HOW HAS THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY BEEN ARTICULATED BY THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION?

A case study

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Abstract

The concept of European identity is a debatable topic in Europe. There have been several studies about European identity's function and of its content, whereas the European Commission has tried to protect and maintain its common identity in Europe through peace and crises. However, there is limited research and problem on how the European Commission has expressed and articulated European identity during a modern coherent period. Therefore, this thesis aims to examine how the European Commission has articulated the European identity by the three recent Commission presidents José Manuel Barroso, Jean-Claude Juncker and Ursula von der Leyen between 2010-2019. The thesis theoretical framework is based on Gerard Delanty`s theories of thin and thick European identity divided into four models of European identity: Moral universalism, European post-national universalism, European cultural particularism and European pragmatism.

The thesis is analysing the articulation of a European identity in state of the Union and political agenda speeches provided by the three recent Commission-presidents, in relation to Gerard Delanty`s theories of European identity which is considered unexamined research. The result in relation to Delanty`s identity models, led to the conclusion where Barroso articulated European identity from the perspective of European post-national Universalism and European Pragmatism. Juncker had a moral universalistic and European cultural particularistic perspective and Von der Leyen is speaking of European identity from a moral universalistic perspective.

Keywords: European identity, Integration, European Commission, Universalism, Particularism

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List of Abbreviations

EP   European Parliament

EU   European Union

EC   European Commission

ECSC European Coal and Steel Community

EEC   European Economic Community

ECB   European Central Bank

EMU   European Monetary Union

CJEU   Court of Justice of the European Union

ECHR European Convention of Human Rights

UK   United Kingdom

USA   United States of America

1. Introduction

Since the establishment of the European Commission due to the treaty of Rome in 1957, the Commission has worked to establish a common unity in Europe (Cini,2002 p. 14-15). 16 years later, the declaration of European identity in 1973, was aiming to create a common European identity, based on European heritage and was considered a step forward towards an establishment of an official European identity (Delanty 2002 p.350). European identity, an identity which classifies individuals within Europe as *"Europeans"*, creates a common European community and used as unification-tool and creating stability in times of peace and crisis (Delanty, Wodak & Jones 2008 p.33; Wodak & Boukala 2015 p.92). The European identity has evolved and became further politicized since the ideological period during the 1990s, and it has continued through discussions and research in the 21st century and into the 2010-decade. The European identity is however still debated and considered as a vague and an uncertain concept which has led to discussions of what it is, what it is based on and which individuals shall be participating into the European community (Andrén 2017 p.160; Delanty 2008 p.680; Wodak & Boukala 2015 p.87-88). During the recent decade, Europe has been exposed to various threats such as a financial and migration crisis, Brexit Referendum and populist movements which have ignited fragmentations in Europe. In times of instability and insecurity, the maintenance of a common identity has been considered as difficult to keep, but is still considered as a vital tool of unification (Luhmann 2017 p.1360; Wodak & Boukala 2015 p.87).

During these years of crises, supra-national institutions within the EU has had to interact and regain stability in the region. Compared to other vital European institutions such as the European Parliament, the European Commission is considered EUs most important institution when it comes to a functioning integration in Europe. The Commission has had an increasing responsibly during a critical period of integrational and identity-threatening concerns, which then led to the choice of analysing from the European Commission`s point of view (Bernitz & Kjellgren 2018 p.36-38).

The study is doing a research of how the European identity has been articulated, which led to the decision to select specific political speeches, state of the union-speeches. They are provided by the European Commission and are speaking of identity-building formulas in its rhetoric. The applied theoretical framework shall be Gerard Delanty`s four universalistic and particularistic models of European identity, which shall assist the analytical process and aims to provide new research and knowledge to see how the concept of European identity has been articulated. The choice of theory has also led to apply a hypothesis in the thesis, which believes that the speeches by the Commission

presidents articulates further towards a universalistic and thin model of European identity than a particularistic and thick model of European identity (Delanty 2002 p.345 Esaiasson, Giljam, Oscarsson, Wängnerud 2012 p.217; Commission framework agreement 2010/304/47).

1.1 Disposition

In section 2, a background section will be provided as the history of the European Commission is important to display and understand how European history and politics has shaped and evolved European identity. This section will furthermore provide a description of the framework of European Commission, how it works and what influence it has as an institution. In section 3, previous research on European integration, identity and European identity will be provided and discussed, whereas the contribution, purpose and research questions of this dissertation shall also be applied and explained. Section 4 includes the choice of theory where the four models of European Identity by Gerard Delanty will be presented together with a description of thick and thin identity (see 4.2). Section 5 presents the method of the thesis, where a qualitative content-analysis will be used and further explained, together with the description of the operationalisation of the analytical framework. In Section 6 the analysis of the thesis will be shown. Finally, the result and conclusion will be shown in section 7.

2. Background

In this section, a background and history review will be presented. The section will start from the 1950s, during the establishment of European Commission and will continue until modern day. The motivation to provide a background segment is due to several reasons. As various interpretations of European identity reflect towards its European history and heritage and reflects into political programs and speeches, it is then motivated to apply a background segment related to the European Commission (Jacobs & Maier 1998 p.20).

2.1 History of European Commission

In 1957, the establishment of European Commission was founded and was named the *"European Economic Community"* (EEC). The Commission then became an important supranational institution in the European public debate with official executive powers to provide basic human rights and European communitarian laws (Jacobs & Maier 1998 p.21; Moravcsik 1999 p.86). During the 1970s, time of conflict and disunity emerged due to the Vietnam War, an oil-crisis in the middle east and global economic instability. It created an ambience of crisis, whereas the European Commission needed to act to consolidate a sense of order in Europe. During the EC-

meeting in Copenhagen in 1973, the European identity was invented and conceptualised into the treaty signed by the Commission member states. It was considered as a necessary step to legitimise and evolve a common identity to use it as a unifying-tool during a dramatic period (Shore,2000 p.44; Stråth 2008 p.32).

The 1980s was an important decade for the European identity. Former EC-president Jaques Delors decided to evolve the European identity through cultural and social Euro-symbolism, as the mechanical neo-functionalist approach of integration and identity-building were out of date (Jacobs & Maier 1998 p.21). In 1985, symbols such as the European flag and the European Anthem were installed and were considered as identity-promoting symbols to create a greater solidarity and culture in Europe (Shore 2000 p.42-44). The 1990s were considered as an ideological era for the European Commission with prevention of future wars and an increase of a symbolic unification. Due to the fall of the Berlin Wall and Soviet-Union it made it possible for a liberalisation and decrease of authoritarian rule in Europe (Moravcsik 1999 p.380). The creation and centralisation of other European institutions such as the ECB, European Monetary Union (EMU) and the signing of the Maastricht treaty in 1992 was considered as a *"response to the geopolitical revolution in 1989"* (Moravcsik 1999 p.454,471) The post- cold war era and the effects of the Maastricht treaty led to an increased politicised EC, where geopolitics and security became the primary driving forces for European integration, and the concept *"European citizenship"* was introduced in Europe (Moravcsik 1999 p.379). However, criticism of the concept of European identification during the 1990s was positive as the term *"European"* became a legal status, but also negative as it provided a sense of greater social gaps between Europeans and non-Europeans whereas the Commission was perceived as increasingly elitist (Jacobs & Maier 1998 p.23; Wodak & Boukala 2015 p.92).

Between 1990-2008 the liberal and ideological legacy of the Maastricht treaty continued to build Europe, until a global financial crisis occurred in 2008. It resulted in an economic decline for several years, which led to mass unemployment and financial debt for several Commission member states (Delanty, 2018 p. 3). Thereafter, in 2014-2015 due to the consequences of political instability in Syria, a major migration wave towards Europe occurred, whereas the European Commission had to interact to ease the pressure of migrants towards the European borders (Delanty 2018 p.3; Scipioni, 2017 p.1357-1358).

Increasing immigration and lack of efficient solutions by the European Commission, resulted into the Brexit-referendum which occurred in 2016 when a majority voted for an Exit of Great Britain from the European Commission and Union. The consequences of the referendum influenced

populist parties and movements in Europe, and considered EC as an elitist and corrupt institution whereas the permissive consensus, the act of an individual to show their consent towards common decision-making was questioned (Cini,2002 p.14-15; Delanty,2018 p.3).

It has resulted into further Euroscepticism from the public towards the European decision makers in the European Commission, whereas some scholars claim the European integration is in a modern legitimacy-crisis (Börzel & Risse 2018 p.102; Delanty, Woodak & Jones 2008 p.6).

These recent events have resulted into internal fragmentation within the Union and its member-states. It has created greater pressure towards EC to confront these issues and establish a reassuring unity through the rhetoric of a common European identity in times of instability. Therefore, it led to the decision to investigate how the three recent Commission-presidents between 2010-2019 has articulated European identity (Börzel & Risse 2018 p.83; Moracvsik 1999 p.473).

2.2 The role of European Commission

The European Commission is the *"closest thing we have to a government in the European Union"* (Cini, 2002 p.14). The European Commission is the most important engine for institutional European integration. It possesses a strong institutional level of influence when it comes to dynamics of integration-issues both for member states and European civilians (Bernitz & Kjellgren, 2018 p.38; European Commission, 2020). The European Commission is today led by Commission-president Ursula von der Leyen, who is assisted by 27 commissioners, one from each member-state which is called the *"college"* and is in charge during a five-year mandate-period (Bernitz & Kjellgren, 2018, p.35; European Commission, 2020).

The European Commission's main-purpose is to work for the European Union and its members-states interests. The European Commission has four main tasks:

1) Establish initiative which will solidify and develop the European integration.
2) Monitoring and observing the rules and laws of EU.
3) Administrate and making sure the laws are executed correctly.
4) Represent the Union in international meetings and contexts (Bernitz & Kjellgren, 2018 p.35-36).

European Commission is often referred to as a supranational institution and a *"guardian of the treaty"* (Bernitz & Kjellgren, 2018 p.34). To possess the role of guardian of the treaty, is one of the greatest responsibilities for the Commission. The responsibility means that the Commission

needs to monitor every member state, and make sure they follow and respect the rules and decisions which have been agreed upon. It is crucial for the Commission to maintain an open partnership between themselves and the member states for the legitimacy and validity of the European Commission (Cini 2002 p.14-15).

The European Commission works for the maintenance of the rule of law, protecting it from external threats and provide efficient policies. The European Commission and the heads of state in the European Council, are considered as executives of EU, and together with the elected representatives in the European Parliament they can create, legislative and legitimate EU laws and policies, to try to provide public consent and interests of its European citizens. The Commission is also tasked to guide the Union´s interest towards efficient solutions and legislations in possession of a mandate in various topics (Cini 2002 p. 14, 24-25).

The European Commission is also inserted to security in the Union, judicial issues such as crimes and human trafficking, fundamental rights against discrimination, empowering sustainable consumerism in the Union and a safe European migration policy (European Commission,2020). These fundamental rights are portrayed in the charter of Fundamental rights and the European convention of human rights (ECHR), which creates a unity and solidarity of the people towards the EU-institutions which guards the charters (Delanty, 2018 p.4). The European Commission is built from a *"top-down"* perspective, which means the European Commission is the provider of distinct structures in the interest of Europe, such as maintain and articulating a European identity. It is a hierarchical perspective of control whereas the member states need to follow European legislations, procedures and treaties which has been suggested by the European Commission, and decided by the European Parliament and minister Council (Bernitz & Kjellgren 2018 p.37; Börzel 1999 p.574). However, it has gained criticism and *"anti-European sentiments"* from its member states of being an elitist project within the borders of Europe whereas its democratic values, justification and legitimation is being questioned (Delanty 2008 p.679).

