set them apart. The EU represents the institution, the government and Instagram represents "the people", the voice of everyday citizens.

1.3 Research Questions

-What is European identity according to the EU and how was/is it created?

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[8] Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren. *Den kultiverade människan.* (Malmö: Gleerups utbildning AB, 1979), 21-24.

-What is the picture of "European" that is portrayed through images on Instagram?

- Is the European identity created by the European Union coherent with the image of "European" that is portrayed on Instagram?

1.4 Background

The two units: the identity created by the EU and the European identity portrayed on Instagram is the main focus in this thesis. Due to that a short description of three actors will be given in this background, firstly the background and establishment of the EU, secondly a background to the CFSP, and lastly the establishment of the social media outlet: Instagram.

1.4.1 Creation of the EU 1948-1993

In the aftermath of World War II many nations within Europe felt a need to cooperate amongst each other in order to prevent future conflicts, the people of Europe were especially concerned that the Franco-German conflicts would surface again. This and other factors led to an initial cooperation amongst some of the European countries that would lead to the establishment of the EU.[9] Some of the important milestones in the history of the EU are presented in a timeline in figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 History of the EU 1948-1993

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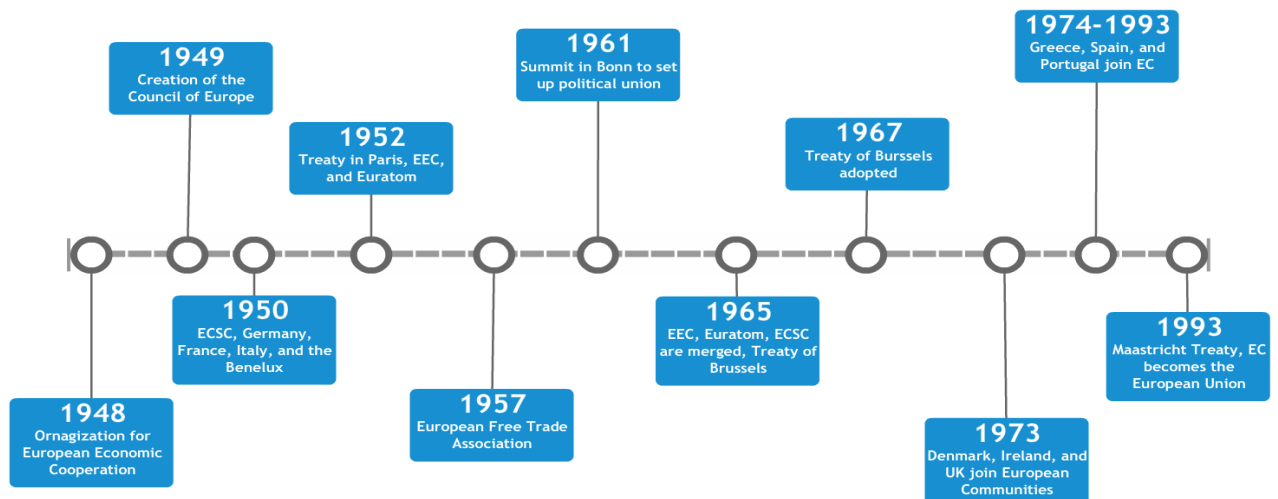
[9] Europa.eu 1945 – 1959, Last modified March 11, 2014 and Europe.eu 1960 – today, Last modified March 11, 2014.

1.4.2 History of the CFSP 1950 – 1992

CFSP is the EUs Common Foreign and Security Policy that deals mainly with defense and security diplomacy and actions. The history of the CFSP can be traced back to the end of the Second World War. In 1950 the Schuman Plan was the first to mention the start to European integration; Robert Schuman aimed at initiating both functional and supranational cooperation in coal and steel. With the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 the European Political Cooperation (EPC) disappeared and the CFSP took its place.[10] Below the history of what came to be the CFSP will be presented in a timeline in figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2 History of the CFSP 1950 - 1992
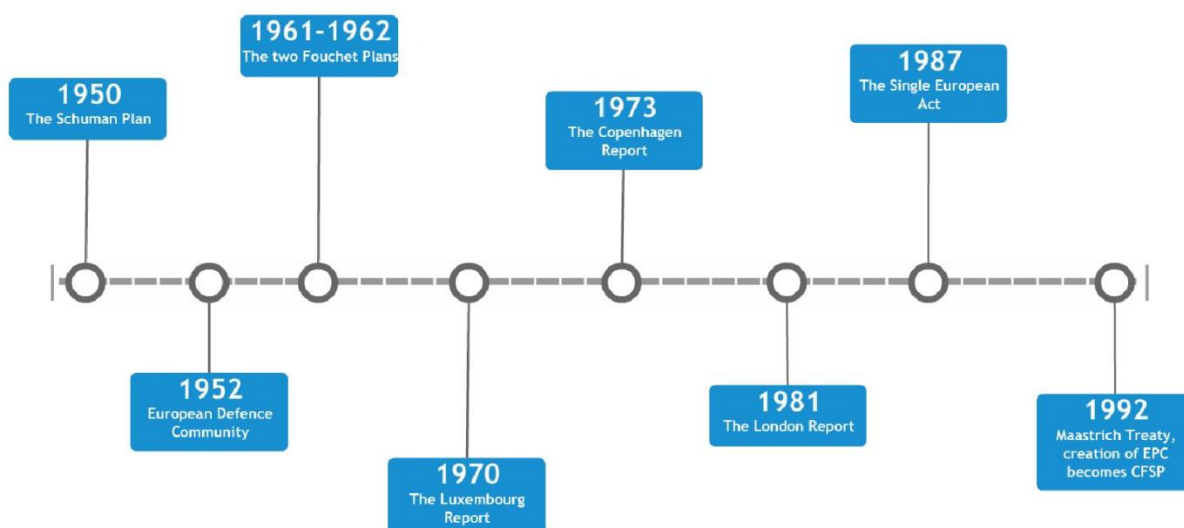
1.4.3 History of Instagram

Instagram was founded on the October 6 2010 by Kevin Systrom and Mike Kreiger.[11] Instagram is a social network where people from around the world can upload and share images and videos of themselves and their everyday life with their friends and family as well as strangers from all over the globe. Instagram was previously an application used on smartphones but since 2012 it is also available on the Internet. In April 2012 Facebook bought Instagram for 1 billion dollars in order to increase the ties between the two social media outlets.[12] Today Instagram have over 150 million users in all different corners of the

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[10] Hill and Smith, *European Foreign Policy,* 1, 2, 12, 47, 83, 92, 137, 138, 151.

[11] Instagram "About Us" Last modified February 25, 2014.

[12] Tecrunch "Facebook Buys Instagram For $1 Billion, Turns Budding Rival Into Its Standalone Photo App" Last modified April 9, 2012.

globe all from everyday people to celebrities use the application and Internet page.[13] However; I have not found any research where social media is employed and utilized to get the social medias' point of view on the subject of European identity. Using Instagram as a source of information is however not a new concept but it is new in this field.

1.5 Research Overview

On the subject of European identity large amounts of research has been done and from many various angles and perspectives. European identity, how it was and is created and whether the citizens within Europe feel European are popular subjects to study amongst inter alia sociologists and social scientists. Both scholarly articles and books have been written previously on the subject. European identity is a new subject and due to that most of the research is from the 1990's and onwards.

In the anthology *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU* by Richard K. Herrmann, Thomas Risse, and Marilynn B. Brewer the question of transnational identities are examined. Richard K. Herrmann is a Professor at the Ohio State University who concentrates on international relations, Thomas Risse is the Professor of International Relations at Freie Universität Berlin, and Marilynn B Brewer is a prominent American social psychologist and professor emeritus of psychology at Ohio State University. In *Transnational Identities* sociologists, ethnographers, social psychologists and social scientists bring their expert knowledge from their primary research to answer questions such as: Is a European identity possible? How are the various types of European identity formed and maintained? How are these identities linked to the process of European integration? The questions are answered in various ways and using different methods such as surveys, interviews, statistics and other methods.[14]

Brigid Laffan that is inter alia the Director of the Global Governance Programme at European University Institute in Florence is the author to the chapter "Identity Builders" in *Transnational Identities*. She argues that the individual EU institutions have played a part in identity change since new political and functional roles have emerged that are

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[13] Instagram. "Introducing Instagram to Windows phone" Last modified December 25, 2013.
[14] Ed. Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer *Transnational Identities.*

European.[15] Herrmann and Brewer argue in the chapter "Identities and Institutions: Becoming European in the EU" that after the two world wars a neofunctionalist strategy was used in separating combatants, which was a new way in dealing with nations post-war. This involved expanding the already existing national identity towards an international identity and shared identities. One of the measures used to accomplish that was to build international institutions that in the long run would help in creating shared identities.[16] Emanuele Castano has partially the same argument as Herrmann and Brewer in the chapter "European Identity: A Social-Psychological Perspective" where he argues that the European identity was initiated after World War II to diminish conflicts and old rivalries within Europe and to try and establish friendships between former enemies.[17]

Ruth Wodak, Professor in Discourse Studies at Lancaster University, argues in the chapter "National and Transnational Identities: European and Other Identities Constructed in Interviews with EU Officials" that identity is not something static that a person is or have, it is something that can be used in the course of interacting by orienting towards it. She also says that what we can recognize is not always relevant in certain situations, but instead we should focus on whether, when and how identities are used.[18]

In *Transnational Identities* Herrmann and Brewer mentions that the EU has a key role when a state defines what they are. The reason for that is because states get defined as: member states, states that wish to join the EU, or other states that might wish to join.[19] Laffan has a similar argument when she discusses how the EU made the Union feel attractive for new members. She argues that, a membership in the EU made a nation included and brought them closer to Europe. "Rejoining Europe" and "returning to Europe" were and are some of the phrases used by nation states that are included in the

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[15]Brigid Laffan. "Identity Builders." In In *Transnational Identities: becoming European in the EU,* ed. Richard K. Herrmann, Thomas Risse, and Marilynn B. Brewer (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc. 2004), 76.

[16] Herrmann and Brewer "Identities and Institutions" In *Transnational Identities,* ed. Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer, 1.

[17] Emanuele Castano "European Identity: A Social-Psychological Perspective" In *Transnational Identities: becoming European in the EU,* ed. Richard K. Herrmann, Thomas Risse, and Marilynn B. Brewer (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc. 2004), 40.

[18] Ruth Wodak "National and Transnational Identities: European and Other Identities Constructed in Interviews with EU Officials" In *Transnational Identities: becoming European in the EU,* ed. Richard K. Herrmann, Thomas Risse, and Marilynn B. Brewer (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc. 2004), 99.

[19]Herrmann and Brewer in "Identities and Institutions" In *Transnational Identities,* ed. Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer, 2.

