The Role of Youtube and Facebook in Co-Building and Sharing Multidimensional Identities in the Context of European Integration vs. Nationalist Politics: the Case of Romanian Teenagers

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Abstract

Identity negotiation is a complex process determined by different social interactions and relationships from various environments. One of these environments is also represented by social media, where people are more and more present, and where everyone can express their opinions as freely as possible. Thus, in our research we used the content analysis of YouTube videos and Facebook posts, to follow the co-building and sharing of the supranational and national identities. The case discussed is that of Romanian teenagers, for whom it turned out that the European identity is much stronger than the Romanian national identity. Moreover, we discovered that the strengthening of the European identity can be achieved effectively through social media, even at a time when Romania was affected by nationalist politics. The period considered is 2016-2019, and data were collected from 274 teenagers on Facebook and 115 teenagers on YouTube. As a research framework, we chose the approach of the Social Representations Theory, using both quantitative and qualitative techniques for data analysis.

Keywords: European identity, Romanian national identity, social representations, social media

Résume

La négociation d'identité est un processus complexe, déterminé par la multitude d'interactions et de relations sociales dans différents environnements. L'un de ces environnements est également représenté par les médias sociaux, où les gens sont de plus en plus présents et où chacun peut exprimer ses opinions le plus librement possible. Ainsi, dans notre recherche, nous avons utilisé l'analyse de contenu des vidéos sur YouTube et des publications sur Facebook pour étudier la co-création et la négociation de deux identités interdépendantes: nationale et supranationale. Le

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cas particulier considéré est celui des adolescents roumains, pour lesquels nous avons remarqué que l'identité européenne est plus forte que l'identité roumaine. De plus, nous avons découvert que le renforcement de l'identité européenne peut être réalisé efficacement avec l'aide des médias sociaux, même à un moment où la Roumanie était touchée par une politique nationaliste. La période considérée est 2016-2019 et les données sont collectées auprès de 274 adolescents sur Facebook et 115 adolescents sur YouTube. Comme cadre de recherche, nous avons choisi l'approche de la Théorie des Représentations Sociales, et pour l'analyse des données, nous avons utilisé des techniques quantitatives et qualitatives.

Mots-clés*: identité européenne, identité roumaine, représentations sociales, médias sociaux

Rezumat

Negocierea identității este un proces complex, determinat de multitudinea de relații și interacțiuni sociale din diferite medii. Unul dintre aceste medii este reprezentat și de social media, unde din ce în ce mai mulți utilizatori sunt prezenți, creându-se oportunitatea celor care-l folosesc să își exprime opiniile cât mai liber. Astfel, în cercetarea de față ne-am folosit de analiza de conținut a videoclipurilor de pe YouTube și a postărilor de pe Facebook pentru a studia crearea și negocierea a două identități interdependente: cea națională și cea supranațională. Cazul particular luat în considerare este cel al adolescenților români, pentru care am descoperit că identitatea europeană este mult mai puternică decât identitatea românească. Mai mult, am observat că întărirea identității europene se poate realiza eficient prin intermediul social media, chiar și într-un moment în care România era afectată de o politică naționalistă. Perioada luată în considerare este 2016-2019, datele fiind colectate de la 274 de adolescenți de pe Facebook și 115 adolescenți de pe YouTube. Analiza întreprinsă are ca bază Teoria Reprezentărilor Sociale, iar ca metode de lucru am folosit atât tehnici cantitative, cât și tehnici calitative.

Cuvinte-cheie*: identitate europeană, identitate românească, reprezentări sociale, social media

1. Theme and research objective

The fact that the nationalist politics have seized certain states of the European Union is no longer a novelty (Schmid, 2019). Rather, the novelty is how societies deal with these nationalist politics, and in this regard, the online environment offers an unexpected advantage: social media. It is amazing to see how in a relatively short time online groups of hundreds of thousands of people are being created to discuss key issues and to take action. And one of the most important aspects is that everyone can express his opinion as freely as possible on the internet. Relying on this, the present research wants to study the „battle" that takes place in the online environment between nationalist politics and European integration, in order to investigate the co-building and sharing of the multi-dimensional identities. The principal aim is to discover if and how the strengthening of the European identity can be achieved effectively through social media. We chose to focus on Romania, from three points of view. Firstly,