The Commission is part of the Community method, which is a decision-making procedure which involves the European Commission, Parliament and Council of ministers has the main priority to maintain the democratic foundations of the Union. The Commission is depending on the continued collaboration between themselves and the member-states to not just validate their common work and decisions, but also legitimize their own existence as supranational-organisation (European Commission, 2002; Cini,2002 p.14-15).

3.Previous Research on European integration and European identity

The field of theoretical research of European integration has been intensively interpreted since the European Commission was established in the mid 20th century. The following section will provide a description of the traditional theories of European integration: post-functionalism, neo-functionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism, and will discuss how the different integration theories sees European identity as necessary or not for European integration (Börzel & Risse 2018 p.83-84).

3.1 Grand theories of European integration

Neo-functionalism speaks from the idea if international cooperation through rational economic processes for public goods, and is related to two the components of pluralism and functionalism. Neo-functionalism sees integration and international relations as interplay between societal actors, even if they see integration as an uneven path and will take time to be fully functioning. The best solution to provide a functioning integration is to gain spill overs from policy-making, increasing trust from citizens in non-state actors and supranational institutions and further exploitation of trade (Hooghe & Marks 2019 p.1115; Shore 2000 p.42-44). Neo-functionalism defines legitimate integration in identity terms and is positive to its beneficial unity, but thinks it takes time to establish a functioning Europeanization of identity. It is considered as a useful tool in integration issues but forgets the concern which national identities can be negatively oriented towards a European identity (Börzel & Risse 2018 p.87).

According to political theorist Andrew Moracvsik the liberal *intergovernmentalist* perspective of European integration, is based on a series of rational actions by national leaders. These actions and choices are made by the opportunities of a growing world economy, power of independent states and potential for international institutions to create credibility of interstate commitments. These theoretical components of European integration, can then lead to increasing and beneficial European cooperation's (Moracvsik 1999 p.18-19, 472-473). From an identity standpoint, intergovernmentalism sees identity as a granted mechanism within the process of European integration whereas the articulation of an identity depends on the effects of preferences and interests for the ones involved (Börzel & Risse 2018 p. 87).

Post-functionalism sees European integration as a part of a bigger phenomenon in the process of politicization. Post-functionalism thinks there is imbalance between institutions and sovereign multilevel governances which evaluates the issues of indifferences of national interests and

institutional cooperation through comparative research of identity. Post-functionalism puts focus on identity politics, as it thinks that political mobilisation of a collective identity can be divisive. Post-functionalists can however see identity go both ways, as it can be successful but also provoke greater imbalance and fragmentation within Europe (Börzel & Risse 2018 p.87; Hooghe & Marks 2019 p.1122-1124).

Intergovernmentalism and neo-functionalism see integration as a cooperate process among groups and governments, whereas intergovernmentalism sees integrational cooperation as the product from national leaders and its interests. Post-functionalism considered European integration as a process of conflicts due to lack of belief in functioning decision-making (Hooghe & Marks 2019 p.1116-1117).

Concluding thoughts of these integration theories is that they see Europeanization of identity differently. Neo-functionalism sees identity as useful for integration in Europe but is aware that it can take time to implement. Post-functionalism sees the need and articulation of European identity as critical as it can both articulate beneficial identity-building processes but it can also provoke and create clashes between national identities and interests towards the supranational identity and interests of EU. Intergovernmentalism has a neutral tone towards European identity as it considered it as part of European integration as a causal mechanism (Börzel & Risse 2018 p.86-87). The theories have shown different visions of how beneficial Europeanised identity is towards the European integration. Therefore, the next section will continue focusing on the concept of identity and different interpretations of European identity (Börsel & Risse 2018 p.83-85, 100).

3.2 Previous research on identity

The term identity can be applied to various levels such as national, political, individual and supranational identities, whereas this study is focusing on collective identity (Wodak & Boukala 2015 p.88). The term collective identity can be divided into two different settings: sameness and distinctiveness. It leads to gather individuals into a certain group, differentiate it from non-members, and therefore produces continuity. Although, neither individuals or collective identities are unique or secure, as there is no single form of identity present (Wodak & Boukala 2015 p. 88-89).

The concept of identity did not establish itself in the social sciences until the 1970s through integration and identity studies, whereas it was previously considered as a concept related to psychoanalysis. The concept of identity was introduced when the shift from the industrial society to the search of a new framework which became more interpretative, in search of belonging and loyalty towards a common collective (Stråth 2008 p.24). Due to an intensified European integration by the Maastricht treaty, it has also assisted the increasing academic and political search for a common Europeanism towards science, religion, history and culture (Stråth 2008 p.31).

Sociologist Dirk Jacobs and social scientist Robert Maier argues that identity is based from the scenery of the individual and shall not be considered as static, but dynamic. It means no identity neither is fully complete nor stable. Identity can also be perceived as an *"integrated symbolic structure"*, which relates to time-dimensions in the past, present or the future. It can therefore establish competencies among individuals when they feel a sense of continuity and consistency, and therefore an individual can identify and categorize itself towards different actors (Jacobs & Maier 1998 p.16).

Identity can be created by discourses related to political or social elites which are linked to symbols or traditions. It is worth noticing due to his opinions of identity as a difficult, elusive and disputed concept both on individual and collective point of view. Collective identities are especially viewed from a social perspective as individuals are summoned into communities through interaction with each other and can therefore differentiate from other communities (Risse, 2012 p. 88-89). The collective has an important role to find reasons to maintain the faith towards its identity-norms, which needs to be stronger than an individual's self-interest in times of crisis (Risse, 2012 p.88; Risse, 2014 p.1207-1208).

A weakness of the concept of identity is that it can imply demarcation, objectification, rising anxiety and fear towards other individuals outside the identity-community, rather than trying to establish solidarity with the other. *"The pretension of sameness"* can make social and class differences blurred which can make the concept of identity picturing others as a distraction to other crises within the European community. However, an identity should not be considered as a hermetically sealed entity which is consistent and excluding other identities (Stråth 2008 p,35–36; Jones & Krzyzanowski 2008 p.42; de Leeuw & van Wichelen 2008 p.275). As an identity can change through increasing globalism and movements there's been debates of how a supranational

identity`s values and unifying formula, can be successfully articulated in a cross border manner, which leads to the concept of European identity (Andrén 2017 p.160; Stråth 2008 p.24-26,35-36).

3.3 Previous research on European identity

European Identity is considered as a not fully certain concept and there is no full consensus on what it is and who shall be part of it, therefore will the following section will provide different dimensions and interpretations of European identity (Andrén 2017 p.160; Wodak & Boukala 2015 p.87). There will also be sections which describe the benefits and limits of European identity, as there are debates of the level of desirability and value of European identity (Stråth 2008 p.32) (see 3.3.1 and 3.3.2). The reason of this design is to provide an overview and greater understanding of why some scholars think its beneficial or not to maintain a European identity that has been heavily discussed, as it is considered as broad, vague and debatable and difficult to classify. The end of this section will provide concluding thoughts of European identity and motivation of theoretical framework (see 3.3.3).

The concept of European identity has been related and portrayed with various components. The European identity has been identified with the European heritage of the Greco-Roman civilisation, the scientific and democratic progress by the Enlightenment and the Renaissance (Stråth 2008 p.26, 32). Other scholars claim European identity is further related to liberalism, Christian heritage, Euro symbolism and European citizenship, whereas the purpose of a European identity is to provide a sense of belonging of a common cultural, economic, political and European legacy project (Jacobs & Maier 1998 p.22-23).

Increased European integration due to the Maastricht treaty provided possibilities to articulate a European consciousness and European identity, which regained momentum due to the promotion of a European citizenship as a *supra-national legal status"* (Jacobs & Maier 1998 p.18, 21).

After the Maastricht treaty signing, studies and perceptions of European identity were focusing from an ideological standpoint where a European citizenship was implemented to create a supra-national status and desire for peace, but had no intentions to replace national identities but being considered as a symbolic citizenship for a European community (Moravcsik 1999 p. 454).

However, the European identity has become intensively discussed in the 21st century, and into the 2010-decade it has become more politicised and is increasingly associated with a neo-liberal agenda, but it has not reached a common definition. Due to the increasing globalisation and

diversity of cultures through rising integration in Europe, it is becoming more difficult to articulate and settle a common European identity today (Andrén 2017 p.160; Delanty 2008 p.680).

European identity has often been studied from a qualitative perspective but has also been used in quantitative studies as well. Previous studies have used survey-tools such as Eurobarometer which is sponsored by the EC. Its target has been to measure and questioning the public opinion if they think European identity and its fundamental values is necessary to maintain in a diverse Europe (Eurobarometer 2020; Pryke 2020 p.92; Risse 2014 p.1208).

Nationalism scholar Sam Pryke provides an interesting comparison of former identity and modern identity perspectives. The 1980s which were influenced with cultural and identity incitements, have changed as the European identity in today's Europe has a greater technocratic and functionalist competences says Pryke, but whereas these functionalistic approaches are present, they haven't outmanoeuvred the development and presence of Europeanism and European identity (Pryke 2020 p.102).

The difficulty is not to maintain a political European Union in a changing world, but to make European identity foster and become a greater part of European culture and an aspect of everyday life (Shore 2000 p.1). The solution to articulate European identify according to Shore is to use it as a unifying toll when fears erupt in times of crisis. This has been used through history during the Christian crusades in the Middle East, the Soviet expansion-powers during the cold war and in today's context by the challenges of immigration during the migration crisis (Shore 2000 p. 63).

3.3.1 Possibilities of a European identity

According to professor and former director in European research Mats Andrén, European identity is considered as a needed concept as it can reduce cultural barriers and merge a multicultural EU into a common community (Andrén 2017 p.160). Due to migration, globalisation and minority-movements, a second wave of identity making has started to erupt in recent years. Andrén`s thoughts of a new identity-wave could be beneficial from the context of European identity. It can be used as sub- identity of comfort parallel with national identities, as the European landscape is constantly changing with new inlets. European identity is lined to initiatives made by the European Commission and is presented as a widely spoken and needed phenomenon which has contributed

to peace and freedom. The European identity is already in place but needs further substance to be accepted in the European collective (Andrén 2017 p.159-160).

The German sociologist Jurgen Habermas considers European identity can be interpreted through the term *"constitutional patriotism"* (Habermas & Cronin 2000 p.549). It means that European identity should instead articulate the abstract principles of European constitution such as democracy and public sphere to increase solidarity than focusing on the cultural aspects of identity as culture can at times be more divisive than uniting. There is however a need for responsibility for the European citizens as the solidarity is a vital key for social integration and cornerstone in European identity-building. The role of citizens to be the protector and *"bearer of rights"* is important and can ease the process of integration in Europe (Habermas & Cronin 2000 p.542). European identity is a part of European unification process and if more citizens feel a strong bond to a European identification, it is more likely to provide efficient and consented European policy-making to increase the democratic validity (Habermas, 2015 p.546-547).

The purpose and possibilities of a European identity will assist the process to provide support towards European economic projects. By promoting such an identity, it can lead to popular support and sufficient legitimacy for economical transformations. By doing so it can more efficiently lead away from the resistance of traditional symbols such as national societies, and lean further towards a subordinate goal of European integration as national identities can be jagged in its social integration towards an identity (Delanty, 2003 p. 78; Jacobs & Maier 1998 p.24).