EU, however; a non-membership leads to exclusion.[20] Jack Citrin and John Sides are two other authors in *Transnational Identities* that as well as Laffan argue that European identity foster a sense of community, apart from that they also ask the question: Why do many people consider that the national identity and the European identity are competing with each other, is it not possible that people identify with both? Apart from that they also argue in the chapter "More than Nationals: How Identity Choice Matters in the New Europe" that European integration has been an elite-driven process that has been pushed by experts and officials and not by popular movements.[21]

In the book *European Identity* the editors: Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein select a number of well-known scholars to discuss European identity as a process and as a project. Checkel and Katzenstein argue that European identity is something that has been forgotten by the EU and that European identity sometimes is a political construct. Further the disagreement on the political identity of the EU and other chapters that deal with European identity from different angles are represented in this book.[22]

Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration is a book written by Chris Shore who is head of the Anthropology Department at Goldsmiths College. In this book the main focus is on culture and the elite's use of culture as a tool for forging a sense of belonging and cohesion among Europeans, he asks the question if a peoples Europe can ever exist. Culture, history, the single currency, and European governance are some of the aspects he mentions as building blocks to European identity.[23]

Zygmunt Bauman Emeritus Professor of Sociology at the University of Leeds has written a renowned book called *Europe: An Unfinished Adventure*, where he discusses the building of Europe as an ongoing journey. Another book that addresses the subject of European identity but with more focus on the media is *European identity: What the Media Say* by Paul Bayley and Geoffrey Williams. *Euro-clash: The EU, European Identity and the Future of Europe* by Neil Fligstein discuss different aspects of Europe such as: Who are the Europeans? What makes them European? As well as some of the previous mentioned

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[20] Brigid Laffan "Identity Builders" In *Transnational Identities,* ed. Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer, *80.*
[21] John Citrin and Jack Sides in "More than Nationals: How Identity Choice Matters in the New Europe" In *Transnational Identities,* ed. Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc. 2004), 162-164.
[22] Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein "*European Identity*"(USA: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
[23] Shore, *Building Europe.*

scholars he also puts a lot of importance on the politics and economics of Europe and their importance in uniting Europe.[24]

Other examples of books that also brings up the subject of European identity but that use different perspectives and focus on more specific areas are: *European Integration and National Identity: the Challenge of the Nordic States* by Lene Hansen and Ole Weaver. *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change* deals with Europeanization in the different organs of the EU as well as the question of a European identity, the book is edited by Maria Green Cowles, James Caporaso, and Thomas Risse. Another anthology is *The Changing Face of European Identity* edited by Richard Robyn where the main focus is the supranational identity versus the national identity; the chapters consist of different smaller cases that examine the role of a supranational identity in some of the member states such as Italy and Germany.[25]

There are many different theories of how and when European identity was born. Gerard Delanty believes that history has had a large influence on Europe and the creation of a European identity. The history of Europe and of European identity began with the start of Christianity. From the beginning it was Christianity that linked the kingdoms within Europe with each other and the notion of a European identity had not yet started to grow. At this point in time the term Europe and the notion of European identity were not yet coined and alive in people's minds.[26]

Before the concept of Europe was established and Europe was divided in East and West, the Europe we know today was seen in a different way as a vaguely defined Occident.[27] The European identity slowly began to awake during the eighteenth century with Christianity as a common ground; however it was not until the nineteenth century that the European identity came into life amongst the minds of the Europeans. Great philosophers and thinkers such as John-Jacques Rousseau and Voltaire early envisioned a united Europe

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[24] Neil, Fligstein, *Euro-clash: The EU, European Identity and the future of Europe.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008)

[25] Richard, Robyn. *The Changing Face of European Identity* (Oxon, Routledge, 2005)

[26] Delanty, Gerard. *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality* (London: Macmillan Press Limited, 1995), 16.

[27] Ibid, 22.

without boarders, Rousseau envisioned a future where "there is no longer a France, a Germany, a Spain, not even England, there are only Europeans".[28]

History formed European identity in important historical moments such as World War I, World War II, the Cold War, and as was mentioned before Christianity and the Enlightenment. World War I influenced the European identity in many ways besides the map being redrawn but that is beyond the scope of this thesis; one example is the pan-European organisations that started to emerge after the end of the war. Apart from that Europe began to change in many ways in the aftermath of the war. In *Inventing Europe* Delanty says that "The Europe of the twentieth century was a product of war, not of peace". Both the idea of Europe as a peaceful continent and the geographical region Europe changed since new states were created as a reaction to the end of the war. During the inter-war period European identity was born as a cultural phenomenon according to Delanty. He mentions that the cross-cultural avant-garde and the modernist movements in art and literature created a cultural European identity. The identity was mostly associated with European cities such as London, Berlin, Amsterdam, Zurich, and Paris because they were the cultural metropols.[29]

World War II as well reshaped the geographical notion of Europe and as a result, the map of Europe was redrawn. During the Second World War unity amongst the European citizens came to be essential for the Fascists; both Hitler and Mussolini had a vision of a united Europe. One of European identities many origins are in Germany where the term was used to keep the image of unity within Europe during Germany's aggression. After the end of World War II the Cold War began and according to Delanty it also contributed to shape European identity, he means that it was the conflict between the East and West that was instrumental. During the Cold War and the birth of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1958, the idea of Europe became grounded in European politics and the strive towards a common European identity began.[30]

European identity is, as can be understood from the previous research, an area that has been studied by many scholars and from a number of different angles. European identity

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[28] Ibid, 34-38, 71.
[29] Ibid, *107-111*.
[30] Ibid, *101, 112, 124-126.*

historically, from a neofunctionalist perspective, using observation, interviews, and much more has been done previously. Social media is a relatively new phenomenon and in the previous years it has become more and more popular and the amount of people who use not only Instagram but other social media outlets constantly increase. Social media is a new way to get the thought of the everyday people, of course not everyone is represented but the amount of people using social media constantly increases. Mixing social media with the history of the EU is a unique way to get both the view of the general public as well as the more institutionalised political perspective. The empirical evidence concerning EU and the European identity already exists in other research; however, when it is combined with the new material from Instagram that becomes a new and unique kind of research.

To summarize, previous researchers have mostly focused on European identity in a historical perspective (Delanty), European identity from an economic and political perspective (Checkel and Katzenstein), European identity as a cultural construct (Shore), transnational identities (Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer), Europe as an ongoing journey (Baumann), and Europeanization (Green Cowles, Caporaso, and Risse). This research includes to some extent all of the mentioned perspectives of European identity while it combines it with the new perspective of social media.

1.6 Disposition

The following chapter, chapter two, presents the methodology that will be used throughout the thesis. The different methods that will be used are: mixed methods, case study and image analysis. Chapter three presents the two theories that will be applied and discussed: discourse analysis and semiotics of the images. In chapter four the empirical evidence concerning the EU and their stance on European identity will be presented. In chapter five the material collected from Instagram will be presented, in form of statistics and an analysis of the images. In chapter six the results from chapter four and five will be discussed and analysed. In the final chapter, chapter seven, conclusions on the subject of European identity will be drawn and possible future questions that might be interesting to study will be presented.

2. Methods

This methodological chapter will present an extensive background on the methodology, limitations, and sources used in the thesis. Firstly, the choice to combine quantitative and qualitative research in mixed methods and what that entails will be discussed. Secondly, the main method, which is a comparative case study, why that particular method was used as well as advantages and disadvantages will be further explained. Thirdly, a short discussion of the second method image analysis which was used on the images from Instagram will be given. Finally, the sources that will be used throughout the thesis as well as the limitations will be highlighted.

2.1 Mixed Methods

In this thesis mixed methods will be used. Both qualitative (comparative case study) and quantitative (image analysis) data will be collected concurrently during the study and lastly they will be compared, in accordance with the concurrent triangulation strategy.[31] The concurrent triangulation strategy is one of the strategies that can be used when using mixed methods during the data collection process. In this strategy both qualitative and quantitative data will be collected concurrently throughout the study. After all of the data have been collected the two sets of data will be compared to each other in the same research phase. The information from the EU such as legislations and other documents is the qualitative data will in this phase be compared to the quantitative and qualitative data from Instagram. The data from Instagram consists of statistics from the images and also of a image analysis on four of the images (this process will be further explained in the subchapter 2.3). If only quantitative or qualitative data is used in research the method has a weakness, however; mixed methods get the strength from using two different methods that make the weaknesses fade. There might be limitations to this approach when two separate methods are used to study the same phenomenon, in that it requires more time.[32]

The structure of this mixed methods study is a concurrent study where firstly the qualitative data (from the EU) will be presented in one chapter and secondly the quantitative as well as some of the qualitative data will be presented (the images from

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[31] John W Creswell. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. (London: Sage Publications Inc, 2009), 213.
[32] Ibid, 213-214.

Instagram). In the analytical chapter the qualitative and quantitative data will be analysed and interpreted to find convergences and similarities. In this structure the researcher makes no clear distinction between the two sets of data.[33]

2.1.1 Advantages and Disadvantages with Mixed Methods

When performing a mixed methods study you get both the advantages and disadvantages from qualitative and quantitative research. One advantage of using quantitative data is that numbers are used and they are easy to put into a computer and the computer makes all the calculations; however, the numbers often do not lead to a vivid description with an answer to the question why. Qualitative studies on the other hand capture small subtleties, but qualitative studies are harder to replicate than quantitative studies which can make reliability a problem. Mixed methods capture both the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative and quantitative studies; however, the combination eliminates some of the disadvantages. The numbers and the vivid descriptions are combined as well as making the study easier to replicate; however, one disadvantage is that mixed methods takes more time and effort from the researcher.[34]

2.1.2 Limitations to Mixed Methods

Mixed methods is a method that leads to creating a more reliable study because different methods are used and the limitations that quantitative or qualitative studies by themselves have disappear to some extent. The two methods balance each other and fill in the gaps which create more reliability in the study, however; there are still limitations to mixed methods as well.[35] In the quantitative part of the study there are limitations since even though I strive towards analyzing the images from Instagram without being biased it is impossible not to be partially biased. Even though a certain structure and method is followed when doing the analysis it is still me the researcher who do the analysis and therefore it will mirror my opinion as a researcher partially even if I strive to try and minimize this as much as possible.

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[33] Ibid, 220.
[34] Gray, Paul S et al. *The Research Imagination: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 42.
[35] Creswell *Research design,* 213-214.

2.2 Case Study

What is a case study? Many scientists have opinions on the subject of what a case study really is. In *A Case for the Case Study* by Gideon Sjoberg, Norma Williams, Ted R. Vaughan, and Andrée F. Sjoberg the following answer to the question is given:

> In general terms, a case study involves characteristics or configurations of a particular unit of analysis – be this an individual, a community, an organization, a nation-state, an empire, or a civilization.[36]

A similar explanation is given by Svein S. Andersen in *Case studies og generaliseringar,* however; he also mentions it being multi-faceted, critical, qualitative, and anti-positivistic.[37]   Robert K. Yin mentions three types of case study research: explanatory, exploratory and descriptive, and he agrees with the definition of case studies as involving a unit of analysis.[38]

There is no routine formula on how to perform a case study since every case study is different from each other; this makes case studies one of the hardest methods to use when doing research.[39] A case study can be carried out in various ways and the data can be collected from different sources. A case can for example be an event, a person, various persons, or various events. In order to write a good case study it is an advantage to choose a subject that is unique and that has not been studied a lot previously.[40] In this study two cases are the main focus and they might not be very unique separately but when the two cases are put together and compared with each other they make a very unique case study.

Case study as a method can be used within a large variety of scientific disciplines. In order for us to understand how advanced social phenomena have been created, case study as a method is very valuable, this because an understanding of the phenomenon within the frame of reality is presented. Five different cases can be studied within the frame of a case study: a critical case, a representative case, a unique case, a regulating case, and when two

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[36] Sjoberg, Gideon et al. in "The Case Study Approach in Social Research: Basic Methodological Issues" ed. Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg. *A Case for the Case Study* (USA: University of North Carolina Press) 1997, 36.

[37] Andersen, Svein S. *Case-studier og generalisering: forskningsstrategi og design* (Norge: Fagbokforlaget Vigbostad og Bjørke AS), 1997, 9.

[38] Robert K. Yin. *Case Study Research – Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.) 2003, 1.

[39] Ibid, 57.

[40] Ibid. 14, 22-23.

cases are studied at two different occasions. If many cases are used the evidence might be more convincing than if only one case is used since many cases that show the same thing are more reliable.[41]

Data collection in case studies may come from different sources. In this study the primary sources of collecting data is documents and legislations from the EU through the book *European Foreign Policy* and the second part of the study includes images from Instagram.

