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Franco Zappettini, *European Identities in Discourse: A Transnational Citizens' Perspective*. London: Bloomsbury, 2019; ccxix + 219 pp. £ 95.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Charlotte Elliott-Harvey, Department of Journalism Studies, University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

This book aims to understand how European identities are articulated by individuals who would describe themselves as transnational, using a bottom-up approach through ethnographic work with members of an international grassroots civil society organisation called European Alternatives (EA) and by drawing on methods from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Chapter 1 sets out the scope of the book in relation to a Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) to CDA and describes the parameters of the study. It argues that identity is a dynamic and multifaceted concept that is shaped by history, economics, culture, and politics, and that it is one that exists in theoretical dimensions that are at times rigid and at times fluid. Chapter 2 discusses identity within discourse studies, in relation to in/out groups, how identity might be subjective or intersubjective, and how individual identity is layered or mixed. How identity is treated by different thematic areas of study depends on the viewpoint, such as from an approach that European identity is shaped through an individual process, through a process of a group social imaginary, through a broader process of formal societal structures or phenomenon like globalisation. Chapter 3 deals with the idea of transnationalism and explores identity as it relates to ideas of nationhood, either as a process of civic identity that is enacted through inclusion, or through a cultural identity that is enacted through otherness. Conceptual areas tied to nationhood as a subject are also addressed here, with regards to language, citizenship, solidarity, and discourses on the European public sphere. Chapter 4 describes the research design of the project, which involves four focus groups and nine interviews with participants working at EA, and considers both the theoretical and practical elements of the project by highlighting the CDA approach to the analysis as a method of looking at language as the object of study. Chapter 5 covers the analysis and splits the findings into different categories from key themes (or macro-strategies), to sub-themes (topoi or arguments). By only speaking to members working for EA (as well as being a member of the organisation himself), the author underscores the in-depth and qualitative nature of ethnographic work in using a relatively small sample. In addition, the participants enhanced the project because they were more often than not migrants themselves with mixed European backgrounds, as well as working for an organisation that campaigns for policy issues that respond to civic concerns of what it means to be 'European'. Chapter 6 synthesises the findings and theoretical basis for research and argues the ways in which identity can be situated not only through language, but also in time, across physical spaces, and within concepts of nationality and selfhood. Chapter 7 provides a conclusion with avenues for future research, but also includes limitations of the project with regards to the amount of data collected. These limitations, however, are justified with the author's acknowledgement that the data collected is by no mean representative but instead offers new insights into an unexplored area of identity research.

The study aimed to address three research objectives: to map perceptions of the European community, to understand how individuals situate themselves in how they perceive their sense of being European, and to challenge how notions of nationhood are positioned in a European identity. By addressing two gaps in the literature, which consist of a need for further research from third-sector organisations, and a need to think about what it means to be European beyond paradigms of geography and nationhood, the project narrows the focus of the objectives to three research questions: how individuals construct their European identity, how they manage multiple senses of identity, and how they enact their identities. The findings comprise of five key contributions. The first is that identity is not necessarily

rooted along constructs of nationality, but is instead a composite of processes of relating oneself to community on local, national, and conceptual terms. With identities not being fixed in clear, definitive ways, the second finding is that identities are fluid and not necessarily anchored within a common 'European' identity. Instead, the third finding showed that 'Europeanness' is not an identity shaped by a process of othering, rather, it is the product of senses of shared community. By interviewing individuals from EA, the fourth finding showed that EA members were able to use the exercise of participating in the research as a part of reflecting on, and legitimising, the activist elements of EA on shared democratic European values. The final finding that speaks to discourse studies most directly is that identity is primarily a constructivist product of self-realisation, in that the social aspects of language are what shape the 'spatial dynamics' of identity formation, as something that is the result of the participant's immediate environments as well as their senses of belonging to broader national and cross-national senses of attachment and kinship.

The project is well placed in the field of discourse studies, specifically, critical discourse studies, and aims to contribute to existing research pioneered by conceptual drivers in the field such as Ruth Wodak and Michal Krzyzanowski; where the study examines the relationship between language as communication, and society as socially-constructed. The research is positioned with approaches in discourse theory that help define our understanding of social phenomenon by contextualising data within linguistic analysis. By using analytical tools within thematic analysis and enhancing this with an in-depth analysis of meta-themes, sub-themes, and 'linguistic realizations' through the focus group and interview material, the project contributes to the growing body of literature in the fields of critical discourse studies (CDS), with an original contribution on what it means to have a European identity, by merging the interdisciplinarity of social science disciplines with methodologies in linguistics. The thesis of the study highlights the gap in this existing literature on the relationships between transnational identities and activism in the Habermasian public sphere, and contributes to the discussion by using a bottom-up approach through ethnographic work with EA. The research addresses primarily a social sciences or humanities audience, however, other audiences that could benefit from the study are not-for-profit organisations that work in areas to do European activism, as well as researchers who might be interested in using similar thematic linguistic tools and instruments when researching identities in other subject areas beyond European identities, such as religious identity or LGBTQ+ identities.

This academic work provides new evidence in understanding how Europeans with transnational identities think about and talk about their identity and senses of belonging or exclusion. It uses a particular lens of speaking to members of EA in order to consider what it means to be a European, in terms a citizen viewpoint, the viewpoint of an expat in another country, or the viewpoints of participants whose identity exists across geographic, cultural, and ideological planes. The book's contribution highlights how transnational identities are not necessarily rooted in ideas of a given nation, but within a cultural identity and a European political model; but most importantly, that they are voiced through conversation and language. The findings opens up further research both on the work of organisations like EA that address policies to do with shared citizenship and democratic values, but also further research in conceptualising European identities at a time where Europe is potentially seeing continued fractures post-Brexit, in tandem with the rise of populist, ultra-nationalist and extreme-right parties whose rhetoric presents a context where European cohesion, transnational identity, contemporary cosmopolitanism, and diversity are continuously challenged.