3.3.2 Limits of European identity

European identity is needed to unite diverse cultures into an international community and maintain its democratic values, but there are limits against the European identity as well.
According to the European integration politics scholar Chris Shore, social identities such as the European identity, are considered as shifting and fluid, and might not be accurate towards a society, as a society relies towards politics. The idea of social identities is that once an identity becomes politicised, loyalty and sovereignty is created. It then assumes that national identities shall peacefully be incorporated towards a greater geographical unit, which he considers naïve and optimistic. European decision-makers speak of unity through diversity as functioning formula of a common identity of Europe. The issue is that few individuals sees the greater picture of a European

identity, and it is only the European elites which decides what a common European culture and identity shall become (Shore 2000 p.225).

Ruth Wodak and Saloumi Boukala scholars within identity politics, speak of European identity as being vague and obscure in modern day society, even if it has been intensively studied. The European identity needs to be re-negotiated by the European institutions and its people to make the traditions and values to be effective in a modern-day society. Furthermore, European identity is considered by some as an elitist project, as there are just certain people with specific emotional and cultural dynamics towards the identity, which can relate to the European values. However, European identity can only remain elitist if Europeans have the possibility to be captivated to the European elitist decision making (Wodak & Boukala 2015 p. 87-89,92).

Euroscepticism among nationalists and populist movements across Europe is also considered as problematic for the EU-institutions. Euro-scepticism is questioning the validity and legitimacy of EU and has hindered the course and establishment of identity politics, as European identity is considered more as a threat than a tool of unity. Euro-scepticism is also considered as an obstacle to receive the Europeans full consent for making actions for a sustainable European community for its citizens (Börzel &Risse 2019 p.83). Citizens of a nation can have a lack of trust towards the EU and its institutions in times of crises and searches instead for domestic solutions. The sense of identification for Europe and its civilians, relies on if the EU and its institutions can provide a sustainable economic governance. If it would be effective, people and states would identify further with Europe and provide support for its economic governance (Börzel & Risse 2018 p.95).

EU has not achieved a European identity which is considered as an alternative to a national identity. European identity's closest achievement is that it can be derivative from a national identity, but is not strong enough in relation to national identity. There was considerable resistance towards both an increasing Europeanisation and globalisation. EU needs to provide a wider perspective of the European model in the society, and gain back the solidarity towards the European identity (Delanty 2008 p.689).

3.3.3 Conclusion of previous research on European identity

Discussions and previous research of European identity have varied. Some consider European identity is in a crisis of its own, has reached its limits, is out of date and of limited value today.

European identity should be considered more as a historic concept than being used today, as it hasn't changed much since the 1973 treaty (Stråth 2008 p.32-36). Others proclaims its ability to unify Europeans into a common community, and is needed to fill the gap between increasing nationalism and the individual deprivation of social connections (Stråth 2008 p.32-36; Andrén 2017 p.160; Pryke 2020 p.102).

Concluding thoughts of European identity is that it is still debatable, questioned of its presence or not, what purpose it has, who shall be part of it, and what values and foundations it stands upon. European identity is still not a fully concrete concept, which is missing in identity-studies European identity (Andrén 2017 p.159). From this context, a critical research-slot and discussion has been distinguished as there is an uncertainty and obscurity of the articulation of a European identity by European Commission during a specific, modern and coherent period. There has neither been any present research of analysing three different Commission presidents in relation to the European identity, which is considered missing research in Identity-studies. European identity is present in the conscience of Europeans, but research of bureaucratic intervention and articulation of a common European identity in the European community by the European Commission is missing (Andrén 2017 p.160; Shore 2000 p.52; Wodak & Boukala 2015 p.87).

To provide new knowledge and research of the concept of European identity, previous research by sociologist and European politics and culture scholar Gerard Delanty´s shall be used. In his article, *Models of European identity: Reconciling universalism and Particularism"*, he has illustrated and divided European identity in a concrete manner, into a particularistic and universalistic perspective into four models of European identity with various abilities and attributes. Delanty divides the different models into thick, thin or non-categorized identities, depending if they articulate a universalistic, particularistic or non-categorised perspective of identity. He clarifies that identity shall not be reduced to a universal thin and minimum amount of values, but also not to sculpture European identity too thick and exclusive which hinders the Europeanisation of life. The interpretation of Gerard Delanty`s work, has established an idea and perspective of the term European identity, whereas the models of European identity will be helpful to analyse how the European Commission has articulated a Europeanised identity. His research brings a more systematic and greater understanding of how European identity can be researched and attached into present contexts, and has therefore led to the decision to use Delanty`s research as a theoretical framework of the thesis (see 4.2) (Delanty 2002 p.346,356).

3.4 Research contribution

Research within the field of identity and European identity studies is broad, varied and viewed from various contexts of history and modern day. It has provided a great amount of theories, perspective and interpretations. Previous research on the concept of European identity, has often been used in terms of separate events related to the financial crisis in 2008, the Schengen crisis or the rise of populism (Börzel &Risse 2018 p.82). The combination of state of the Union and political agenda speeches used together with the models of European identity has been used in previous theses. However, the use of Delanty`s models of European identity over a greater time frame including the comparison of three different EC-president's speeches during a coherent decade, has been limited (Andrén 2017 p.158-159; Delanty 2002 p.345). Therefore, a new overviewing perspective of European identity- studies has been added, and is considered and interpreted as the research contribution towards the field of European identity studies. This has led to the conclusion that more research is needed and motivated, and this thesis is aimed to add knowledge in this research area.

3.5 Purpose and research questions

As been spoken of in previous research, European identity is a diverse and debatable subject. There has been increasing research, visions and perspectives of European identity since the Maastricht treaty. However European identity has still been contested of its reliability and benefits for integration and unification. The Commission has previously used the European identity as a tool of support and unity to stand together in times of difficulties. Although, due to increasing changes and resistance through globalism and populism towards the European Commission and the European identity, it makes it even more difficult to reach out and articulate in a unifying way (Wodak & Boukala 2015 p.87). The European Commission is the engine of European integration and is the institution which has the responsibility providing a functional integration and creation of a community related to a common identity (Andrén 2017 p.160). However, a central scientific problem and interpretation in identity research is that there is no clear relation how the European Commission has articulated a collective European identity. There are also unexamined areas in studying European identity during a longer and continuous period than a few years.

Therefore, the purpose of this dissertation is to cover parts of this gap and analyse the diverse and contested concept of European identity during times of crises. By analysing three different European Commission presidents during a coherent time-frame, the thesis shall analyse how the

different visions and ideas, and what types of Gerard Delanty`s models of European identity are being articulated and reflected (Delanty 2002 p.345; European Commission 2020).

The dissertation of the thesis has led to the following research questions:

1. *How and what type of European identity have the European Commission presidents reflected and articulated in their speeches between 2010-2019?*
2. *How has the Commission presidents articulated towards either a thin identity or thick identity of European identity in their speeches?*

The second question at issue is a hypothesis and is followed through the analysis of the thesis, which assumes during the observed time-frame, that the presence of a universal thin identity will have a greater presence in the observed speeches than a particularistic thick identity (see 4.2). The reason by doing a European identity study is because it can provide perspectives of how a supranational institution can articulate a common geographical identity from a chosen context and time (Andrén 2017 p.159).

4. Theory

The following section is presenting the motivation, the theory author and choice of theory in the thesis, which has resulted in the choice of Gerard Delanty`s theory and four models of European identity (see 4.2). His research expertise is focusing on historical and political sociology and the idea of Europe, where some of his research has tried to provide further understanding and post nationalistic consciousness of the debated concept European identity (Andrén 2017 p.163; University of Sussex, 2020). During the presentation of previous research related to European identity, several well established scholars were investigated and analysed, where Thomas Risse professor in international and European politics, has in his academic work of European identity, focussed on the bottom-up perspective, which focus on identity-building on individual and member state levels (Risse, 2012 p.88). However, as have previously mentioned, the European institutions are built from a top-down perspective of European integration (see 2.2), Gerard Delanty`s theories and models are also portrayed from a top-down perspective but from the vision of European identity. As the European Commission is the engine for a functioning European integration, it directed towards the choice of combining Delanty`s theories with European Commission into the thesis (Cini 2002 p.14-15; Delanty, 2002 p.346; Börzel, 1999 p.574). Finally, Delanty's studies on models of European identities and categorisation in universalistic (thin) particularistic (thick) or non-categorized identities creates a greater insight of European identity, where he provides

illustrations of his model's key-values and visions in a clear way, which motivated the choice of theoretical framework (Delanty, 2002 p.345-347).

4.1 Gerard Delanty`s thin and thick sense of identity

Gerard Delanty describes four models of European identity in his *work "Models of European identity: Reconciling universalism and Particularism"* from a thin and thick perspective of identity. By dividing European identity in thin and thick identities, it assists the process of systematizing and evaluating different issues which are discussed through European identity building, which motivated choice of theory further (Delanty, 2002 p.345-346).

Thin identity is considered as an inclusive and universal sense of identity and is preferable from a humanistic and democratic perspective. It is easy to adapt to, and it can be combined with other types of identities. The issues with a thin type of identity is its resistance towards a thick type of identity is almost non-existent. It is also difficult to maintain itself from thick values and tends to be of neutral nature when it comes to culture (Delanty, 2002 p.345-346). Thick identity is referred to as exclusive, adverse and particularistic view of identity. Thick identity refers to an exclusive vision of Europe, where anything which would threaten the Greek Roman enlightenment and Cristian traditions is excluded. Even if it is particularistic, the identity can be preserved and establish greater sense of community. However, the best perspective of an identity is neither too universalistic nor to particularistic, as a combination would be preferable as cornerstones of an identity (Delanty 2002 p.345-346, 352).

4.2 Gerard Delanty`s four models of European identity

The thesis is going to use Gerard Delanty`s four models of European identity as a theoretical framework and analytical scheme, to study the content of European identity perceptions within selected speeches (Delanty, 2002 p.346). The four models are called Moral universalism, European post national universalism, European cultural particularism and European pragmatism. The first and second model of identity correlate to each other as they are both related to the perspective of universalism, the third relates to particularism and the fourth model is considered as neutral and a non-categorized identity. Even if some of the models are correlated with each other, they have separate visions, abilities and values which makes every model special and usable in an analytical scheme (Delanty, 2002 p.346-353).

Some of the central norms and key values such as political traditions, from each identity-model shall be included into the analytical scheme (see Fig. 1). They will then be part of a systematic and transparent analysis of how the European identity has been articulated in the empirical speeches of the European Commission. According to Delanty, none of the models are capable enough to clarify the term European identity single-handedly. Although, the identity-models can produce further understanding of how European identity can be divided, interpreted and used in a modern context (Delanty, 2002 p.345-346).

Figure 1: Models of European Identity

	Universalistic	Particularistic
Limited potential for pluralisation	Moral universalism (Normative concept of Europe) Political tradition: liberal, democratic	Cultural particularism (Symbolic, ethnocentric concept of Europe) Political tradition: Euro-federalism, communitarianism
Strong potential for pluralisation and reflexivity	Postnationalism/ 'Constitutional patriotism' (Critical concept of Europe) Political tradition: civic republicanism	Pragmatism (Pragmatic and Instrumental concept of Europe) Political tradition: social democracy

Fig 1: Gerard Delanty`s models of European identity (Delanty 2002 p.353).