2.2.1 Comparative Case Study and European Identity

This case study is a comparative case study with one case and two embedded units that will be compared with each other in order to find differences and similarities. The first unit is the book *European Foreign Policy* and mentions of European identity from the EU and the second unit is the pictures from Instagram representing hashtag "European" and partially the general public.[42] In comparative case studies there are two different possibilities of what the main focus is; either it is differences or similarities in the results or the focus is both on differences and similarities which it is in this case study. Comparative case studies make it possible to identify various dimensions and configurations that are re-occurring. [43]

If one case involves more than one unit of analysis it is an embedded case study, which this study is. The case is the notion of European identity and the two embedded units are the two aspects of European identity that will be compared with each other. One pitfall with embedded case studies is that the sub-units are the only thing that is highlighted and the case is almost forgotten. [44]

There are a number of factors that makes it preferable to conduct a case study according to Robert K Yin in *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. The factors that Yin mentions are: when, how or why questions are being asked, when the investigator has little control over the events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context.[45] In this study all of the above mentioned factors are present: how and why questions are being asked in some of the research questions , I (the investigator) have no

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[41] Ibid, 2, 40-42, 46.
[42] Ibid. 42-43.
[43] Andersen *Case-studier og generalisering,* 96, 100-101.
[44] Ibid, 42-43.
[45] Yin. *Case Study Research*, 1.

control over European identity or how it was or is created or how it is apprehended, and finally European identity is a contemporary phenomenon that is present in Europe today. The notion of a European identity is amongst the general people of Europe a social and political phenomenon that is created partially by the authorities to unite a people. However; it is a very complex phenomenon and even though many researchers have tried to understand its influence and lack of influence on the European citizens, there are many unanswered questions about the phenomenon.

2.2.2 Advantages and Disadvantages with Case Studies

Yin disagrees with that statement that many social scientists believe that case studies are only appropriate for a first exploratory phase of an investigation and not for a complete study, because many successful case studies have also been explanatory case studies.[46] Another common concern that scientists have with case studies is that they believe that it is not possible to make generalizations from only one case; however it is also possible to do case studies on multiple cases. The answer to this concern is that a case study is not supposed to represent a sample, and instead of statistical generalizations it is possible to do analytical generalizations of a case study. Other factors that are important and may cause outside critique is if the evidence is not reported fairly in the study and that case studies take too long and result in a large number of material.[47]

2.3 Image Analysis

The material used for the quantitative part of the thesis (however there is some qualitative material included as well) will exclusively consist of a selection of four images out of 500 images from the social media outlet Instagram, thus only four of the images will be analysed. These images will later in this thesis be compared to the material collected from the EU such as legislations and documents from the CFSP. Following the process of collecting the images and the analysis of the images will be described.

In an image analysis the main goal is to understand what message the picture is trying to send. When doing an image analysis one possibility is to use schedules of the world we live in and try to understand the photographic layer through those. However, an image

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[46] Ibid,3.
[47] Ibid, 10-11.

analysis is very dependent on the experiences and understandings of the world that the person performing the analysis has. The thoughts and views of the researcher will partially shine through in the analysis since they play such a large part of the outcome of the analysis.[48] Objectivity is something that is striven towards in the image analysis; however complete objectivity is impossible and without the researchers background the analysis of the images might become very plain. However, the photo itself is part of a subjective worldview which may overlap with the analyst's from the perspective of a socio-cultural context, in this case from the point of view of being European.

In the analysis of the four images from Instagram five different concepts will be discussed in relation to the analysis of the images. During the analysis firstly three concepts: construction, function, and circulation will be discussed an applied to all of the four images since the images are very similar. Secondly thoughts and impressions of one image at a time will be collected. The focus after that will be on two of the five main concepts that will be discussed and analysed in accordance to all of the images, the concepts are: the pictorial and plastical meaning. These concepts are chosen from Göran Sonessons' and Anders Maners' texts on semiotics of the image. All of the concepts will be discussed thoroughly in the above mentioned order and applied to the images. Apart from that the analysis will also entail other interesting findings outside of the five concepts. The analysis has been limited to these concepts in order for the analysis not to become too long. The reason for choosing the concepts is that they look at images from various angles that will be interesting to compare with the text from the CFSP. Following a short explanation of the five concepts will be given, the concepts are: pictorial and plastical meaning, construction, function, and circulation.

Within semiotics there are two different layers of the meaning of the images: the pictorial and the plastical meaning. The first layer is the pictorial which is the reproduced room, what the images convey. The second layer is the plastical which is the surface, the color, the shape, the texture, and the content, how prominent every part is and how it effects our interpretation is also studied in the second layer.[49] Apart from the two layers of meaning, Göran Sonessons' three categories of images will be used as analytical tools in the

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[48] Marner, Anders. *Burkkänslan: surrealism i Christer Strömholms fotografi en undersökning med semiotisk metod.* (Umeå: Tryck NRA, 1999), 20-40.

[49] Ibid, 29.

analysis. The three categories are (the concepts have been translated by me from Swedish): construction, function, and circulation. Construction is how the image is constructed, if it is a drawing, painting, or photograph and so on. Function is the expected social effects for example within art, advertisement, and entertainment; if we are aware of the function of an image we will understand the images on the basis of certain expectations. The last category is circulation and that aims at when the image reaches its receiver: postcards, paintings, Television, Internet and so on.[50]

2.3.1 Process of Collecting the Images from Instagram

Over a period of time I have accessed Instagram at different times and looked at a couple of the first images that are shown when you search for hashtag (#) "European", this in total is five hundred images. The first part of the process with analysing the images starts with the images being put into seven different categories, which are: one person, two people, more than two people, landscape nature, landscape city, quotations, and other. Apart from only looking at what the images portrays the other hashtags that might appear will be collected and accounted for in the empirical part of this thesis. After that the images and the hashtags will be compiled into different diagrams that show which kind of image is the most often and least often added image to hashtag "European" on Instagram and the most often used hashtags. The second part of the process of analysing the images is the more in-depth analysis. Four pictures will be chosen from the different categories and will be thoroughly analysed. The selection of the four images will be my choice of the four images that seem to have aspects that will be interesting when being exposed to an analysis (a more thorough discussion on why the specific categories were chosen in subchapter 5.2.1).

The first part of the image process will be more superficial and only look at the fact of what people that uses Instagram associate hashtag "European" with. The second part however will go into depth on the meaning of the image and of how this can be connected to Europe and the EU. These two parts will complement each other and show the images from two different angles as well as what the deeper meaning behind the images might be and how this reflects on Europe and what Instagram users associate European with.

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[50] Ibid, 35.

The images from Instagram are collected between February and April in 2014. This limits the research partially because the material is not representative of all of the images with hashtag European on Instagram. On April 10, when the last images for this research was collected, there were 578 493 images with hashtag "European" on Instagram, which is a sample that is too large for this type of research.[51] However; the time limit and size of this thesis is fit for a smaller sample that is why a sample of five hundred images was chosen.

2.3.2 Analysis of the Four Images from Instagram

In many cases when pictures are used as data in a study the researcher have taken the photographs themselves in the field; however that is not the case in this thesis. Due to that the possible influence of the researcher on the situation and by that on the pictures which in some cases can be complicated are not present in this study.[52] I as the researcher have had no influence on the pictures since it is other people who have taken the pictures and they portray what the person who took them wants to and not what the researcher wants to portray. Since there is no interaction between me (the researcher) and the people who have taken the pictures it is hard to know if the pictures represent European for the people who have taken them. However, it is not evident for this study that the people portray their picture of European; it is only evident that they can represent the picture of European that is given on Instagram.

Validity is often a crucial problem when using photographs as data in research, this because the photograph needs to account for the inclusion of a particular context in which the photograph is taken.[53] The problem with validity is also present in this study but as mentioned with the influence on the photographer the validity of the photographs are of importance, this because the true meaning behind the picture is not as important as what the picture represents in the context of European. It might have been interesting to see the context of where the photographs are taken however; it is the photograph itself that is the representation and that carries the importance in the analysis.

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[51]Instagram "European"

[52] Prosser, Jon and Schwartz, Dona. "Photographs within the Sociological Research Process" In *Image-based Research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Research*, ed. Prosser, Jon (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 1998), 123.

[53] Adelman, Clem. "Photocontext." In *Image-based Research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Research* ed. Prosser, Jon. (London: RoutledgeFalrmer, 1998), 152.

2.4 Sources

Both primary (images, documentation, and statistics) and secondary sources (books and articles) will be used in this thesis. Following the primary and secondary sources will be presented and thoroughly discussed.

2.4.1 Primary Sources

The European Foreign Policy will be used as my main primary source. To some extent the European Union's Internet page have been used for further information. *The European Foreign Policy* is a collocation and no personal thoughts are expressed which almost gives it the same reliability as a documentation directly from the EU. *The European Foreign Policy* is a book that brings together all the key documents that are relevant to the development of the CFSP, starting during the 1940s and until the 2000s. It is only a collocation of documents and legislations concerning the CFSP and the people behind the book have not changed the documents only compiled them into one book so it would be easier for other people to get an overview.

The qualitative data will be compared to the quantitative data that will be collected through a small study on the social media site Instagram. Instagram will be used to search for images with the hashtag "European", the images found will be compiled into tables with the main characteristics (what the image portrays and other recurrent hashtags) of the images, apart from that four of them will be thoroughly analysed. The images was collected between February and April in 2014, the first images that you find when you search for hashtag European on Instagram during this period is the images that was used. A total of 500 images will be accounted for. The images are randomly chosen depending on the time and day that they were added to the statistics. The images are my other primary source of information apart from the legislations and documents from the EU, that are collected in *European Foreign Policy*.

2.4.2 Secondary Sources

The qualitative data that will be used in this thesis consists of information collected from various scholarly literatures: such as books and articles. The articles and books are the main secondary sources that will be relied on. Many of the books are written by well-known authors that have an international reputation and that are active in questions

concerning European identity. Some of the more renowned authors that will be consulted are: Zygmunt Baumann which is a Sociologist that have worked as a Professor at the university in Leeds, Tel-Aviv, and Warszawa, Peter J. Katzenstein a Professor in International Studies with a special interest in Asia, and Jeffrey T. Checkel a Professor of International Studies and Simons Chair in International Law and Human Security that has written many acknowledged articles.

2.5 Limitations

The material concerning the EU and the development of European identity is limited since it is close to impossible to get first hand documents from the EU. All the documentation connected to the CFSP and European identity would be almost impossible to get with the time limit and also not necessary for this study, however it is possible for future research. Due to this the book *European Foreign Policy* is my primary source which has been used in addition with secondary sources. *European Foreign Policy* limits the material to some extent since it was published in 2000 which leads to the period from 2000 until today without any primary sources and during that period I have had to rely on secondary sources. The time is a limit since without the time limit it would be possible to collect even more material. Despite the time limit the secondary and primary sources used in the thesis offer a good overview of the development of European identity.

Most of the limitations in this thesis are concerning the material from Instagram. Some of the images with hashtag "European" are not possible for me to access since I cannot see the images unless the user that has the image is friends with me. I only have access to the images that are public and that anyone can see. This is a limitation since the sample gets compromised because it does not include all images with hashtag "European". Another limitation is that I have no contact with the person behind the image and the analysis that is done on the image is only my assumptions. There is no way of knowing the true thought and purposes behind the specific images. Another limitation is the sample of 500 images which is only a fraction of all the images; however, the total amount of images is too big for this thesis. Instagram constantly changes and due to that the reliability of the image sample is not very high because if anyone where to collect the same sample today their result would probably be different; however, the big statistical categories would probably

be the same. However, the images are randomly collected on different times over the period of one month, this in order to make the reliability of the sample as high as possible.

3. Theories

Two different theories will be used in this thesis, this because two methods are used and they demand different theories. The first theory is discourse analysis and will be used on the second part of the material which is the book *European Foreign Policy* as well as other material on the subject of European identity from the EUs point of view. The second theory is semiotics of images and it is the theory that will help in understanding the images from Instagram and to understand the meaning of them.