Moral universalism

Moral universalism is a model of European identity which relates to the normative concepts of Europe, which are related to central moral values such as human rights, democracy, equality, tolerance, respect and justice. This version of identity relates to the liberal and democratic heritage of universalism. This model has a clear indication towards a thin identity. It is considered as flexible and can also be used from a national perspective. However, moral universalism is not specifically European in its core. It is considered as more westernized than European. It is also considered as too universal to be used in a European context, and has a decreased potential for pluralisation due to its generality (Delanty, 2002 p.347).

European post-national universalism

European identity from a post national universalism perspective, is expressed in *"political-juridical norms and institutions"*, whereas it focuses not only on the universalistic moral side of human rights, but on constitutional patriotism where you focus on achievements of the European heritage, such as the European constitution. It is considered as a critical concept of Europe because of its tension between norm and reality and therefore establish a transformative, modern and reflexive mind of identity which is positive towards pluralisation. It claims that cultures and are more divisive than uniting individuals, which makes a universal and constitutional thin identity more useful in identity-building, whereas post-national universalism is considered culturally neutral. Post national universalism is considered as thin concept which means it is more inclusive than exclusive and has a political tradition towards a more classic and civic republicanism (Delanty, 2002 p.348).

European cultural particularism

European cultural particularism is based on European cultural heritage through its federalist tradition. It is considered as a particularistic identity, which relates to a thick identity and ethnocentric concept of Europe. It relates to a particularistic culture where Europe is a fortress which defends and protects its European history, European nationalism and symbolic values to provide unity through a European diversity. It has a rather old definition of identity, whereas it refers much of its values to the declaration of European identity from 1973, and its foundations and history of Greco-Roman traditions. It is a conservative and particularistic approach as it has a limited idea of potential towards the idea of pluralisation due to its ethnocentrism. Finally, cultural particularism reflects towards communitarianism which focus on the relation of individuals and a common community (Delanty, 2002, p. 350-351).

European pragmatism

European pragmatism focuses on the European way of life, as it confronts European identity as part of a European lifestyle and focusses on social and economic aspects of life. The European identity is not built on moral values but on pragmatic valued actions such as increasing tourism to Europe, a stronger common market, improving the Euro currency, popular culture and less border controls. European pragmatism is a pragmatic and instrumental concept of Europe due to its search for more beneficial institutional ideas for a European identity. European pragmatism is neither specifically related to thin or thick identity as it focusses on pragmatic concerns than on universalistic or particularistic sense of identity. European pragmatism relates to reflexivity and

the political tradition of social democracy due to its focus on the European people (Delanty, 2002 p. 351-352).

5. Method & Material

5.1 Research Design

The purpose of this section is divided into three parts. First, the following section describes the method of analysis, a qualitative content-analysis related to a single case, the European identity. Second, description of the analytical tool and framework will be provided, and how it shall be operationalised in relation to the theory of Gerard Delanty´s four models of Identity. Third, a presentation of the empirical material of state of the union and political agenda speeches, and a motivation of selection of why they have been chosen.

5.2 Method of Analysis: Qualitative Content-analysis

Content analysis is a versatile methodology and technique which tries to understand languages and words by coding and analysing different texts. Content analysis has been used in various situations through history to understand the content of a text. It has been used for various tasks, but content analysis has often been used in the field of social science, which motivated the choice of using content analysis (Boréus & Bergström, 2012 p.49-50; Carley, 1993 p.87). Furthermore, the search of method led to the exclusion of doing a discourse analysis in the thesis. The purpose and focus of the thesis is to identify how the chosen indicators and words are being used in the texts, and not investigate the power of language or ingrate issues of power (Boréus & Bergström, 2012 p.355-356,410). The texts can often be understood or influenced by greater social structures. These structures can be political, cultural or historical contexts. The thesis will focus on the term articulation from a methodological standpoint. Articulation is a way to construct ideas of language which reflects upon the reality, whereas articulation can be used as an approach to express words or concepts such as European identity (Boréus & Bergström 2012 p.368). To get a better understanding, it is common for researchers combine content analysis with another method. In this thesis, it will be pairing with a case study method (Esaiasson et al., 2012 p.210). In the thesis, a qualitative method will be applied, where the focus will be on to see how the three different presidents articulate a European identity related to the chosen key-values. The reason of choice for this method, is depending on the purpose of the thesis, which is to discover patterns and qualitatively analyse what the speeches are trying to interpret in relation to European identity, and not quantitatively measuring the frequency European identity is being mentioned (Boréus &

Bergström, 2012 p.50). By applying a qualitative method, it provides a greater opportunity to do a more profound research and make the chosen and essential content more understandable in relation to European identity (Esaiasson et al., 2012 p.211).

The process of doing a content analysis was divided into multiple steps. Different paragraphs from the speeches were cited and notified in relation to the key-values and the identity-models within an analytical scheme (see 5.4). Thereafter, a qualitative content analysis was used towards the marked concepts and values to evaluate how they are mentioned and articulated. Finally, the notified citations from the speeches were divided to provide space for separate minor dissection of every citation within the analysis section. It resulted in a methodical order, which facilitate the integration of the theory and provide an orderly display (Boréus & Bergström, 2012 p.50, 59). As the target is to find patterns and capturing changes overtime during a specific period, a content analysis is the most appropriate tool to use (Boréus & Bergström, 2012 p.51). By searching and examine phrases and key values in documents related to European identity on a micro level the intentions are to find connections between the content of the speeches and the identity models. By doing so, you can later find macro-level patterns in relation to time frames which can explain why some presidential speeches were related to a specific model of identity than another. What is important by doing an analysis, is that the whole text and context needs to be taken into consideration even during a search for specific concepts (Esaiasson et al., 2012 p. 223). By making a content analysis on a generous and broad scale, it has the potential to provide multiple nuances and a distinct methodical image of linkages and patterns of the chosen texts towards European identity (Esaiasson et al., 2012 p. 213, 223-224).

5.3 Choice of case study

The motivation of the choice of this case study is due to that European identity is a diverse but important concept when it comes to European integration, but also as a unifying tool. By doing a case study, it is important to locate a case which relates to real world contexts which is the European integration. The concept of European identity is also important within European policy making and further identity studies, which motivated the choice of case within this study (Jacobs & Maier 1998 p.20; Yin, 2018 p.14). Furthermore, the choice of case was motivated because European identity has and can be used from different contexts, which makes it valuable to use in relation to certain events or time periods. Identity politics is also a characteristic subject of today, which makes it an interesting phenomenon within identity studies and political science (Andrén 2017 p.159).

A case study relies on multiple sources of evidence and led to the choice of policy documents as relevant and valid case study data (Yin, 2018 p.81). Case studies often tries to understand *"how"* a research-issue shall be analysed, which led to a natural decision to do a case study (Yin, 2018 p.10-15).

5.4 Operationalisation of Analytical scheme

The thesis will be using an analytical scheme (see Fig.2) which separates ten speeches into three time periods, and will be used to operationalise and become an instrument of comparison. Each period is divided when Barroso, Juncker and Von der Leyen were EC-presidents between 2010-2019, as it provides a better overview of analysis and excludes unnecessary repetitiveness. Except the time periods, four European identity models of Gerard Delanty and chosen key values related to the models of European identity will be included (Boréus & Bergström, 2012 p.454-456; Esaiasson et al., 2012 p.47-48,54-57).

The key values are considered as coding units which shall be searched for in the chosen speeches, to analyse how the presidents speak of European identity. The chosen key values are implemented because they have been selected of being relevant and specifically distinguished in the models of European identity based on Gerard Delanty`s theories (Boréus & Bergström 2012 p.55-56; Carley, 1993 p.90). The self-selected key values are important in this study as they will provide a manual of a systematic analysis. It will also organise the interpretation of European identity and is helpful to make assessments if the content of the selected speeches is relevant or not (Boréus & Bergström 2012 p.335, 455).

The implementation of the analysis begins with a context overview of each year between 2010-2019 and shall create perceptions of how Europe was and has changed during the analysing period. Thereafter citations from the chosen speeches will be applied and analysed separately. The key values will be searched for and checked for connections between the citations and the key values to show what model of European identity is related to each citation. Thereafter, a general analysis and evaluation will be presented to identity the models of European identity that are most relevant for each period (Boréus & Borgström, 2012 p.457; Carley, 1993 p.89-90).

Within the analysis-scheme based on Gerard Delanty`s theories, there can be difficulties to determine one specific model of European identity for each president, as some presidents will be linked with more than one model of European identity, depending on the rhetoric of speeches. After the analysis section, an analytical scheme will be presented to show the result of how the different presidents have been spoken of European identity in relation to the key values (Boréus & Bergström, 2012 p.454; Esaiasson et al., 2012 p.45).

Analytical scheme of Delanty`s Models of European identity:	Key values related to the models of European identity:	The Barroso-period 2010-2013	The Juncker-period 2014-2018	The Von der Leyen-period 2019-
Moral Universalism (thin identity)	Human & moral values, justice, respect towards people, democracy, equality, tolerance, liberalism, westernization			
European post-national universalism (thin identity)	Universal particularisation, constitutional patriotism, civic republicanism, European heritage, culturally neutral, juridical-political norms			
European cultural particularism (thick identity)	Ethnocentric, cultural heritage, federalism, fortress Europe, European history, European nationalism, Unity through diversity, symbolic, communitarianism			
European pragmatism (Non-categorised)	*"European way of life"*, *"peoples Europe"*, pragmatic, economic and social aspect of life, institutional, social democracy, instrumental			

Fig. 2: Analytical scheme with chosen key-values related to the European identity-models of Gerard Delanty (Delanty 2002).

5.5 Empiric Material

The empirical material of the thesis are State of the Union speeches and agenda speeches between 2010-2019, which are the analytical units of the thesis. The speeches are official primary policy documents written and produced by the European Commission (European Commission, 2019). Since 2010, a State of the Union-document is presented every year by the EC-president during their mandate period, because of the interinstitutional agreement of the Lisbon treaty. A State of the Union-speech presents both future priorities and previous achievements from the last year. By presenting these documents, the EU and the public opinion can give an overview of the political situation (Official journal of the European Union, 2010/304/47; European Commission, 2020).

An agenda speech is a speech when the newly chosen president of the European Commission describes the president's political guidelines and ambitions for the upcoming future. The agenda speeches were chosen as they are very similar in its rhetorical outline and information in relation to the state of the union speeches (Esaiasson et al., 2012 p.220; Juncker, 2014; Von der Leyen, 2019). The speeches are strategically chosen because they are articulating identity building ideas and suggestions to create solutions and unity in times of crises and fragmentation. The reason the thesis is focusing on between 2010-2019, is because state of the union and political agenda speeches were not created before 2010 and therefore excluded other time periods (Andrén 2017 p.159; European Commission 2019).

There will be a total of ten speeches analysed, four state of the Union speeches from former president José Manuel Barroso (2010-2013), one political agenda speech and four state of the union speeches from former president Jean Claude Juncker (2014-2019) and one political agenda speech from the current president Ursula von der Leyen (2019-) (European Commission,2020).
By using the empiric material, the aim is to evaluate the speeches to see how the European Commission is promoting and speaking of European identity in political contexts the last decade, in relation to the European identity key-values (Esaiasson et al. 2012 p.213; European Commission,2020). The quotations have been subjectively selected based on relation to Delanty`s European identity models.

5.6 Validity, Reliability & Limitations

When it comes to quality of a research, certain criteria's such as validity reliability and limitations within a thesis needs to be considered. The thesis tries to analyse a certain amount of political speeches to investigate how European identity is spoken of by the assistance of a content analytical

tools and key values. A qualitative study in political science and needs to have a *valid* method to use. The method which is content analysis, is considered as a common and usable method within social and political science which creates validity towards the method (Boréus & Bergström 2012 p.40-41).