3.1 Discourse Analysis

In many instances discourse analysis can be controversial within the social sciences; however, today more and more research within social science use some kind of discourse analysis. In discourse analysis it is the language that is the main focus, language contribute to shape reality and not to reproduce it. Discourse analysis can be used both as a theory and a method. In social sciences it is often used as a theory, as a theory it can be said to argue towards a scientific alignment concerning questions of power and identity at the same time as it de-emphasizes the meaning of public actors. As a method discourse analysis is understood as a certain way of analyzing texts.[54]

It is within a discourse that things get their meaning without the discourse they have no meaning, and the main aim of discourse analysis is to look for structures of meaning. When objects of knowledge enter into social life they need to be categorized and conceptualized in order for them to make sense, however; outside of social life objects of knowledge can exist independently of language.[55] The term discourse has a different meaning depending on what context it is mentioned in, discourse analysis has also a number of different names and alignments. Discourse can be the sum of interactions, spoken and written language, interaction between the sender and the text, the receiver and the text. Michel Foucault means that when discourses are created it leads to people being controlled by different procedures that can be called excluding mechanisms. Other scientists that have a prominent role within the field are Ernesto Laclau and Chantal

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[54] Bergström, Göran and Boréus, Kristina. *Textens mening och makt: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig textanalys* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2001), 221-222.
[55] Wæver, Ole "Discursive Approaches." In *European Integration Theory,* ed. Wiener, Antje and Diez Thomas (UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), 164.

Mouffe that are prominent within the Anglo-Saxon and above mentioned Foucault to the French tradition.[56]

Following are some of the theoretical concepts that have previously been used in studies that use discourse analysis. Firstly, discourse analysis has an approach to language and the use of language where language is not understood as a neutral instrument for communication. Instead it is through the language that the social and political reality is constructed and the language is productive, language is seen as constructivist. Secondly, discourse analysis also focuses on a functional approach to language where there is no difference between what is said and what is done. Sometimes there is a background when the language creates an act. Thirdly, discourse analysis is used when trying to reconstruct social identities, identities are constantly changing. Fourthly, power is often the main focus within discourse analysis, however; discourse has some implications that recommend certain acts and a certain practice. Lastly, the actors and the ulterior motives that make the actors' actions understandable are of no value, instead it is the forced norms that are important.[57]

3.1.1 Discourse Analysis, CFSP and Identity

Discourse analysis is a theory that is often used when looking at issues within social science.[58] That is one of the reasons why it is a suitable theory for this thesis, because within Europe it is a problem that the European citizens do not feel European. The people do not feel any connection to the politicians in the EU neither do they feel any connection to the other European citizens and this is a problem for further developing and expanding the EU. There is not only one Europe but many, and this is acknowledged in discourse analysis, where different discourse points are being analyzed.[59] Discourse analysis is favorable when studying foreign policies because even though it is not traditional to use it as a theory in the mentioned area; discourse analysis is very clear about how it produces explanations and knowledge about general patterns.[60]

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[56] Bergström and Boréus. *Textens mening och makt,* 223, 225.
[57] Ibid, 234, 235.
[58] Ibid, 237.
[59] Wæver. *Discursive Approaches,* 168.
[60] Wæver, Ole "Identity, Communities, and Foreign Policy" In *European Integration and National Identity: The challenge of the Nordic states,* ed. Wæver, Ole and Hansen, Lene. (London: Routledge, 2002), 26-33.

The approach to use discourse to explain concepts of nation, state, and Europe to explain foreign policy is traditional, with focus on national spaces. State, nation, and Europe are we-concepts (explained by Hylland-Eriksen), and identities that can be held at the same time. European identity is not studied as a replacement for the national identity but as an included identity.[61] Discourse analysis is a good theory when trying to find out how identity is constructed, in order to understand that various mechanisms need to be investigated.[62]

Discourse analysis can see different levels of discourse and change in the levels, the structure in one level follows the branch onto other branches in order to see the changes beneath. When looking at discourses in the CFSP different layers and structures become visible that makes it possible to see the changes beneath.[63]

3.1.2 Advantages and Disadvantage with Discourse Analysis as Theory

One of the critiques against discourse analysis is that everything is seen as characterized of language. It is not possible to decide what is true and not because all discourses have different criteria. Another critique is that discourse analysis is often done under a long time period to figure out the discursive changes but not what the ulterior motives are.[64] Discourse analysis does not try to find out the hidden objectives or motives of the actors it only looks at the level of discourse.[65] However; the defense rejects the question with the explanation that discourse analysis is trying to understand and not to explain. In the chapter "Discursive Approaches" in *European Integration Theory* Ole Wæver says that "Discourse analysis does not claim that discourse is all there is to the world, only that since discourse is the layer of reality where meaning is produced and distributed, it seems promising for an analysis to focus on it."[66]

In some cases it can be hard to find discourses and to avoid a circular argument when explaining and proving the importance and relevance. It is also hard to explain where the

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[61] Hylland Eriksen, "We and Us", 427-436
[62] Ibid, 171, 175.
[63] Wæver. *Discursive Approaches,*172.
[64] Bergström and Boréus. *Textens mening och makt,*257, 258.
[65] Wæver, Ole "Identity, Communities, and Foreign Policy." In *European Integration and National Identity,* ed. Wæver, Ole and Hansen, Lene. (London: Routledge, 2002), 26.
[66] Wæver. *Discursive Approaches,* 165.

discourse comes from, because it floats freely.[67] However, discourse analysis shows how elements within a chosen discourse (chosen by the researcher) are related to each other. This thesis will focus on two perspectives of the concept "European": European identity from the EUs perspective and European identity that appears in images collected from Instagram. The aim of this study is to show the differences and similarities of the two perspectives.

3.2 Semiotics of Images

Semiotics is used in various fields such as the humanities, social sciences and even natural science.[68] The role and the importance of images in today's society constantly increase. Images today are as important to understand as is the verbal language and it is one of the dominant systems of significance. Semiotics is the study of signs and symbols and one of the many branches of semiotics is semiotics of images. What separates semiotics from semiotics of images is that the focus is on images and different categories of images.[69] Apart from discourse analysis as a theory to the texts from the book *European Foreign Policy*, semiotics of images is the theory that will be used with the images from Instagram.

The main focus of semiotics of images is to figure out the message that the pictures or images are trying to send. Semiotics can be used both to study pictures as well as paintings and other forms of images that can be imagined. In an image a scene is pictured and with semiotics the spectator can see that the image continues beyond the picture. Apart from seeing one image it is also important in semiotics to figure out how one image relates to another, and how the image is affected by other outside factors. The paint strains in a painting can create an entity together that can be identified with other phenomena in the experience of the world. Characteristics and categories are factors that apply to the understanding of an image and what it represents.[70] An analysis of an image is very dependent on the person that performs the analysis since different people appreciate an image in different ways. This is partially because every person's experience of the world we live in is different.[71]

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[67] Ibid,172.
[68] Marner, *Burkkänslan,* 12
[69] Sonesson, Göran *Bildbetydelser: inledning till bildsemiotiken som vetenskap* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1992),11-24.
[70] Ibid, 15-23.
[71] Marner. *Burkkänslan,* 16, 20.

The relationship between expression and content gives birth to three kinds of signs: index, icon, and conventional signs (symbols). Icons are signs where expression and content are linked on the basis of similarity. A photograph as in the case here, may illustrate an iconic sign.[72] It is our fantasy that makes an image become alive. We see an obvious object such as a paper or photograph, but that is not what is important. It is the colors and shapes that create an illusion in a perceived world.[73] Index, are signs where the expression and the content are linked due to a form of similarity. One example of that can be a large area where all the trees have fallen in the forest, which can be an indication of a previous storm. A picture is an iconic image; it is our imagination that makes a picture become alive. The conventional sign has no other relation between content and expression than the fact that you have learnt it. Conventional signs are based on conventions, the object and the "representamen" (which is almost the same as the content) are linked through the conventions, and one example of this is words and language.[74]

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[72] Sonesson. *Bildbetydelser,* 30.
[73] Marner. *Burkkänslan,* 23.
[74] Marner. *Burkkänslan,* 23-24 and Sonesson. *Bildbetydelser,* 30.

4. European Identity Created in the CFSP by the EU

In this chapter a description and explanation of European identity and how the EU has tried to implement identity through different treaties and declarations. Firstly the evolvement of European identity since the time after the Second World War and the start of the history of the EU will be shortly summarized. Secondly a description of the EUs efforts to establish a European identity among its citizens in the CFSP and how their efforts has diminished only to include defence and security identity will be given.

4.1 Evolvement of European identity

The history of Europe and of being European originates from the start of Christianity; however, it was the EU that first tried to make the European identity live in every Europeans heart. Since the first thought was sprung on the subject of creating a union amongst the countries of Europe, the EU has strived towards creating one common identity in order for the Union to grow stronger. By creating a European anthem, a flag, a newspaper and etcetera the EU has tried to establish the identity, making it something that the people can relate to and that creates a connection and unity with their fellow Europeans.[75]

The European Union was, as was mentioned in the background, established from after the Second World War until the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. After World War II the existence of a powerful outside force, the United States, lead to the establishment of the European Defense Community (EDC) initiative of 1952. In the aftermath of World War II the Treaty of Rome and the establishment of the EEC in 1957 occurred as well as the Schuman Plan. The Schuman Plan was the starting point of working towards European integration, the process towards creating European integration was launched to prevent future Franco-German conflicts.[76] In 1970 with the process called EPC the EU attempted a project to create a collective identity. Later EPC was transformed into the CFSP. In the EPC the EU used two primary tools to create an international identity: they used trade and aid. In order to establish those they made association agreements with third world countries and

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[75] Shore *Building Europe*, 17, 40-45.
[76] Hill and Smith, *European Foreign Policy*, 1-2.

regional blocks. However, this was not enough to establish an external identity and a third factor was taken into account: to assert an external identity in the security sphere. [77]

During the Cold War the European Communities (EC) security identity grew stronger as they started to intervene in a number of conflicts. Security and defense became the prominent part of the CFSP and by intervening in conflicts outside of the communities the EC took a stand and their identity within security grew and became recognizable by other nations. At the same time the European social identity no longer belonged to the CFSP or to any other area within the EU, instead it belonged everywhere in different forms.[78]

Economics, politics, integration, religion, culture, and other outside factors constantly influence European identity and how it changes and how it reaches the European citizens. Many actors within the different areas of the EU are involved in influencing the European identity how it evolves and how it integrates with the European citizens. All the different areas within the EU effect what European identity becomes, it is not only culturally that the identity is affected but other areas are equally influential. Due to that it is not possible to only look at one area of the EU but you have to look how all the areas are involved: economics, politics, security, religion, culture, agriculture, expansion, integration, trade, and so on. The dynamics of identity in Europe is not unique because similar compositions exists in other parts of the world as well; however, it has a distinctness due to the good and the bad of its history and the ability to overcome and to become united.[79] There is not only one kind of European identity either; there is both social and political identity that is influenced by the EU.[80]

European institutions has seen an increase in loyalty which the European identity builds on, however; this loyalty is not as high as the founders first hoped. European identity is said to help accelerate European integration since economic integration is not enough to build a feeling of belonging to Europe. Still since the EU is built on diversity there is a strong argument against a single European cultural identity that all citizens should feel a belonging towards. Castano argues in *Transnational Identities* that, "For identification to

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[77] Laffan "Identity Builders" In *Transnational Identities,* ed. Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer, 80.
[78] Hill and Smith, *European Foreign Policy,*281-300.
[79] Checkel and Katzenstein *European Identity,* 3.
[80] Schilde, E Kaija, "Who are the Europeans? European Identity Outside of European Integration" in Journal of Common Market Studies, 2014, 2-3.

occur, the new political community needs to establish itself as a possible self-representation at the collective level for its citizens".[81]

It is argued that a feeling of we-hood is a must if the nation-state identity will finally die and the common European identity will be established.[82] Some also argue that if this we-hood does not appear the future of European development is at stake. What do we expect from the European identity is it supposed to be as strong as the national identity, one example from the book *Transnational Identities* asks if a person from London that says that he identifies an equal amount with his national as he does his European identity, in that case he should feel as much at home in Bilbao.[83]

Shared identities can help in creating political legitimacy for the EU and the people that run it. The national identity of each and every member in the EU has an impact when forming a European identity. Since all the nations are different and their identities are different the impact their national identity have on the European identity vary.[84]

4.2 The EU and European Social Identity

During the early establishment of what was to become the EU, European identity was mentioned in various treaties, plans, reports, and declarations that were made by the forefathers. One of the purposes to become united that was mentioned in the Treaty Establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (Preamble), in Paris, 18 April 1951 was the following:

> RESOLVED to substitute for age-old rivalries the merging of their essential interests to create, by establishing an economic community, the basis of a broader and deeper community among peoples long divided by bloody conflicts; and to lay the foundations for institutions which will give direction to a destiny henceforward shared.[85]

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[81]Castano "European Identity." In *Transnational Identities,* ed. Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer, 43.
[82] Hylland-Eriksen, "We and Us", 427-436.
[83] Citrin and Sides in "More than Nationals." In *Transnational Identities,* ed. Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer*,* 168 - 182.
[84] Glynis M. Breakwell "Identity Change in the Context of the Growing Influence of European Union Institutions." In *Transnational Identities*, ed. Herrmann, Risse, and Brewer. (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc. 2004), 26.
[85] Hill and Smith, *European Foreign Policy,* 38.

To create a "deeper community" and "an ever closer union" are aims that the EC had and that the EU still has today. European identity and creating unity amongst the European countries is often mentioned; however, how and which exact measures that they are going to take in order to accomplish that is almost not mentioned in the different treaties and resolutions. However, creating unity within economics, politics, trade, monetary, and so on is something that is heavily discussed but the cultural and social unity that is also mentioned as something that the EU strive towards is not discussed in specific acts but only as an aim.[86]

There is a difference of opinion between scholars if a European public sphere successfully has been established with Europe wide-media that presents the media from a European instead of a national perspective. There has also been a growth of an expert public sphere in political science and other areas, European symbols has been established (the European flag, the Erasmus program, building of the European Parliament in Brussels and Strasbourg, and so on), the euro currency, and increase in learning foreign languages. Those are some of the measures that the EU have established in order to get the public involved and become a part of the EU, and European culture.[87] During the European Defense Community Treaty in Paris on the 27 May 1952 the aim to keep the European culture and to try and create some kind of unity is mentioned, however; how they intend to do that is not mentioned in this treaty either.[88]

> Anxious to preserve the spiritual and moral values which are the common heritage of their peoples, and convinced that within the common force formed without discrimination between the Member States, national patriotism, far from being weakened, will be consolidated and harmonised in a broader framework.[89]

European culture was later also discussed in the Genscher-Colombo Plan, Draft European Act Proposal by the German and Italian Foreign Ministers on the 12 November 1981, however; in this plan an awareness of European culture and tradition and the exchange of those two between people within different nations is the main purpose:

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[86] Ibid, 38.
[87] Kaelble, Hartmut "Identification and politicization of the EU." In *European Identity* ed. Checkel and Katzenstein, 195, 207.
[88] Hill and Smith, *European Foreign Policy,* 25-39.
[89] Ibid, 39.

Close cultural cooperation between the Member States in order to promote an awareness of common cultural origins as a facet of the European identity, while at the same time drawing on the existing variety of individual traditions and intensifying the mutual exchange of experience, particularly between young people [90]

Since the preambles of the EU and the EU started to be created one of the main aims has been to bring the people of Europe together, it did not only involve the politics or the economics, it also included the European citizens that they would feel connected to Europe and other European citizens in heart and mind. One of the major obstacles of integration was according to the EC a presence of nation-states in Europe. Without the nation-states, integration would be without barriers and a coming together between different national cultures would be easier.[91] In the Treaty Establishing the EEC (Treaty of Rome), on the 25 March 1957, goals to bring the people of Europe closer were discussed and they also reached out their hand in hopes that the people of Europe would help in that process:

DETERMINED to lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe,

RESOLVED to ensure the economic and social progress of their countries by common action to eliminate the barriers which divide Europe

(…)

RESOLVED by thus pooling their resources to preserve and strengthen peace and liberty, and calling upon the other peoples of Europe who share their ideal to join in their efforts [92]

It is the social aspect of European identity that has always been the hardest to accomplish for the EU. Politics, agriculture, trade, economics, and many other areas have already become unified, but it is the cultural and the social levels that was the aim from the beginning to unify that is still a work in progress for the EU. The peoples Europe is lacking and the politicians and technocrats are ruling Europe and they are closest to Europe. The people however; are not involved in the decision-making process which eliminates the people of Europe. Despite the EU's aim to unify, the people have been forgotten in the process of creating unity in other areas and the unity in those areas have succeeded at the

[90] Hill and Smith, *European Foreign Policy,* 145.
[91] Shore *Building Europe,* 15-16.
[92] Hill and Smith, *European Foreign Policy,* 65-66.

cost of "a deeper community among people".[93] In the Treaty of Rome, mentioned previously, Treaty of Amsterdam, and Maastricht Treaty there are on many occasions mentions of European collective identity to create "an ever closer union". However, as Thomas Risse mentions in *Europeanization* there is no obligation to develop a common European identity. At the same time the national-sovereignty is diminished and more of the power is located to the Union where the citizens do not have a collective understanding of the politics which leaves them bewildered about more and more of the decision-making process.[94]

In the First Report of the Foreign Ministers to the Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the European Community called the Davignon or Luxembourg Report that was created in Luxembourg on the 27 October 1970, the question of a united Europe is once again one of the pressure points:

> "a turning point in its history"; they affirmed that "the European Communities remain the original nucleus from which European unity has been developed and intensified"; finally, they expressed their determination "to pave the way for a united Europe capable of assuming its responsibilities in the world of tomorrow and of making a contribution commensurate with its traditions and its mission".[95]

The EU is trying to/ have already become a political community, however that requires the citizens to feel a sense of belonging, but with an unclear community the citizens become confused instead.[96] Many European citizens also have a hard time to believe that they themselves have something to say in European politics and that their influence is lacking.[97] Dario Castiglione argues in *European Identity* that European political identity is hardly distinguishable from a general idea of European identity.[98]

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[93] Ibid, 16-20
[94] Green Cowles, Maria, Caporaso, James, and Risse, Thomas. *Transforming Europe* (USA: Cornell Paperbacks, 2001), 200.
[95] Hill and Smith, *European Foreign Policy,* 98.
[96] Castiglione, Dario "Political identity in a community of strangers" In *European Identity*, ed. Checkel and Katzenstein, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 33.
[97] Medrano, Juan Diez "The public sphere and the EU's political identity" In *European Identity*, ed. Checkel and Katzenstein, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 86.
[98] Castiglione, Dario "Political identity in a community of strangers" In *European Identity*, ed. Checkel and Katzenstein, 37.

In 1973 after the end of the Yom Kippur war that took place in October the same year, the Heads of Government in the EC during the Copenhagen Conference came out with The Declaration on European Identity. The Declaration on European Identity tried to define Europe's place in the world and to look forward towards a once again united Europe.[99] In the first part of the declaration "The Unity of the Nine Member Countries of the Community" the third point was the following:

> The diversity of cultures within the framework of a common European civilization, the attachment to common values and principles, the increasing convergence of attitudes to life, the awareness of having specific interests in common and the determination to take part in the construction of a United Europe, all give the European Identity its originality and its own dynamism.[100]

Many of the EC's developments were discussed in the declaration such as their political cooperation, establishing institutions, and a common market as well as the Nine member countries' (Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, and the UK) common history and culture. By uniting the people of Europe and establishing a deeper European identity the foreign ministers also thought that it would contribute to the framing of European Foreign Policy. The rhetoric's is that the member states works towards incorporating the "new Europe", the soon to become the EU, in the "old Europe" that already exists, by highlighting the importance of *common* values and *common* interests.[101]

The emphasis on *common* from The Declaration on European Identity is repeated in the Draft Treaty embodying the Statute of the European Community, Adopted by the Ad Hoc Assembly in Strasbourg (European Political Community Treaty). The treaty was established the 10 March 1953 where the following aims were mentioned: "determined to invite other European peoples, inspired with the same ideal, to join with us in our endeavour; have decided to create a European Community."[102]

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[99] Hill and Smith, *European Foreign Policy,* 115-116.
[100] Ibid,117.
[101] Ibid,116- 120.
[102] Hill and Smith, *European Foreign Policy,* 55.

Unity and community are recurring concepts that the EU uses quite often in their treaties and resolutions when the subject of European identity is highlighted. Bauman argues that the Maastricht Treaty which was established in 1993 which was supposed to sketch the future of Europe and unite the people of Europe, does not appeal to the people of Europe to get involved in what he calls "the adventure of Europe".[103] Instead he thinks it is poorly formulated and mostly aimed at the political sphere which do not include the citizens and that does not bring the community and unity to them as well. This may or may not be true despite the fact that the EU seems keen to use words such as unity, community, and a united Europe.

It is quite clear from the quotations that the discourse that the EU use focus on terms that brings people together and makes a connection between them such as community, common values, cultural cooperation, and unity in different inflections such as united and unite. Their discourse is quite clear but at the same time there is a lack in what course of action that they plan to take in order for their aims to be fulfilled. They lack action and in the end there is a need for action if the aims should be able to reach the people and make them part of the people's everyday discourse that finally makes them identify as Europeans.

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[103] Bauman, Zygmunt, *Europe an Unfinished Adventure,* (UK: Polity Press, 2004), 24.
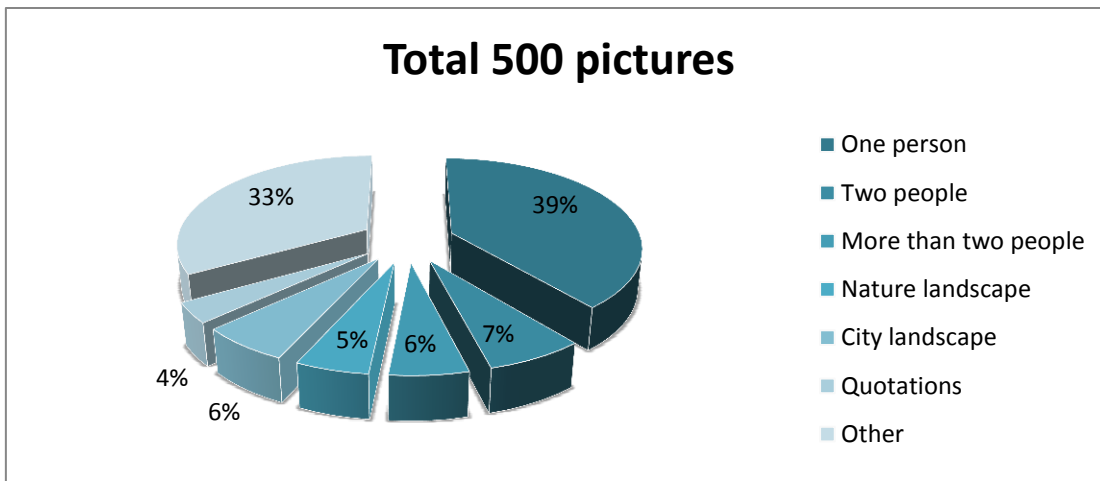
5. "European" on Instagram

This chapter entails all the information gathered from Instagram: the statistics and the analysis of the images. Firstly the seven categories of images (one person, two people, more than two people, nature landscape, city landscape, quotations, and other) and how often the different images occurred on Instagram will be presented in statistical form. Secondly the four images that have been selected will undergo a thorough analysis.

5.1 Statistics from Instagram

In this subchapter the statistics from Instagram will be presented. Firstly the statistics from the images that appear when I searched for hashtag "European" on Instagram will be accounted for. After that the twenty five hashtags that most often appeared with the images will be presented in two different tables. On April 10 the last time images from Instagram were collected there were 578 493 images with hashtag "European", the same day the most popular hashtag which is "love" had 528 504 526 posts, which is a lot more than hashtag "European".[104][105]

Table 5.1 Pictures on Instagram

In **table 5.1** we can see which of the images from the seven different categories that appears most often when searching for hashtag "European" on Instagram. From a total of five hundred pictures the pictures with "one person" stood for 39 percent of the images. The category "other" appeared in 33 percent of the images, and the category "two people" with 7 percent appearance, and the two

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[104] Instagram "European"
[105] Instagram "Love"

categories: "more than two people" and "city landscape" both appeared in 6% of the images. The category "nature landscape" appeared in 5 percent of the images and lastly the category "quotations" appeared in 4 percent of the images. From this we can clearly see that two categories was dominant with 39 percent and 33 percent compared to the rest of the five categories of images that only appeared in between 7 and 4 percent of the images.