The selection and amount of key values in relation to the models of Gerard Delanty can be interpreted differently, which can limit the reliability of the analysis. There is also a risk that some citations were missed or were not discovered which could have made minor differences towards the interpretation and result of the connection between the identify models and presidents of this thesis. However, the chosen key values were adequately classified in a distinct and clear way, which eased the choice of key values and the analytical process of how the different presidents are speaking of European identity in relation to the theoretical models (Boréus & Bergström 2012 p.50, 335; European Commission,2020).

The r*eliability* towards the chosen speeches is high as the speeches are made and presented by the president of the European Commission, and are considered as primary sources. The political speeches are also called polices which provides a high reliability, whereas the speeches concern political context from the perspective of European interests (European Commission 2020; Boréus & Bergström 2012 p. 43). The choice of both political agenda speeches and state of the Union speeches was because they are correlated to each other, and have a consequent textual outline. Furthermore, another concern by doing a content analysis is that it can lead to systemic tip overs and lead to certain conclusions. The researcher has been aware of this concern and has through the research tried to analyse the texts in mixed order, and therefore avoiding reliability issues (Boréus & Bergström 2012 p.58).

There are some *limitations* in the thesis which needs to be taken into consideration.
There is no existing State of the union speeches from 2014 and 2019, because of to the European elections. Instead, the thesis used political agenda speeches from Jean Claude Juncker in 2014 & from 2019 by Ursula von der Leyen. There are no political agenda speech by former EC president José Manuel Barroso in 2009, and no further Ursula von der Leyen speeches after 2019 was included as it would have exceeded the timeline. Furthermore, the amount and length of empirical material in relation to each president are uneven as Barroso has four speeches, Juncker has five and Von der Leyen has one speech which can lead to unequal amount of citations inserted in the analysis. Finally, all questions in social science are considered complicated and complex, whereas every perspective can be answered and interpretably differently. Although with the tools applied

and used within the thesis, the researcher has tried to investigate a phenomenon from a social science context of interest and tried to be adequate through the research process (Boréus & Bergström p.30, 44-45). The subjective selection of quotations can also be a limitation of this analysis.

6. Analysis

The following analysis will be divided into separate citations and will thereafter also be analysed separately. Due to thorough reading of the speeches context, the analytical design is to create a methodological and systematic analysis throughout the thesis. The chosen citations are trying to reflect on how the EC-presidents are articulating a type of European identity in the speeches, and to see if they are fulfilling the criteria's towards the key-values of the European identity models in different contexts. Therefore, a context segment of each analysing year is provided to show how the critical and political situation was globally and in Europe and how it has influenced the speeches (Boréus & Bergström, 2012 p.50, 59; Esaiasson et al. 2012 p.210).

The selected citations during all three periods of Barroso, Juncker and von der Leyen has been systematically chosen from the empirical material. The most important aim of the selection of citations has been to locate relevant reflections and articulations towards the key-values of the different models of European identity in the analysis scheme. Through systematic and transparent research in a scientific context, the thesis has tried to avoid unrelated citations which are not concerning European identity key-values, and could have jeopardise the validity of the analysis. The analysis has also tried to avoid parts of the empirical material which has been uncertain to its relation to the European Commission and avoiding policy areas within the speeches. Through this analytical approach, it has therefore led to reasonable conclusions, which describes how the different presidents have articulated of different types of European identity, according to Gerard Delanty`s models at the end of each period.

6.1 The Barroso Period 2010-2013

Context of 2010

When the first ever addressed state of the Union speech was presented in 2010 during the presidency of Jose Manuel Barroso, it was focusing on the eruption of the financial crisis. The crisis had a major impact on Europe with economic difficulties as low employment rates, poverty, low reliability towards the euro and financial gaps between communities and countries (Barroso, 2010 p.2; Delanty,2018 p. 3; Schimmelfeenig, 2018 p.975). The financial crisis has been influential in Barroso`s speeches and speaks of its impact it has had for the European Union, and Barroso describes in 2010 the level of chock it was towards the solidarity of the Union. Even if the EU-institutions were hurt by the economic crisis, he speaks of the importance to maintain the public belief towards EU, even if the public opinion were consequential towards the financial crisis in 2010 (Barroso,2010 p.2; Schimmelfeenig 2018 p.985).

Citation:

"We should be under no illusions. Our work is far from finished. There is no room for complacency. Budgetary expansion played its role to counter the decline in economic activity. But it is now time to exit. Without structural reforms, we will not create sustainable growth. We must use the next 12 months to accelerate our reform agenda" (Barroso 2010 p.2).

Analysis:

Barroso's citation reflects to the type and key-values of European pragmatism, by articulate the economic perspective for counter actions towards the financial crisis. He also relates to the values of its institutional focus, and social democratic unity. Barroso thinks that together with the institutional actions and assistance of the member states, they can contribute to a sustainable economy and growth to establish pragmatic benefits for the whole European community in times of crisis.

Citation:

"Europeans will find that their fundamental rights and obligations exist wherever they go. Everyone in Europe must respect the law, and the governments must respect human rights, including those of minorities." (Barroso 2010 p.7).

Analysis:

The citation shows a reflection to the thin key-values of moral universalism. Barroso speaks of openness and fundamental democratic rights whereas every European shall receive their rights. Barroso also rallies the Europeans to take their civilian responsibility for their actions and respect the legislation and lawful values within EU and its constitution which relates to post-national universalism.

Citation:

"Our humanitarian aid to Pakistan is the latest example of Europe's solidarity in action. It is a striking example of the need to present the different contributions of the Commission and the Member States as a truly European aid package." (Barroso 2010 p.9).

Analysis:

Barroso shows a universal perspective where he wants Europe to assist people in need. The articulation of the citation reflects to the key-values of human, moral respect and search for justiciable values for the humanitarian actions towards the Pakistanis. Through the articulation of these actions, there is a connection towards moral universalism and a thin type of identity.

Citation:

"We need to tackle severe macro-economic imbalances, especially in the Euro area. That is why we have made proposals early on to detect asset bubbles, lack of competitiveness and other sources of imbalances. I now see a willingness of governments to accept stronger monitoring, backed up by incentives for compliance and earlier sanctions. The Commission will strengthen its role as independent referee and enforcer of the new rules" (Barroso 2010 p.3).

Analysis:

In the citation, Barroso relates towards economic aspects of life due to macro-economic issues, and institutional references for further presence by the Commission. Barroso also articulates pragmatic aspects towards greater monitoring and collaboration due to the economic situation in Europe, which refers to the type and key-values of European pragmatism. He also points out the supranational responsibility of the European Commission, its role as referee and enforcer of new rules in juridical terms, and a relation of articulation to the constitution. The citation is then also reflecting to the key-values of European post national universalism.

Context of 2011

The financial situation and the fall of the Euro have made the member states losing faith in effective cooperation and policy making in 2011 (Barroso, 2011 p.2; Schimmelfennig, 2018 p.970). Barroso thinks it needs an increased discipline and responsibility among the member states to avoid a lack of credibility and confidence towards EU, as increasing Euroscepticism are starting to establish further within the EU-institutions (Barroso 2011 p.2; Wodak & Boukala 2015 p.91). He speaks freely of the responsibilities of wealthier states to make further solidary actions to minimize the risk of internal fragmentation in EU. Greece had greater economic difficulties than other member-states where EU and the Commission will try to assist Greece in a difficult time and an increasing number of member states have started to question the legitimacy and validity of the European institutions and currency (Barroso, 2011 p.2-3; Schimmelfennig 2018 p.984). Barroso is more inclusive in his 2011 speech than in 2010, as he wants to put more efforts and focus towards EU`s interest, especially the rising unemployment for young Europeans (Barroso, 2011 p.8; Delanty,2002 p.355).

Citation:

"Honourable members, Reforms to our labour markets, public finances and pension systems require a major effort from all parts of society. We all know these changes are necessary, so that we can reform our social market economy and keep our social model. But it is imperative that we hold on to our values – values of fairness, of inclusiveness and of solidarity." (Barroso 2011 p.8).

Analysis:

The interpretation of the citation seems to show that Barroso thinks inclusive actions needs to be prioritized to sustain a more stable economy due to the crisis. Due to the citations inclusiveness, it has further related to the thin type of identity moral universalism due to the articulation and relation to the key-values such as human values, tolerance for others and equality to maintain the European values. Barroso also reflects to the key-values of European pragmatism in term of focusing on economic and social aspects of the social model and market, which also reflects to the political aspects of social democracy where everyone in society needs to work for a common target.

Citation:

"We should remember that our Europe is a Europe of citizens. As citizens, we all gain through Europe. We gain a European identity and citizenship apart from our national citizenship." (Barroso, 2011 p.9).

Analysis:

Barroso articulates about European identity and the benefits of being part of a collective identity.
He expresses a reflection towards several key-values such as unity through diversity among the European citizens, European nationalism and communitarianism due to the articulation of a common citizenship. The citation relates to a thick identity and European cultural particularism.

Citation:

"European citizenship adds a set of rights and opportunities. The opportunity to freely cross borders, to study and work abroad. Here again, we must all stand up and preserve and develop these rights and opportunities. Just as the Commission is doing now with our proposals on Schengen. We will not tolerate a rolling back of our citizens' rights." (Barroso 2011 p.9).

Analysis:

Barroso mention the European citizenship and the citizens' rights which relates to the political tradition social democracy. He is further articulating social and economic aspects of life such as beneficial opportunities of studying and working in the Schengen Area in Europe which connects with the value of peoples Europe, and the articulation of the continuing institutional work of the Commission, which relates to the key-values of European pragmatism.

Context of 2012

During 2012, the economic problems continued in Europe but global powers such as China and USA started to recover from the crisis. Not only did the economic instability needed to be handled by the European Central Bank (ECB), but also political and social crises within the European Union were rising (Barroso, 2012 p.3-4; Schimmelfennig, 2018 p.970; Risse, 2012 p. 88-89). Barroso's rhetoric was more negative than previous speeches, which shows disbelief towards efficient cooperation within EU together with negative trust levels and a lack of permissive consensus from the European citizens (Barroso, 2012 p.3-4,7; Cini 2002 p.15).

Barosso further speaks of EU as a federation of nation states. EU shall not be an established super state as a democratic federation is the target not just tackle financial issues but European issues in general. Barroso articulates about if there will be a continuing trend of turbulent times and increasing globalisation, makes it necessary to discuss to potential treaty-changes in 2012 (Barroso 2012 p.11; Pryke 2020 p.94).

Citation:

"Securing the stability of the Euro area is our most urgent challenge. This is the joint responsibility of the Member States and the Community Institutions" (Barroso, 2012 p.7).

Analysis:

Barroso articulates a need for unity for the challenge of stabilizing the Euro. As the Euro is crucial for a functioning and collaborative Europe, it is necessary and pragmatic to find a common solution to the financial crisis for EU. As Barroso also articulate the impact of the institutions, the economic aspect, and relates to the communality and unity of social democracy, whereas the citation reflects to the type of identity and key-values of European pragmatism.

Citation:

"Let me be very clear: in Europe, we need no more walls dividing us! Because the European Union is stronger as a whole in keeping the integrity of its single market, its membership and in its institutions. No one will be forced to come along. And no one will be forced to stay out. The speed will not be dictated by the slowest or the most reluctant. This is why our proposals will be based on the existing Union and its institutions, On the Community method." (Barroso 2012 p.12).

Analysis:

Barroso's citation reflects towards the type of identity of European pragmatism. It relates towards the key values such as pragmatic and instrumental aims to maintain open borders and a functioning single market in Europe. It also reflects to institutional, European way of life and a European membership from a social democratic perspective. Furthermore, Barroso articulates a thin identity from a European post national universalistic vision. He enforces the universal particularization whereas Europeans can decide if they want to be part of the re-building of the Union or not, which gives a sense of neutralizing cultures and articulates political norms. The citation reflects towards the key-values of both European pragmatism and European post national universalism.

Citation:

"Realism is to put our ambition at the level of our challenges. We can do it! Let's send our young people a message of hope. If there is a bias, let it be a bias for hope. We should be proud to be Europeans. Proud of our rich and diverse culture. In spite of our current problems, our societies are among the most human and free in the world." (Barroso 2012 p.14).

Analysis:

The citation reflects towards both thin and thick identity. Thick as it reflects to key-values of a symbolic and diverse culture of Europe and a European nationalistic rhetoric by articulating proudness towards being European which relates to European cultural particularism. Barroso also articulating a thin identity by mentioning liberal, democratic, human and social values as major attribute of the European foundation, which are related key-values of moral universalism.

Context of 2013

Barroso`s final speech in 2013 was of greater positivity, as the financial crisis was starting to stabilize, and the European identity was still present (Barroso, 2013 p.3-5; Risse 2014 p.1210). Barroso clarifies why neither he, nor the Commission were the origin to the financial crisis as it was a global crisis, not a European one. Barroso repeatedly mentions the successful work with the assistance of his commissioners, cooperation and solidarity of the EU community and the collaboration between the institutions and the member states (Barroso, 2013 p.3-5; Luhmann, 2017 p.1377). Barroso also congratulate Croatia which became the latest member into EU in 2013 and mentions the upcoming European election in 2014 (Barroso 2013 p.12). Even if 2013 was a better year than the earlier ones, he illustrates the negative aspect of disunity of the member states when it comes to finance, which could have been handled better if greater international collaboration were established (Barroso, 2013 p.12; Delanty, 2002 p.351). Barroso also speaks of the increasing pressure from populists and the risk of polarisation since the beginning of the decade. However, he solidifies solidarity, hard work and the maintenance of the EU-community is the best solution for the future of Europe (Barroso, 2013 p.9,11).

Citation:

 *"In our world of geo-economic and geopolitical tectonic changes, I believe that only together, as the European Union, we can give our citizens what they aspire: that our values, our interests, our prosperity are protected and promoted in the age of globalisation." (*Barroso 2013 p. 3).

Analysis:

The citation articulates several key-values such as peoples Europe, the European way of life and economic aspects of geo-economic changes. Barroso also express the Europeans as a collective which reflects to the political tradition of social democracy and its openness towards pluralization and reflexivity in times of modernity, which connects to the identity of European pragmatism.

Citation:

"Let me say this to all those who rejoice in Europe's difficulties and who want to roll back our integration and go back to isolation: the pre-integrated Europe of the divisions, the war, the trenches, is not what people desire and deserve. The European continent has never in its history known such a long period of peace as since the creation of the European Community. It is our duty to preserve it and deepen it." (Barroso 2013 p.8).

Analysis:

Barroso emphasizes the historic actions of EU and the impact of European integration. By articulating reflections towards European history and culture of previous wars, symbolic value of European peace and federal cooperation in Europe, it relates to the thick type of identity and key-values towards European cultural particularism.

Citation:

"I believe a political union needs to be our political horizon, as I stressed in last year's State of the Union. This is not just the demand of a passionate European. This is the indispensable way forward to consolidate our progress and ensure the future"…

"…And I confirm, as announced last year, the intention to present, before the European elections, further ideas on the future of our Union and how best to consolidate and deepen the community method and community approach in the longer term. That way, they can be subject to a real European debate. They will set out the principles and orientations that are necessary for a true political union. "(Barroso 2013 p.10).

Analysis:

The analysis of the citation relates towards European post national universalism. The citation reflects to key-values of political norms in terms of trying to improve the political debates particularly in the European Union. The citation also reflects towards the constitution as it expresses the need for effective European elections and trying to maintain and improve the Community method in the Union.

Citation:

"A fact that is all too easily forgotten by those, and there are many out there, who always like to nationalise success and Europeanise failure. Ultimately, what we have, and what we don't have, is

the result of democratic decision- making. And I think we should remind people of that." (Barroso 2013 p.12).

Analysis:

Barroso articulates the political tradition of democracy as vital in a European society. He also express key-values such as tolerance and moral values towards misbelievers of the Commissions work, which connects to the thin identity of moral universalism. Furthermore, the citation also relates to post national universalism as it reflects to the political norms of effective decision-making and European heritage which relates to the European constitution. Therefore, the citation is further related to a thin identity.

The result from the analysis of the Barroso-period

The result of the analysis is that Barroso has been most related towards the identities of *European post-national universalism* and *European pragmatism.* As Barroso's presidency was during a financial crisis, he speaks often to improve the legislation and key-values such as constitutional patriotism, juridical and political norms and cultural neutrality to improve and maintain the European laws and especially rule of law. Barroso also relates to the key-values of European pragmatism. He articulates and refers to the value of a strong institution, peoples Europe, economic and social aspects of life and how these aspects have been interrupted and declined in quality in Europe because of the crisis. From a political tradition standpoint, Barroso has been articulated and reflected towards republicanism and social democratic values which have shown a greater articulation of thin identity. The presence of European particularism and moral universalism were also reflected among several citations but not as much as the other ones.

6.2 The Juncker period 2014-2018

Context of 2014

In 2014 Jean-Claude Juncker became the new president of the European Commission after the European election. Juncker`s political agenda speech was focusing on future priorities of his college for EU such as continuing the reparation work from the financial crisis and reinforce the relations between the member states to establish long term partnerships (Juncker,2014 p.2-3). However, Juncker's presidency was quickly tested as the Ukrainian crisis, which led to hostilities and turmoil in the east between Russia and Ukraine which were not just problematic for European relations, but also for international diplomacy. In 2014, political wildfires in Middle East started to erupt, and even if these political crises were not yet hostile towards the borders of Europe, it would soon change Europe's integration and migration behaviour (Juncker 2014 p.11; Habermas 2015 p.550).

Citation:

"As candidate for President of the European Commission, I see it as my key task to rebuild bridges in Europe after the crisis. To restore European citizens' confidence. To focus our policies on the key challenges ahead for our economies and for our societies. And to strengthen democratic legitimacy on the basis of the Community method." (Juncker 2014 p.2).

Analysis:

The citation from Juncker`s speech refers to the identity of European pragmatism as he speaks in relation of peoples Europe in terms of establish confidence among the Europeans after the financial crisis. The interpretation of the citation is that Juncker articulates pragmatic actions in terms of improving social and economic issues through the European community. Juncker's citation also refers towards the democratic and liberal key-values of moral universalism through its democracy and inclusiveness by building bridges, which articulates a thin identity.

Citation:

"For the first time, a direct link has thereby been established between the outcome of the European Parliament elections and the proposal of the President of the European Commission. This follows long-standing calls from the European Parliament echoed and repeated over several decades. It has the potential to insert a very necessary additional dose of democratic legitimacy into the European decision-making process, in line with the rules and practices of parliamentary

democracy.” (Juncker 2014 p.4).

Analysis:

Juncker articulates the importance of collaboration and effective institutions within EU. The citation reflects towards the political tradition of republicanism and maintain and respect the outcome of parliamentary elections. The citation reflects to political terms of democratic legitimacy, and juridical norms by relating to the rules and processes which can be linked to the European constitution and the thin identity and key-values of post national universalism. The citation also reflects towards democracy through democratic decisions to maintain justice and equality through its processes, which reflects towards the thin type of identity of moral universalism.

Citation:

“The recent terrible events in the Mediterranean have shown us that Europe needs to manage migration better, in all aspects. This is first of all a humanitarian imperative. I am convinced that we must work closely together in a spirit of solidarity to ensure that situations such as the one in Lampedusa never arise again.” (Juncker 2014 p.10).

Analysis:

Juncker speaks of improving the actions to handle the migrants which have arrived at the shores of Europe due to the migration crisis. Juncker articulates key-values such as human, moral and fair values, whereas Europe need to help the arriving refugees. The citation reflects towards moral universalism and a thin type of identity.

Context of 2015

Due to the hostile situation in Syria, thousands of people migrated between 2014-2015 to Europe which was considered one of the largest migration-waves in modern time (Schimmelfennig, 2018 p.970). In Juncker`s 2015 state of the Union speech, he illustrated the seriousness of the crisis and the disunity within EU and between member states. Juncker mentions EU is in an *“existential crisis”*, where he blames the member states, which focuses primarily on their domestic issues (Juncker, 2016 p.1; Krastev, 2017 p.55). Due to the disunity, Juncker puts effort to the European values worth uniting for such as freedom, democracy and rule of law (European Union, 2020; Juncker, 2016 p.3). Juncker was also dissatisfied with the work and presence of the community

method as it was not effective enough in a time of crisis as solutions are needed, no matter how they are applied according to Juncker (Juncker 2015 p.24; Cini 2002 p.18).

Citation:

"This is first of all a matter of humanity and of human dignity. And for Europe it is also a matter of historical fairness. We Europeans should remember well that Europe is a continent where nearly everyone has at one time been a refugee. Our common history is marked by millions of Europeans fleeing from religious or political persecution, from war, dictatorship, or oppression." (Juncker 2015 p.6).

Analysis:

Juncker express in his citation about key-values such as moral and human values, and respect towards other people as the incoming refugees to Europe needs assistance in times of crisis. Juncker wants to put Europeans in the perspective of the migrants, to rally people to act in a humanitarian manner, which reflects towards the model of moral universalism. Juncker also speaks about values relevant to the European cultural particularism. As the Europeans has a history of themselves being refugees, which reflects to Europe's history whereas Juncker symbolize it as a cultural heritage in a nationalistic manner.

Citation:

"We Europeans should know and should never forget why giving refuge and complying with the fundamental right to asylum is so important. I have said in the past that we are too seldom proud of our European heritage and our European project. "(Juncker 2015 p.7).

Analysis:

Juncker articulate in his citation a reflection towards two different types of identities. He expresses the fundamental issues of creating a humanitarian and moral asylum policy in EU for the arriving refugees and necessary equal actions for all, which refers to moral universalism. He also expresses the already present European heritage, the political norms of the European project, and trying to neutralize culture between Europeans and the incoming refugees to avoid ethnocentric dimensions towards the newcomers, which reflects to the key-values and thin identity of post national universalism.

Citation:

"Europe is the baker in Kos who gives away his bread to hungry and weary souls. Europe is the students in Munich and in Passau who bring clothes for the new arrivals at the train station. Europe is the policeman in Austria who welcomes exhausted refugees upon crossing the border. This is the Europe I want to live in." (Juncker 2015 p.11).

Analysis:

Juncker speaks of the unity through diversity by articulating the many differences and attributes of the European people. The citation also connects to European nationalism and Juncker symbolize the Europeans in a euro-cultural perspective and their acts of solidarity during the migration-crisis. Therefore, the citation reflects to the key-values and thick identity of European cultural particularism.

Citation:

"I have not spoken about Europe's farmers who were protesting this week in Brussels. I agree with them that there is something wrong in a market when the price of a litre of milk is less than the price of a litre of water. But I do not believe that we can or should start micromanaging the milk market from Brussels. We should compensate the farmers who are suffering from the effects of sanctions against Russia. And this is why the Commission is putting a €500 million solidarity package for farmers on the table. "(Juncker 2015 p.24).