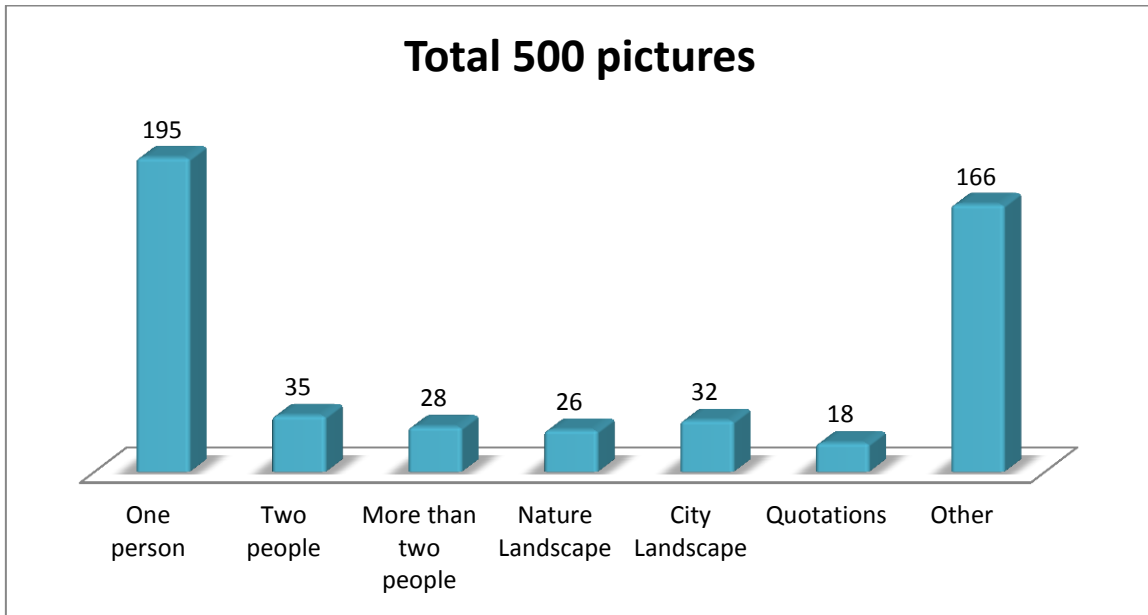**Table 5.2 Pictures on Instagram, in quantity**

Table 5.2 shows how many images there were from each of the seven categories, and again we can clearly see that two of the categories are much bigger than the others. This table shows the same as table 5.1 but it shows the amount of pictures instead of the percent.

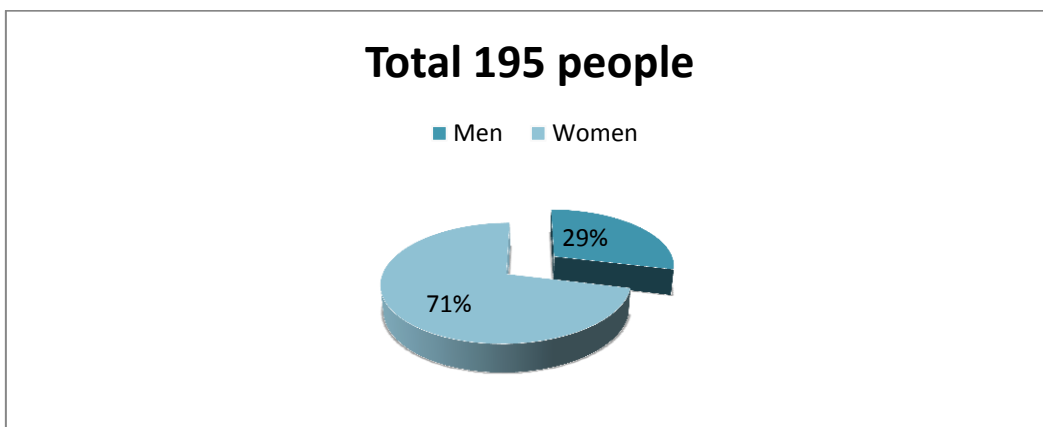**Table 5.3 Pictures of one person, men and women in percentage**

Table 5.3 focus on one of the seven categories, namely the most dominant category "one person" it shows how many percent of the images of "one person" that is of men and how many of them that are of women. Here we can see that 71 percent of the images are of women which is a lot more than the 29 percent of images of men that appeared on Instagram.

Table 5.4 The 25 most often recurring hashtags from a total of 300 images

Hashtags	Number
"Europe"	75
"Home"	54
"Beautiful"	48
"Scandinavian"	43
"Country"	32
"Selfie"	31
"Love"	29
"Finnishgirl"	27
"London"	27
"Britain"	25
"England"	25
"Sweden"	25
"Scottish"	25
"Stockholm"	24
"Ireland"	22
"España"	22
"Wales"	21
"Swedish"	21
"Paradise"	20
"English"	19
"United"	19
"Finnishboy"	19
"Kingdom"	18
"Summer"	17
"Sunny"	16

Table 5.4 shows the twenty five hashtags that appeared most often to the images when I searched for hashtag "European" on Instagram. There were many other hashtags that people used apart from the above mentioned but those twenty five are the hashtags that most people used in accordance with their images. Many of the hashtags are different words that can be connected to nation or nationality such as "London", "Sweden", "Finnishboy" and so on. There were many hashtags that appeared less than "sunny" (which was the hashtag in that appeared the least in table 5.4) but they appeared to few times to make the list. The next table (table 5.5) takes a closer look at the hashtags with words that can be connected to nation and nationality.

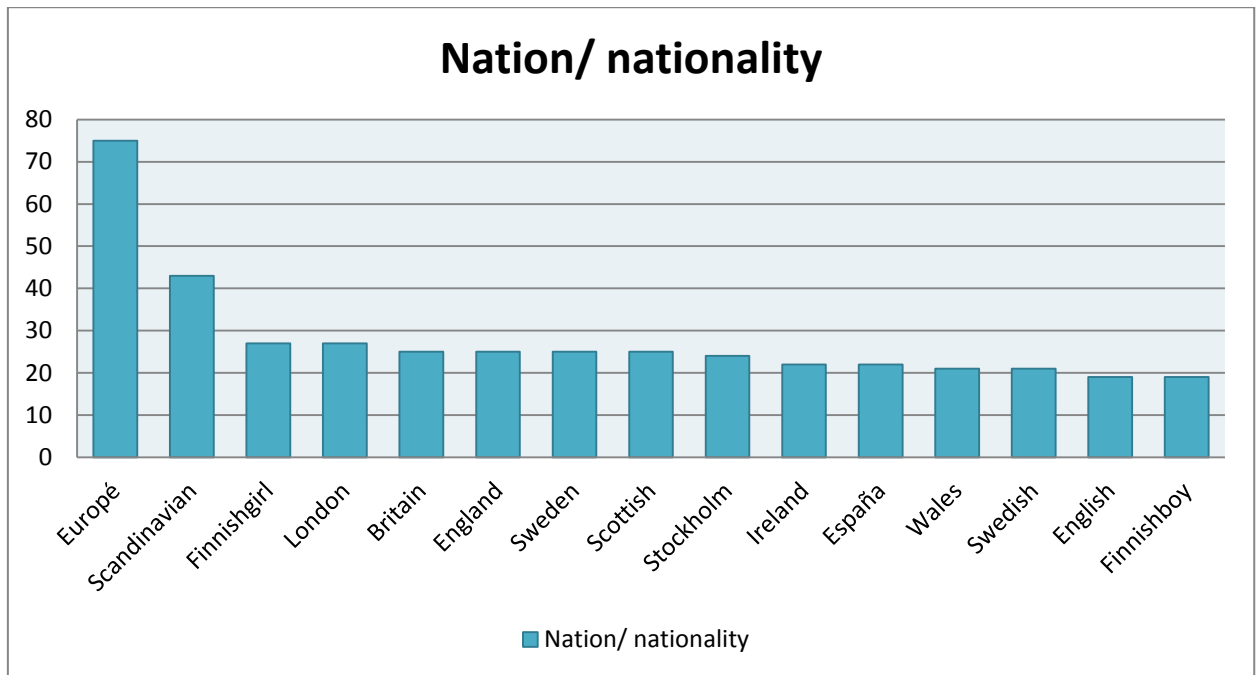**Table 5.5 Hashtags about nations/nationality, in quantity**

Table 5.5 shows the words that can be connected to concept of nation and nationality out of the twenty five most often recurring hashtags to the images. This table shows that hashtag "Europe" is the word connected to nation/nationality that appeared in most of the images with hashtag "European". From this table we can also see that many words that can be connected to Great Britain such as: London, Britain, England, Scottish, Wales, and English appeared a great number of times. Some countries within the EU are more represented than some that do not appear at all in the images.

5.2 Analysis of the Images from Instagram

As mentioned in the methods chapter the three categories of images: construction, function, and circulation will be applied to the four images from Instagram. Secondly an analysis of each one of the four images with the general impressions, the pictorial, and the plastical meaning will be given.

5.2.1 Choosing of the Four Images from Instagram

All of the images that are included in the analysis are images from the different categories that the images were divided into during the counting of the images. Since there are seven categories and only four images will be analyzed there is not one image from each category. Therefore the four categories: "one person", "city landscape", "nature

landscape", and "other" will be represented in the analysis. The category "one person" and "other" were chosen because they represent the two largest categories. "City landscape" and "nature landscape" however, represents two different aspects and perspectives of Europe: the periphery, the countryside and the center, the city. However, the images were chosen from different categories in order for as many categories as possible to be represented. Images from the categories: "two people", "more than two people", and "quotations" are lacking. The reason for that is because the analysis will remain quite small since it is only one part of the empirical data in this thesis. All of the images were chosen for different reasons and those will be accounted for before the analysis of each one of the pictures.

5.2.2 Construction, Function, and Circulation of the Four Images from Instagram
The images are constructed as photographs that are possibly taken by amateur photographers, with more or less experience of taking photographs. Some of them might be taken by expert photographers, but from looking at the images it is a probable conclusion to draw that at least all of the images except image number three are taken by amateur photographers. In most of the cases it is presumably the users that have added the image that has taken the image themselves as well.

Most users on Instagram add images of their everyday life, of themselves, what they go about, animals, or beautiful surroundings that they encounter. Everyone that has an Instagram account can see the following four images if they follow the links beneath them, they are as it is called "open for public". However the function of the images is most certainly that, most users add images to show their friends and relatives small glimpses of their life, but to some extent also to show other people that might be interested. There is partially an entertainment value to the images since they might make other people feel some kind of emotion such as happy, sad, or peaceful. The images reach their viewers through the Internet or as an application on a smartphone and those are the only two ways to get access to the images. The meaning of the images is something different and it differs between the four images and the four people who are the owners of the images. The meaning might also depend on the viewer, and now a short analysis of the four images will be given.

5.2.3 Analysis of the Four Images

In this sub-chapter the four images from Instagram will be analyzed following the concepts construction, function, circulation, pictorial meaning, and plastical meaning.

Image One

Source: http://web.stagram.com/p/704191879881520174_231300860

The first image was chosen from the category "nature landscape", because it can be imagined as being a representation of Europe and the European nature. Image one caught my attention since it entails many different aspects and things that might draw the attention of a viewer. One of the things that are interesting with the images is that the image is not significant for a certain country, which makes it hard to figure out the exact location.

The picture portrays a sunny day by the sea or a lake with powerful mountains surrounding it. The person taking the picture is probably planning to do some wind surfing on the sea with a couple of friends. There are presumably a couple of people outside of the picture that has gone to the sea together and are soon to get on their surfboards and head out on the sea. Those are some of the general impressions from the image.