Analysis:

In the citation, Juncker articulates a sense of European unity and solidarity for the European farmers. Juncker express the events in the citation from a reflection of a thick identity and a particularistic approach towards a specific European group of people, as it relates towards unifying actions and European nationalism. By promoting the communitarianism, the need and symbolism of European farmers in rural areas, it relates to cultural heritage and towards the key-values of the thick identity of European cultural particularism.

Context of 2016

During 2016, the migration crisis was still problematic for the Commission and its member states. Juncker speaks of the lack of collaboration among the member states and mentioning of an existential crisis in the European Union as an effect of disunity and selfishness (Juncker 2016 p.1). Even if the EU and Commission wanted a successful integration for the newly arrived migrants, populism has rising paradoxically (Delanty,1995 p.31). The inability of solving and prioritising

issues towards the migration-situation by EU and the Commission has received criticism and lack of reliability from populist movements. Juncker sees it as a major problem and condemns the countries and citizens which are not fighting for a common European cause and prioritize their domestic issues instead due to lack of belief in European institutions (Juncker, 2016 p.1-2; Krastev, 2017 p.37; Risse, 2012 p.88-89).

Citation:

"We Europeans also believe in independent, effective justice systems. Independent courts keep governments, companies and people in check. Effective justice systems support economic growth and defend fundamental rights. That is why Europe promotes and defends the rule of law." (Juncker 2016 p.3).

Analysis:

In the citation, Juncker articulates a reflection of the key-values of European post national universalism. He speaks of post national universalism in juridical and political norms, the need for established institutional courts and lawful systems in Europe. He also articulates rule of law in relation to constitutional patriotism and a European heritage as people shall continue to have faith to the foundation of EU. The articulation of justice and fundamental rights such as democracy, human and moral values also reflect to the key-values of the thin identity of moral universalism.

Citation:

"Being European also means a culture that protects our workers and our industries in an increasingly globalised world. Like the thousands who risk losing their jobs in Gosselies in Belgium – it is thanks to EU legislation that the company will now need to engage in a true social dialogue. And workers and local authorities can count on European solidarity and the help of EU funds. "(Juncker 2016 p.4).

Analysis:

The citation articulates and reflects towards the key-values of the thick identity European cultural particularism. Due to the expression of culture and relation to unity through diversity by expressing the troubling situation in Belgium, and protecting the fortress of Europe for its workers and industries. Furthermore, there is a relation towards post national universalism as well as Juncker articulating the EU-legislation and EU-funding which relates towards the key-values of constitutional patriotism and articulates juridical norms of EU-legislations which provides a sense

of a thin type of identity.

Citation:

"European nations have to defend the rationale for unity. No one can do it for them. They can. We can be united even though we are diverse. The great, democratic nations of Europe must not bend to the winds of populism." (Juncker 2016 p.4)**.**

Analysis:

Juncker articulates in relation towards the thin identity of moral universalism whereas democracy, liberal values and tolerance for difference need to be protected. Juncker also articulates a relation towards the key-values of European cultural particularism by articulating and reflecting to unity through diversity, European nationalism against populism and defend the fortress of Europe and its symbolic values and foundations.

Citation:

"The barbaric acts of the past year have shown us again what we are fighting for – the European way of life. In face of the worst of humanity we have to stay true to our values, to ourselves. And what we are is democratic societies, plural societies, open and tolerant." (Juncker 2016 p.7).

Analysis:

Juncker does not only focus on the refugee crisis from a humanitarian perspective but also towards terrorist attacks in Europe. The citation articulates the thin type of identity of moral universalism as it focuses on humanitarian issues on a universal scale but also key-values of democracy and tolerance. The citation also reflects towards key-values of European pragmatism due to the relation of a strong bond towards pluralization and the articulation of the instrumental aim towards the European way of life.

Context of 2017

Juncker mandate period was hugely affected by the Brexit referendum in 2016-2017, which resulted in UK-exit from the European Union in 2019 (Juncker, 2018 p.9; Luhmann, 2017 p. 1375). The great impact of migration and UK leaving EU, made it possible for anti-liberal and populist movements to become more verbal than previous years, as the actions from the EU has continued to be limited (Krastev, 2017 p.112). The Brexit referendum was a huge blow for the European Commission and for all Europe as the freedom of movement in Europe, one of European integrations major principles, became limited (Börzel & Risse 2019 p.102).

However, Juncker's state of the union speech in 2017 was more positive, due to a more positive trend in Europe. With smart investments, creating an organised flow of migrants, a stable international economy and greater collaborations in EU, has made 2017 positive for Europe (Juncker, 2017 p.1-2,4).

Citation:

"Europe must be a Union of equality and a Union of equals. Equality between its Members, big or small, East or West, North or South. Make no mistake, Europe extends from Vigo to Varna. From Spain to Bulgaria. East to West: Europe must breathe with both lungs. Otherwise our continent will struggle for air. In a Union of equals, there can be no second-class citizens." (Juncker 2017 p.5).

Analysis:

Juncker articulates in the citation the need to maintain the moral, human and equal foundations of the European Union which reflects to the key values of the thin identity moral universalism. His citation also relates towards a thick identity of European cultural particularism due to the relation of key values of European nationalism, unity through diversity by symbolizing and enlightening Europe's geographical and cultural differences.

Citation:

"The rule of law means that law and justice are upheld by an independent judiciary. Accepting and respecting a final judgement is what it means to be part of a Union based on the rule of law. Our Member States gave final jurisdiction to the European Court of Justice. The judgements of the Court have to be respected by all. To undermine them, or to undermine the independence of national courts, is to strip citizens of their fundamental rights. The rule of law is not optional in the European Union. It is a must. Our Union is not a State but it must be a community of law. "(Juncker 2017 p.6).

Analysis:

Juncker speaks of rule of law as an important part of EU, and emphasise the legal framework made by the European institutions. The citation reflects the importance of effective judicial institutions of all member states in EU, which reflects towards cultural neutralization. The citation also relates to the constitutional patriotism in terms of rule of law which reflects towards the key-values of the thin type of identity post national universalism.

Citation:

"Democracy is about compromise. And the right compromise makes winners out of everyone in the long run. A more united Union should see compromise, not as something negative, but as the art of bridging differences. Democracy cannot function without compromise. Europe cannot function without compromise. A more united Union also needs to become more inclusive." (Juncker 2017 p.6).

Analysis:

Juncker articulates plentiful about the importance of a democratic and inclusive society in Europe, and to respect others through compromises which relates to key-values of moral universalism and a thin identity. Juncker also expresses the necessity to find compromises even if there are cultural or national differences among the people in Europe. By relating and articulating towards unity through diversity, maintaining the European Union by articulating that a united communitarianism is needed and a European nationalistic articulation, the citation then connects to several key-values of the thick type of identity European cultural particularism.

Context of 2018

In 2018, Juncker emphasises in his final speech, the peaceful situation in Europe after several problematic years of finance, migration and Brexit-referendum (Juncker, 2018 p.2). Juncker speaks of Greece which was struck hard by the financial crisis a few years earlier, but has in 2018 restored itself and has provided developing and solidary actions for a stable economy both for themselves and Europe, which Juncker congratulates (Juncker, 2018 p.3; Schimmelfennig, 2018 p.969). Europe is more stable than previous years, and Juncker want EU to become a flourishing and including global actor by establish beneficial international partnerships with USA, Japan and Africa. Juncker sympathise for global cooperation as it provides open markets which can provide favourable economic and social relations. In 2019 Juncker's mandate period was over, and Ursula von der Leyen became his successor (Juncker, 2018 p.3-5,8-10)**.**

Citation:

"Take a look around. What is happening in Idlib in Syria now must be of deep and direct concern to us all. We cannot remain silent in face of this impending humanitarian disaster – which appears now all but inevitable." (Juncker 2018 p.4).

Analysis:

Juncker considers the concerning situation in the Middle East as a vital priority to handle for the EU-institutions. As the citation reflects and articulates human rights and actions towards the refugees from Syria, justice for the people in need and a westernized flexibility of identity, the citation reflects towards key-values of moral universalism and a thin type of identity.

Citation:

"Member States have not yet found the right balance between the responsibility each must assume on its own territory; and the solidarity all must show if we are to get back to a Schengen area without internal borders. I am and will remain strictly opposed to internal borders. Where borders have been reinstated, they must be removed. Failure to do so would amount to an unacceptable step back for the Europe of today and tomorrow." (Juncker 2018 p.7).

Analysis:

As the citation interprets, Juncker wants to avoid internal struggles within the Union and wants a cooperative and united Europe. According to Juncker, it would be unwise to have increasing internal borders. From an identity perspective, the citation reflects to key-values of economic and social aspects for the people of Europe, its pragmatic cause for open borders, and the relation to the political tradition of social democracy due to the articulation of a common community and solidarity for everyone, which reflects towards the model of European pragmatism.

Citation:

"We need more solidarity not for solidarity's sake but for the sake of efficiency. This is true in the case of our civil protection mechanism. When fires rage in one European country, all of Europe burns. The most striking images from this summer were not only those of the formidable fires but of the Swedish people greeting Polish firefighters coming to their aid – Europe at its best. "(Juncker 2018 p.7).

Analysis:

Due to the many fires around Europe because of a major heatwave in 2018, European firefighters had to show solidarity and unity amongst each other. Juncker shows gratitude for these actions but also emphasizes greater efficiency. He articulates it in a pragmatic and solidary manner, for the European way of life and the economic aspects are in jeopardy due to the many fires which reflects the key-values of European pragmatism. Juncker also articulates a thick identity and reflects to

key-values of European cultural particularism by expressing unity through diversity, European nationalism and protecting the fortress of Europe from burning down.

Citation:

"In the past months, whenever we needed unity in the Union, Britain was at our side, driven by the same values and principles as all other Europeans. This is why I welcome Prime Minister May's proposal to develop an ambitious new partnership for the future, after Brexit. We agree with the statement made in Chequers that the starting point for such a partnership should be a free trade area between the United Kingdom and the European Union. "(Juncker 2018 p.9).

Analysis:

Juncker speaks of the future after the exit of Great Britain from the European Union, and the importance of a continuing partnership which fits in terms of free trade. The articulation shows a pragmatic reflection as it focuses on economic aspects of life, institutional focus towards EU and its pragmatic and instrumental use of unity for beneficial cooperation between EU and Great Britain, which relates to the identity and key-values of European pragmatism.

Citation:

"But we need to be very clear on one point: judgements from the Court of Justice must be respected and implemented. This is vital. The European Union is a community of law. Respecting the rule of law and abiding by Court decisions are not optional. "(Juncker 2018 p.11).

Analysis:

Juncker and his predecessors considers a functioning rule of law as important for the Union. The citation reflects towards key-values such as political and juridical norms of rule of law in the European society, maintaining the heritage of EU as a community of law which connects further to constitutional patriotism and to the European post national universalism.

The result from the analysis of the Juncker period

During Juncker`s period as president, it has been of a different perspective of European Identity compared to Barroso. Even if Juncker has articulated a European identity from a post national and European pragmatic perspective, His citations articulates and reflects further towards *moral universalism* and *European cultural particularism* perspective which has been the most prominent types of identity. From a moral universalistic perspective, Juncker has often referred and reflected

towards the key-values of justice, equality, democracy and respect towards people which were especially needed to save and assist the arriving refugees in need. He was also working strategically to make Europe a stronger component on the global market by trying to establish partnerships with USA, Japan and Africa which reflects towards moral universalism liberal, westernized and thin vision. In a European cultural particularistic perspective, Juncker's attention and articulation has been related towards key-values of the history of Europe, European nationalism, the defending of European values and its symbolism. He also articulated plentiful of unity through diversity but also towards federalism and communitarianism in his speeches. Juncker's articulation through the citations has related towards both thin and thick type of identity.

6.3 The Von der Leyen Period 2019

Context of 2019

Ursula von der Leyen, a former German minister of defence, presented her political agenda as president candidate where she became the first female president of European Commission in 2019. Von der Leyen has only been president for less than a year, but has already started working with the Brexit process, climate change, rising populism and digitalization of Europe (European Commission, 2020; Delanty, 2018 p.4; Von der Leyen, 2019 p.2).

2019 was a year of stability compared to some previous year during the decade but the rising populism has become a serious concern for EU and the EC. Fragmentation has evolved as increasing federalism has at areas around European Union has further ignited populist movements than been a united formula. Which is why Von der Leyen speaks plentiful of a common unity on all flanks, both on institutional and treaty-level but also a cooperation and responsibility among member-states (Von der Leyen 2019 p.20; Pryke 2020 p.97).

Citation:

"For the generation of my children, Europe is a unique aspiration. It is an aspiration of living in a natural and healthy continent. Of living in a society where you can be who you are, live where you like, love who you want and aim as high as you want. It is an aspiration of a world full of new technologies and age-old values. Of a Europe that takes the global lead on the major challenges of our times." (Von der Leyen 2019 p.3).

Analysis:

Von der Leyen articulates in her political agenda speech by praising Europe both as a continent and a western global power. She speaks of the democratic traditions of Europe, but also its liberal tradition which emphasizes the tolerance and respect towards others. The citation therefore shows relation towards the thin type of identity and key-values of moral universalism.

Citation:

"Gender equality is a critical component of economic growth. The European Gender Strategy will systematically address the way laws impact the decisions women take throughout their lives: starting a job, running a business, getting paid, getting married, having children, managing assets and drawing a pension. We must give women and men equal legal rights across all of these life decisions." (Von der Leyen 2019 p.11).

Analysis:

In the citation, Von der Leyen wants to express the importance of equal rights for women in Europe. Human and lawful values are important to maintain, as the citation articulates a reflection to key-values as human, moral justice and equal values of moral universalism and a thin identity. The citation also reflects towards the key-values of economic and social aspects of life through the articulation of business, work and family. It also relates to the key values of pragmatic and instrumental aims, advantages of equality in Europe which connects with the type of European pragmatism.

Citation:

"Our rural areas are home to more than 50% of Europeans. They are the fabric of our society and the heartbeat of our economy. The diversity of landscape, culture and heritage is one of Europe's most defining and remarkable features. They are a core part of our identity and our economic potential. We will cherish and preserve our rural areas and invest in their future" (Von der Leyen 2019 p.7).

Analysis:

Von der Leyen`s citation reflects to the type of identity of European culturalism. She emphasizes the key-values of diversity in Europe and consider the different cultures of Europe as key towards a unifying identity. She also articulating the importance of rural areas in a European nationalistic manner which further relates towards a thick identity.

Citation:

"The euro, our common currency, is more than the coins and notes in our pockets. It is a symbol of our unity and of Europe's promise of prosperity and protection. We must never stop making it stronger. This is why I will prioritise the further deepening of the Economic and Monetary Union." (Von der Leyen 2019 p.8).

Analysis:

Von der Leyen speaks of the importance to maintain a strong Euro currency for Europe and its community. The citation reflects and articulates towards European pragmatism, as it focuses on key-values of economic aspects, increasing institutional powers of the EMU, and the pragmatic necessity of a strong currency. Von der Leyen does also articulate the type of European cultural particularism, due to the articulation of key-values such as defending and symbolizing the Euro, presence of European nationalism related to the currency and unity through diversity among the Eurozone member-states.

Citation:

"Equality goes beyond gender equality. Women and men, old and young, East and West, North and South, our various national and cultural identities are the patchwork of our identity. " (Von der Leyen 2019 p.11).

Analysis:

Von der Leyen articulates key-values such as gender equality, equal rights and justice and relates to the thin identity of moral universalism. She also articulates a thick type of identity of European cultural particularism, as she points out key-values such as the European diversity both geographically and culturally in a unifying and symbolizing manner, but also relating towards the communitarianism of cultural particularism.

Citation:

"A Europe that protects must also stand up for justice and for values. Nowhere is this more important than when it comes to the respect of the rule of law. Our European Union is a Community of Law. This community is the foundation of everything we have achieved and everything we still have to do. This is Europe's hallmark. And it is central to my vision for a Union of equality, tolerance and social fairness." (Von der Leyen 2019 p.14).

Analysis:

Von der Leyen speaks about the European rule of law as a crucial implement in the European Union and amongst its citizens. Von der Leyen`s citation articulates to the key-values of constitutional patriotism, political and juridical norms which correlate to a thin type of identity of post national universalism. The citation also reflects towards the key-values of moral universalism such as justice, tolerance and equality which are central pieces of the European Union foundations according to Von der Leyen.

Citation:

"I want Europe to strive for more in nurturing, protecting and strengthening our democracy. Our Union's democratic system is unique, bringing together directly elected parliamentarians at local, regional, national and European levels with elected Heads of State or Government. " (Von der Leyen 2019 p.19).

Analysis:

Von der Leyen articulates the European democracy as a core value and unique aspect in EU in her speech. The key-values of democracy and maintenance of parliamentarian equality and justice needs to be preserved in Europe, which relates to the thin identity moral universalism. She also articulates key-values such as political and juridical norms of the various political levels of decision making in Europe. The interpretation of the citation is that she also wants to neutralize cultural issues on the various political and decision-making levels and expresses democracy as a part of the European heritage, which refers to the post-national universalism and a thin type of identity.

The result from the analysis of the Von der Leyen period

Even if only one speech was applied during the research of the thesis, Von der Leyen speech provided a clear articulation and reflection towards the model of *moral universalism*. She speaks much of equality between men and women in various contexts, the importance of tolerance, human values and the important maintenance of a functioning democracy. It then becomes clear she has provided an open-minded, universal yet cautious political agenda during her first speech to reach out to as many as possible during her first year as president. The other models were present as well especially of pragmatic and social democratic values of European pragmatism, but the speech was further articulated towards moral universalism and led to the conclusion Von der Leyen has been speaking from the political tradition of liberalism and democracy and the perspective of thin identity.

7. Final Results & Conclusion

Analytical scheme of Delanty`s Models of European identity:	Key values related to the models of European identity:	The Barroso-period 2010-2013	The Juncker-period 2014-2018	The Von der Leyen-period 2019-
Moral Universalism (thin identity)	Human & moral values, justice, respect towards people, democracy, equality, tolerance, liberalism, westernization		X	X
European post-national universalism (thin identity)	Universal particularisation, constitutional patriotism, civic republicanism, European heritage, culturally neutral, juridical-political norms	X		
European cultural particularism (thick identity)	Ethnocentric, cultural heritage, federalism, fortress Europe, European history, European nationalism, Unity through diversity, symbolic, communitarianism		X	
European pragmatism (Non-categorised)	*"European way of life", "peoples Europe"*, pragmatic, economic and social aspect of life, institutional, social democracy, instrumental	X		

This study aimed to contribute with new knowledge of how and what type of European identity has been articulated by the Commission presidents during the last decade in relation to Gerard Delanty`s identity models. During a period, which has been eventful it has been interesting to see how the European identity has been articulated and reflected towards the key-values by three different presidents in different contexts. The conclusion and response to the first question are summarised below.

During the Barroso presidency, the state of the Union speech was introduced, during a time of financial difficulties, severe economic situation for Greece and the implementation of Croatia as a new member state (Barroso 2013 p.12; Delanty,2002 p.351). Barroso´s speeches resulted into a greater fulfilment towards the criteria's of the thin identity of European post national universalism, and the non-categorised identity of European pragmatism. He often articulated the role of the constitution and its laws, in combination of trying to find efficient economical pragmatic solutions for the European citizens from the financial crisis and related towards the political traditions of civic republicanism and social democracy.

Juncker`s presidential period was influenced by the events of the migration crisis, Brexit referendum and the increase of populist states and movements in Europe. His articulation reflected to different key-values of European identity but the applied citations in the thesis further reflected towards the criteria's, key-values and the type of identity of moral universalism and European cultural particularism. The humanitarian priorities of moral universalism, were set towards the arriving refugees to assist them during a tough scenario. The key-values of moral universalism were also present due to Juncker's articulation of making Europe and EU further global, and try to protect the democratic and liberal legacy of Europe in a time of populism and Euro-scepticism. However, as moral universalism is a thin identity and can be implemented easily to communities both in Europe and abroad, his speeches were at times not prioritising Europe first. Juncker`s speeches were also articulating the thick identity of European cultural particularism. He did not want to forget the Europeans and their interests and needs, which led to a greater presence of federalism, communitarianism and European nationalism than the other presidents (Delanty, 2002 p. 347-348).

The interpretation and articulation of Von der Leyen speech, expressed equal rights, justice, moral and humanitarian actions together with the political traditions of liberalism and democracy. It therefore resulted into the conclusion that Von der Leyen were reflecting and articulating the key-values and criteria's of a thin identity of moral universalism. Her thin approach was articulated

because the need of universal improvements to maintain the stability in Europe, but also a sense of caution as the Commission do not want to be too interfering to much in Europeans day to day lives, especially after many years of European intervention due to financial and migration-issues (Pryke 2020 p.99). If Europe shall become a greater global power and a leading example for sustainability and rights, further actions needs to become reality for the upcoming of Von der Leyen`s presidency.

As European identity is often seen as a diffuse term and concept, it has been interesting to apply very different contexts of the analysed time frame where the different types and models of European identity has been interpreted and examined (Wodak & Boukala 2015 p.92). During the thesis timeline, the presidents of the Commission have used the speeches towards the citizens of Europe to assess important political observations and actions but also articulating a feeling of a common community and a united social group of individuals. It supports the State of the union and political agenda-speeches as important to maintain. Through the analysis of the selected time-frame, there has also led to the interpretation where the first and the last speeches made by each president has provided a sense of inclusiveness and a greater relation towards a thin identity. The mid-section speeches such as 2011-2012 for Barroso and the 2015-2016 Juncker-speeches were further particularistic and related to a thick identity.

The response to the second question and the hypothesis of this thesis is that the presidents of the European Commission rather relate to a thin type of identity than thick identity in their speeches. The result showed all presidents have spoken often from the perspective of thin identity, but the articulation of a thick and exclusive identity was more prominent than expected.

As EU has been through many intriguing moments, the European identity has been needed to adapt and be dynamic. European identity needs to be negotiated between its citizens and institutions, whereas the implication and mentioning of a European identity needs to be balanced in relation to contexts (Wodak & Boukala 2015 p.88). Furthermore, Delanty`s emphasises thin identity is too universal and provides a minimal sense of identity, whereas a combination of thin and thick concept of European identity would be preferable and could be easier to apply in modern day.

For future research within identity studies, it would be interesting to do research on future state of the Union speeches made by Von der Leyen. Von der Leyen stand towards major challenges such as the coronavirus, future Brexit-arrangements with the UK, US-election in 2020, climate change and the populist movements in Europe. It would be interesting to see how her future political agenda for the rest of her mandate period would focus on, and how she will act for future challenges in relation to the European Commission and the European identity.

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