The pictorial meaning is mostly already mentioned in the section above. In the second layer, the plastical layer, the bright and clear colors of the image is accentuated. The sky is light blue with a few white fluffy clouds that brings about thoughts of summer. The sea and the mountains are quite dark, but the blue makes them feel inviting and peaceful. The front of the image with the surf boards and the green, maybe grass, gives the images a

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location and a probable understanding of who the person behind the camera is. If the color of the sky would have been grey the happy feeling of the image would become, threatening, dark, and gloomy. This is also depending on the viewer because if the viewer has a bad experience with for example the sea the images might instead bring forth feelings of unease, sadness, and sorrow. The thought behind the image might be that the photographer has a thought of portraying their surroundings and Europe as they see it.

Image Two
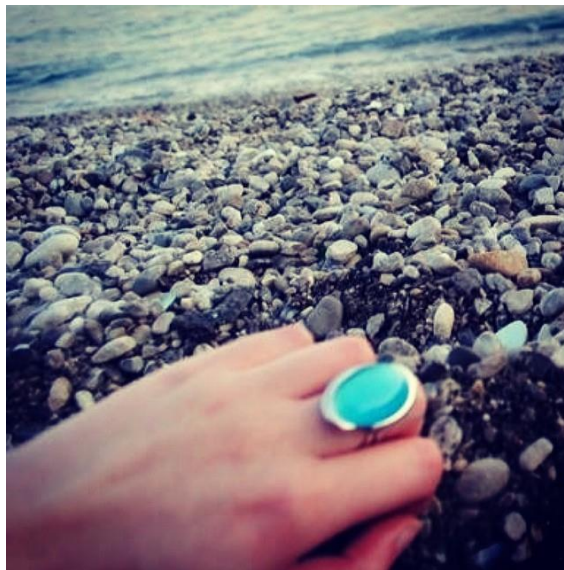
Source: http://web.stagram.com/p/699760898328066070_394170861

Image two represents the category "other" which entails a lot of very different images, everything from animals to food and clothes. This image was quite hard to categorize since a large part of it is nature; however, it is the hand that is the focus of the image and due to that it was categorized as belonging to the category "other". This image was chosen because the hand caught my interest and there could be many different explanations and reasons behind the hand in the sand and what its meaning might be.

In the second image the sea (or a lake) has a role in the picture as well as in the first image. However; it is not the sea itself that has the central role, but a hand with a large turquoise ring on it. Most of the picture consists of many small rocks that are assumed to be a seashore since the sea is portrayed in the background. Presumably the hand in the picture belongs to a woman since it has a ring that looks very feminine as well as the fact that the hand looks as though it is a woman's hand. The picture portrays solitude with one hand

and the vast ocean in front of it, the feeling from the picture is that the woman is alone on the stony seashore when the picture was taken.

The feeling of solitude is accentuated by the second layer of the picture where the sober colors are discovered. Apart from the clear turquoise color of the ring the rest of the colors in the picture are quite gloomy and dark. The sea is a dark blue almost grey color that gives it an almost threatening appearance as if a storm was coming; the rocks on the beach are grey, white, and black that further highlight the gloomy feeling. Despite the deep and dark colors the hand and ring makes the picture lighter and provides the viewer with a hopeful feeling. The hand can also be a sign of a person reaching for something, reaching for a friend or reaching for something far away that might not be possible to ever have in their hand.

Image three

Source: http://web.stagram.com/p/704139349269182663_1282796053

Image three was selected from the category "landscape city". It was selected due to the almost surreal feeling of the picture; the house almost looks as though it belongs in a fairy-tale. Apart from that it was also selected because it represents a city but not a very modern and technological city that represents the 2000s but a more cosy, picturesque, and cute little town.

There are a lot of impressions to get from this picture, since there is a lot of things happening in it that catch your eye when you look at it. There are the colourful and

majestic houses that are very tall and narrow with little shops and restaurant on the ground floor, as well as an alley of trees and people walking around. The alley of trees gives the images almost a frame that leads the eye of the viewer to look towards the houses.

The photographer that has taken this picture has chosen to make only the center of the image clear and the rest blurry. The blurry margins give the picture an almost ghostly feeling and it also makes the colors become darker. The leaves on the trees are changing color from green to yellow and red and the sky is grey which gives the impression of the picture being taken on a cold day in autumn. Since there are shops and restaurants in the picture it might be a central location that the picture portrays, however there are not that many people in the picture. This might be due to the fact that it is a day during the working week when people are at their jobs.

Image Four

Source: http://web.stagram.com/p/704102643675125432_992722772

Image four is selected from the image category "one person" or as it is in this case a selfie. Since the category "one person" proved to be the largest category of images combined with hashtag "European" on Instagram it was a natural choice to have one image from that category in the analysis. This image was not selected for any other reason than that it portrays a girl taking a picture of herself, it is a very common image on Instagram. It is one

of many and was chosen because this was one of first images of this kind that was found when images for the analysis were selected.

This picture is a so called "selfie" of a girl/younger woman that is presumably going to do some kind of physical exercise such as go to the gym or go out for a run. This assumption is made since she is wearing workout clothes: tights and a workout bra. We can presume that the picture is taken in her room/ bedroom since a bed and a nightstand is visible behind her. There are a couple of other things visible in the background such as an umbrella; however the focus of the images is on the girl.

The girl in her workout clothes is the most prominent part of the picture. The colors looks muffled, as if she has used some kind of filter to give the color a new light. Apart from the gold in the frame of the mirror and the yellow bra that she is wearing the colors are mostly black and white. The girl looks like she might be from Scandinavia due to her blond hair; she also looks like a girl that cares about the Nike label on her tights and the fact that she has an expensive mobile phone in her hand. She is probably a typical teenager in a western country where many teenagers own those things that is shown in the picture.

To conclude, the interpretation of an image is very dependent on the person viewing the image and to one image there can be a thousand different interpretations. The four interpretations as well as the statistics from Instagram will be further discussed and put into context in the analytical chapter.

6. Analysis

In this chapter the two perspectives on European identity will be discussed and analysed. The material from the statistics and the image analysis of the four images will be compared to find differences and similarities with the material concerning EU and how European identity was/is created as well as what European identity is according to the EU. Throughout the analysis the two theories (discourse analysis and semiotics of the images) will be applied on the two perspectives. Firstly European identity according to the EU will be discussed, secondly "European" on Instagram will be accounted for and lastly a comparison to find differences and similarities will be given.

6.1 The EU and their Stance on European Identity

Europe today has changed from the Europe that existed when the forefathers started to lay the foundation to the EU during the 1950s. Europe in the 1950s was a continent afraid that more wars would break out and much of the reason for the establishment of what was to become the EU was to cooperate with former enemies in order to avoid any future conflicts. The reason behind the creation of the EU has changed today since armed conflict and war is not something that most citizens within the EU are afraid of, however with the recent tensions between Russia and Ukraine this can come to change. In other ways than that the EU has been transformed during the latest decades with a change in values and living conditions, the world looks differently today than it did in the 1950s. The EUs expansion has led to the EU that the forefathers wanted to unite involves a different kind of people and an increased variety of people in today's society. People with different backgrounds and religions are sometimes an obstacle on the road towards unity since the people of Europe in some ways are more fragmented then ever despite the fact that the cooperation in the political, economic, agricultural and other areas within the EU constantly deepens.

It is hard to decipher what European identity according to the EU really is, they do not have a clear argument, but they have an aim that the citizens of Europe should be united. The EU have many different aims and goals and within some areas such as economics, security, trade, and politics they also have specific measures of how to create it but with the social identity that is studied in this thesis the EU does not have that many specific measures on how to establish it. Some of the specific measures that the EU has used to

establish the social European identity are as is mentioned in chapter four: a common flag, monetary union, media outlets and so on. However, there have been efforts towards creating unity in many policy areas that make an imprint on the social European identity as well such as for example establishing cultural cooperation between the member states and labor market. Many different areas within the EU generates some form of identity, such as in the CFSP where today the main focus is on security and security identity and not as much on social identity aimed at the European citizens.

Through the establishment of the CFSP, EPC, and EDC the EU has deepened its cooperation between the member states and therefore a clearer image of its identity has been shed light on. Throughout the previous year's additions to the former established treaties and resolutions have made a clearer statement on economic identity with the creation of the common currency, the Euro. All these different areas that have been added to the EUs jurisdiction have been made clearer and they get more attention and a possibility of constant development. However, at the same time as that has occurred in many areas the social identity that the EU has as an actual goal to create has been partially side footed.

The rhetoric's that the EU has used in treaties and resolutions, which have been mentioned in this thesis (chapter four) as well as in other instances, have created an awareness of European identity. The EU has created a certain discourse on the subject of European identity that focuses on unity, community, common values, and cultural cooperation. In a way, European identity is constructed by the EU and they have made it what it is today, even though it already existed to some extent before the EU was established. Their specific stance on European identity and what they would like it to become has created a certain discourse that is reoccurring within different areas and that reoccurs from one year to another. Even if European identity is considered by many not to be especially well established and present amongst the citizens it still exist, and is what it has become due to the discourse that the EU have constructed.

The expansion of the EU has made social identities harder to establish, since more people that never have met each other need to feel a connection, so that they can create an identity around it. It is hard to say if the political identity that Hermann and Brewer discuss has been established in the EU, because it is a very multifaceted question. There might be a

shared belief concerning the origin of the group (the EU) if you look at the common history; however, it is still a question if Europe share a common history. World War I and II are a part of a common European history, but the history before the 20th century is that something that is shared. The shared beliefs of its origin can also be the establishment of the EU and this is something that they share even though the member states have not become members at the same time. It is a question of what is considered to be the origin of the group, which might be an individual question.

Whether social identity is present within the EU is also a difficult question with a number of different answers. The psychological link that according to Hermann and Brewer is supposed to be present when it is a question of social identity can be hard to measure. I believe that the social identity is very individual and it is the hardest one to create because the psychological link is something that each person creates. The European identity that exists on Instagram might be an example of a forum where a social European identity has been created. People have to feel that they identify *as* European and not *with* Europeans. Social media can be one of the ways for the EU to get the people involved in the politics and therefore help them reach a closer connection that might lead them to identifying themselves *as* Europeans.

Hylland-Eriksen makes another similar distinction between how people identify themselves: we-hood and us-hood. We-hood within Europe can be the common belonging to the EU, the knowledge that you are European whether you identify as European or not. They share a task of belonging to Europe and having that connection; it might not be a very strong sense of we-hood according to some because not all Europeans feel a belonging to Europe even if they do belong. However, a feeling of us-hood that brings a deeper sense to the identification process is harder to establish within the EU. Us-hood requires a common enemy that the citizens can unite against and today Europe have no pronounced enemy. Still in the past there have been enemies, one example is Russia during the Cold War and with the current development Russia might become an enemy that the people of Europe can unite against once again. However, to get completion of the identification process maybe an enemy is necessary but at the same time that kind of identification might not be a something to strive towards and not something that the EU want to accomplish.

European identity is supposed to be a complement to the national identity within the member states; it is not supposed to replace the national identity. Multiple identities whether they are nested or cross-cutting makes it possible for an individual to have many identities that complement each other. Circumstances often decide what we identify with and depending on the discourse a person might be more prone to identify as European or with the national identity. Still this is not of great value since the unity that EU works to establish, is independent of the national identity and the main aspects is to highlight the European identity and to make it become a part of the daily discourse despite the already established national discourse. Social media outlets can be a good instrument to involve European identity in our daily discourse and make it a part of our everyday life and establish it amongst the European citizens.

6.2 European Identity Portrayed on Instagram

Instagram is a good example of how the EU and the world have evolved only during the previous ten to twenty years. Social media is a new phenomenon in today's society that becomes more and more important and comes to be a bigger part of people's lives. Social media reflects the opinion and values of the public in many different areas of society. It is an outlet where people can express their thoughts and reach a broad public that are interested in their opinions. Social media brings the politicians and the public closer together and that might be a way to re-establish the European identity through a new outlet that reaches a great number of people.

From studying the users on Instagram that have added images to hashtag "European" it shows a trend that most of the users are younger people. Due to that the users are not representative of the citizens within Europe since many age groups are not represented. This makes it harder to draw generalisations between the two but not impossible. Sometimes it is presumed that younger people are more cosmopolitan because they travel more, know more languages, and are more prone to use social media outlets and so on. The cosmopolitan attribute might give young people a more open view of Europe and make it easier for them to have a European identity. They neither have the same close connection to previous conflicts that can be a hindrance when creating identification. If younger people are more cosmopolitan and identify with Europe easier social media outlets such as

Instagram might be more Europe friendly and more users identify as European, this if we compare Instagram users with the general public within the EU.

Table 5.3 (in chapter five) might indicate that females are more cosmopolitan and more prone to identify themselves as Europeans. The table show that 71 percent of the users on Instagram that uploaded an image of themselves with hashtag "European" are female and only 29 percent of the users are male. The reason behind this can be that most Instagram users are female or that females like to upload images of themselves; however it can also be an indication that females more easily identify as European or are more prone to display their identity in social media.

European identity is very individual from person to person and it is quite hard to know how many people identify with Europe and how many that does not. Different people also identify in different ways which makes it even harder to know each person's definition. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, chapter five, there were 578 493 posts with hashtag "European" at the same times as there were 528 504 526 posts with hashtag "love" on Instagram. This clearly shows that "European" is not a hashtag that is very commonly used; however, we must take into consideration that people from all around the world use Instagram and not only Europeans. Still we can assume that the Instagram users from Europe are not specifically prone to use "European" as a hashtag, this might say something about their identification with Europe. These numbers portrays a picture where only a small amount of people identify as European; however, many other users might identify with Europe despite not using hashtag "European". Another thing that we must keep in mind is that Instagram users are not representative of the public in Europe because not everyone uses Instagram and most users are younger people. Still this might be an indication of a reflection of the climate within Europe; social media portrays the same picture with a not overwhelming need to identify with Europe.

As was mentioned previously, it was noticeable during the sampling process that most of the Instagram users are younger people. Half of the 500 pictures from Instagram portrayed people in some way this can be an indication that many identify themselves, their friends, and family as European. That is only something that we can speculate on, however; we can see that half of the images added to Instagram portray people, one or more, and this can be an indication that they feel European, live in Europe or think in European discourses. The

users on Instagram probably feel a connection to Europe that makes them use "European" as a hashtag to their images. The hashtags is what other people search for when they want to find images on a specific subject and those that use "European" as a hashtag presumably hopes that other people within Europe find their images.

The 500 images that have been used in this thesis are all in some way connected to Europe and to being European. The user who added the image might not have had any deeper meaning behind using hashtag "European" to their image, still the hashtag connects the image to Europe whether if that was the thought behind it or not. The 500 images portrayed other aspects as well, besides the seven categories used in this study. However, the largest category was "one person" which indicates that the users on Instagram mostly associate images of one person with hashtag "European". This might be for a number of reasons, maybe the person is from Europe, feels a connection to Europe or some other reason. Since there is no contact with the users it is impossible to know the specific reason behind it.

Image number four, as you can see in chapter five, is an image of a younger woman taking a picture of herself in the mirror, a "selfie". This kind of image is an often recurring image on Instagram, many users upload what we can presume is an image of themselves showing their outfits and other parts from their everyday life. This particular image shows a young girl in workout clothes, and she is probably trying to send a message that she is a healthy active girl that works out. Since the image is public everyone that uses Instagram can see it, it might be that she hopes that other Europeans might see it because she feels some kind of connection or closeness to them. Compared to the other three images the young woman in image four is very open in to put herself on display, because in the other images only different parts of people are shown but not any faces.

In image one, two, and three the identity of the user is hidden. Instead of showing a face or a hand, people in the distance are portrayed which is not as close and personal as a "selfie" can be. There are no people on image number one; however there are clear signs of a presence of people since there are surf boards out in the sea as well as in the front of the image. The constant presence of people that becomes a red line that links the images together can be a sign of a Europe and Europeans where there are always people around. When people think of Europe and European they see people other fellow Europeans, they

do not think of untouched nature but a union were people is the main attribute and the surroundings are only followers that are constantly present. At the same time the images also show a Europe with beautiful nature and picturesque villages and towns. Those are reflections of the Europe that the users see and that they feel a need to share with others.

An image does not always correlate with the reality, sometimes a photograph is a way for a person to show an outside that is happy and good when the inside is something completely different. In the second image the girl or woman in the photograph might be very lonely and the hand is a way of trying to reach out to others, hidden behind a peaceful and colourful exterior. Image number three might be the image of a town where something horrible has occurred, and the citizen maybe carries deep and dark secrets that are not visible on the outside. Perhaps the people behind the images has the same view of Europe, it is beautiful and happy on the outside but on the inside things are not what they seem: poverty, member states that needs to take loans in order for them not to go bankrupt, the fear of a coming conflict or internal tensions. However, the images are all a part of Europe part of the citizens' thoughts and hopes, even though they might not be their true feelings of Europe they might still have a connection and a meaning that maybe only the users themselves can understand.

Most of the images are photographs that portray something beautiful and most of them also seem relatively happy and cheerful, with an optimistic perspective. If a closer analysis of the images are made it might be that a more sad image reveals itself, but the general feeling is that the Instagram users tries to portray more or less joyful images. However, both images two and three can be viewed as darker without the blissful attitude and it is of course impossible to know the real meaning and feeling behind a certain photograph. Still most of the images show joy more than sorrow and maybe it is a way of seeing the world in bright colours. It can be that they see Europe as something positive and portray it with happy emotions, at the same time the mood of the image might not have anything to do with the fact that they are tagged with hashtag "European".

Most of the images on Instagram have more than one hashtags and the other hashtags to specific images can indicate things about the user and of the image. Many of the hashtags were concepts that can be connected to the concept of a nation or to nationality. Most of those hashtags were Scandinavian, Finnish, Swedish but also British. This might seem a bit

odd since countries such as France and Germany are not represented even though they are the two nations with most influence in the EU and they were some of the first members that was part of the EU. Might that be an indication that the citizens of France and Germany do not feel the same connectedness to Europe as does the Finnish, Swedish, and British. Another thing that strikes me is that the UK is one of the nations within the EU where most of the citizens have a negative stance towards the EU and there is a current debate in the country on the subject of leaving the EU. This can also be that they feel a connection to Europe and to being European and not to the EU, because the EU and Europe does not always go hand in hand.

6.3 Differences and Similarities with European Identity according to the EU and the Instagram Users

European identity is never the same from one person to the next and neither defined by the EU or portrayed in photographs on Instagram; however there are many similarities as well as differences. A quotation from the European Defence Community Treaty was mentioned previously an it discusses the subject of national patriotism and the EUs aim to harmonise it into a broader framework. The framework that is mentioned is not further explained but presumably it is a wish to create multiple identities amongst the citizens where they identify both with their national identity and their European identity. On Instagram the same thing is portrayed when hashtags where both nation and European is mentioned, which leads me to presume that they identify with both. The nested and cross-cutting identities are visible both from the EU and on Instagram, which shows a similarity in a broader framework where multiple identities are present and encouraged.

Social and political identity according to Hermann and Brewer can be applied to Instagram as well. Political identity on Instagram connected to European identity brings out the same questions and problems that were discussed previously about a common history and a common European history. However, the social identity is a different phenomenon because the Instagram users have a common identity, the Instagram identity, but also through their memberships in the EU, which they express in various ways, on Instagram. They create a social European identity where the psychological link is Instagram but that brings the group closer together by their membership in the EU.

The users of Instagram that show their identification with Europe by using the hashtag "European" on their photographs might have an unconstrained relationship to their identification process. The users that choose to show their identification as Europeans on Instagram presumably does it because they have chosen it themselves and no one have forced their identity on them. However; the EU even though they try to involve the citizens in their decision-making process in order for them to feel a deeper unity they still in some ways force the identity on their citizens. Since the EU membership is a choice for every member state but not for every member, which makes the EU and European identity something that is forced upon the citizens. Still on Instagram the people that feel a unity and share common values can show their identity, as their own choice. Instagram is an unconstrained social outlet where most values are respected. Of course, the EU does not force their citizens to identify as European but they work towards it and it is part of their aims to create unity. Due to the fact that Instagram is an independent forum the rules are different and the coercion disappears which might make it more reachable for some people if they are pushed in a certain direction even if they themselves makes the choice.

The nations that have been members of the EU before it changed name and became the EU have been part of the union for a long time and my thought is that they would have had a lot of time to establish unity and identify as Europeans in their nations. Since they have been EU members for a long period of time they have had the time to get involved in the decision-making process and to create a we-hood. However, the states that have only more recently become member states have not had as much time to make this adaption. Despite this, the hashtags on Instagram that have been studied in this thesis does not show that many of the original nine member states are more prone to use hashtag "European" on Instagram.

The country names that appeared relatively often with the hashtag "European" were, as was mentioned in chapter five, the UK, Finland, Sweden, Ireland, and Spain. Two of the original nine members are mentioned here (The UK and Ireland) but at the same time three other countries that became members much later (Sweden, Finland, and Spain) are also some of the more frequent. This does not show that the nations that have been members for a longer time, identifies themselves as European. However, it is only an assumption since there can be a number of reason for this; maybe these six countries have more Instagram users than the other members of the EU have. Still a conclusion can be drawn that

integration and establishing an identity is not something that is finished after a number of years but it is something that you have to work on.

The people of Europe are the same whether they use the EU or Instagram as an outlet for their thoughts and opinions. However, Instagram and other social media outlets give the citizens a new kind of freedom where they are allowed to identify with anything and either share or hide that. Social media is a new outlet where things create themselves and if the EU still aims to reach their goal of a common European identity, Instagram might be an uncomplicated outlet that brings them closer to their goal.

7. Conclusion

European identity is something individual and different, different people might have different definitions of what it means to be identified as European. One person might consider themselves as European if they live in a European country; however, for another person that might not be enough instead they need to feel a connection to other people in Europe, feel that they have something in common that they share maybe shared values. European identity includes a number of areas and if European identity is discussed it might as well be the political identity, the economic identity, and so on. Sometimes it is hard to distinguish the different identities from each other, maybe a new concept that includes every part of European identity can be used to make a clearer distinction in future research, a concept such as *comprised European identity*.

"European" is not a hashtag that is used to any greater extent compared to other hashtags on Instagram. Many scholars are of the opinion that the EU has failed in establishing a social identity amongst the citizens and this can be an indication of the same. However, can it be that they have successfully created a *comprised European identity* where all of the policy areas are included and the social identity but not to the same extent? The focus of the EU have been lacking in regards to the general public and getting them involved in the decision-making process. People do not feel any connection to the politicians which drives a wedge between them; the previous efforts the EU has made to create unity have to some extent not been sufficient enough. One of the most important aspects is that there is a will amongst the people to identify with Europe, it is almost impossible to establish something if the will is lacking. Perhaps the EU can look to social media outlets in order to create unity amongst their citizens.

Social media is a new source of information that has not been used to any larger extent in scholarly studies and I look at it as a goldmine of untapped resources. Social media is part of a cosmopolitan view of the world where everyone can air and share their opinion, and that gives an opportunity to create and share identities. It would be interesting to do further studies on the subject of social media and what influence or lack of influence it has on European identity or identity alone. There are a number of social media outlets that might share in the possible influence such as Twitter, Facebook, and LinkedIn. Is social media an outlet that can be beneficial for the EU in establishing their identity further? European

identity has been thoroughly studied despite that there are many angles left to study that have not yet been highlighted.

Will it ever be possible to say that there is a European identity if the definition constantly changes and the citizens constantly develop? Maybe European identity is a concept that will never be finished and due to that we can never be sure that it really exists in the minds of the citizens. Can we ever have the same kind of European identity if people are individuals and every individual is unique? Still do we need the identity to be the same and does the EU require European identity in order to develop and evolve further?

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