Romania is one of the youngest members of the EU (since 2007), secondly, it has the highest internet speed in the EU[3], so it has the premises of a massive penetration of social media, and thirdly, Romania was affected by nationalist politics especially in the period 2016-2019. The turning point in Romanian politics began with the national parliamentary elections in December 2016, when the power was taken by an alliance of two parties, PSD and ALDE. Over time, the two parties have created a series of anti-European laws, which have led to massive protests in Romania. In this landscape, Romanians were not the only ones who opposed nationalist politics, but strong European leaders did the same. Thus, similar European political groups have frozen relations with the Romanian ones. That is why Guy Verhofstadt, leader of the ALDE Group, posted on his Twitter account on April 25, 2019: „Sadly, the situation in Romania keeps regressing. The ALDE Group decided in early April to exclude ALDE Romania. We expect the ALDE Party to follow this decision and formally expel them from our movement, as soon as possible"[4]. Also, on April 10, 2019 „the President of the Party of European Socialists, Sergei Stanishev, announced that relations between the PES and its Romanian affiliate, the PSD, had been frozen due to ongoing concerns regarding the rule of law in Romania"[5]. Finally, the anti-European course in Romanian politics ended with the European Parliament election of May 26, 2019. PSD Romania had a steep fall and obtained the second score, being usually the first in the top of the Romanian preferences, and ALDE Romania did not meet the 5% electoral threshold to send its representatives to the European Parliament. Moreover, one day after the elections, on May 27, 2019, the leader of PSD Romania, Liviu Dragnea, who was considered responsible for the entire anti-European course of Romania, was jailed for corruption.

Since Romania's accession to the EU in 2007, the period between 2016-2019 can be characterized as the most anti-European on the Romanian political scene. And in this case, „national and European identities are likely to be undergoing transformation as a result of European integration and associated political debate" (Cinnirela, 1997). To analyze the levels of these multidimensional identities, namely the negotiation between the national (Romanian) and the supranational (European) identity, we used the theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1961/1976, 2000). We consider that this theoretical approach is a suitable one especially since identity is not given by birth or is predefined by other aspects but is built through social relationships. Thus, the creation and negotiation of identity is a complex, long-term process, which must take into account the ideological, social and cultural context. Or, the Theory of Social Representations is just about that, about recreating the surrounding reality and

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[3]   according to Speedtest Global Index, accesed May 10, 2019. Retrieved from www.speedtest.net/global-index

[4]   Twitter, Guy Ferhofstadt profile, accessed on January 4, 2019. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/guyverhofstadt/status/1121397943351644160

[5]   Agence Europe, Europe Daily Bulletin, accessed on January 4, 2019. Retrieved from https://agenceurope.eu/en/bulletin/article/12235/12

translate it into an own reality, which is then integrated into the individual's cognitive system, considering all the above contexts (Abric, 2001; Neculau, 1996). According to Serge Moscovici, the founder of the theory, social representations are a „system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history" (Moscovici, 1973, p. xiii).

This code can be understood through social communication (also in social media), which has a key role in creating social representations and linking their different levels, as in the case of creating multiple identities and then linking the subsequent levels of national identity with supranational identity. The whole process is even more complex as social media offers direct opinions of users, uncensored, which can be an opportunity, but also a problem in co-building and sharing the multidimensional identities (de Rosa et al., 2020). Therefore, we used social media as a research field, in which we analyzed comparative views about European Union and Romania, in order to observe the differences and similarities in co-building and sharing the national and supranational identity. As social media platforms, we chose to conduct a content analysis on Facebook and YouTube, because they are very popular in Romania and they also offer the possibility to easily search for keywords.

In our analysis, we must mention that we also faced an unexpected event, which, at first sight, would have no reason to influence the negotiation of identity. But still, deepening the research we will notice that the influences can be felt. Thus, the event is linked to an older concern of the European Union to create a new Internet regulation on copyright. The former EU Copyright Directive dates back to 2001 and no longer meets the needs of the online market. Even Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook's CEO, declared in May 2018 in his hearing in the European Parliament that the Internet needs a new regulation: „*I don't think the question here is whether or not there should be regulation. I think the question is what is the right regulation. I think the Internet is becoming increasingly important in people's lives; some sort of regulation is important and inevitable, and the important thing is to get this right*"[6]. The inevitable came in March 2019 when the European Parliament adopted the new Directive on Copyright in the Digital Single Market. It is the most controversial Internet law ever in the European Union, seen by a group of IT specialists, led by Vint Cerf, Internet Pioneer, as a threat to the online environment: „*We cannot support Article 13, which would mandate Internet platforms to embed an automated infrastructure for monitoring and censorship deep into their networks. For the sake of the Internet's future, we urge*

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[6]   Mark Zuckerberg's hearing in the European Parliament, accessed on April 20, 2019. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o0zdBUOrhG8&t=3746s

you to vote for the deletion of this proposal"[7]. In our research we will refer to this new copyright directive only through *Article 13* (updated in Article 17 in the final law), whose main measure is that „an online content-sharing service provider shall therefore obtain an authorization from the right holders referred to in Article 3 (1) and (2) of Directive 2001/29/EC, for instance by concluding a licensing agreement, in order to communicate to the public or make available to the public works or other subject matter"[8]. Thus, the 2019 Copyright Directive constrains all online platforms to be responsible for analyzing the entire user-generated content and take down the content that infringes copyright. In other words, responsibility moves from user to platform. The problem is how platforms will be able to analyze enormous amounts of content and block what violates copyright before it is publicly disclosed. One of the most viable solutions would be to introduce automatic filters that recognize the licensed content and whether to block it or not. This measure is partially implemented on YouTube, and its widespread application has prompted protests from users because the automatic filters could be seen as a censorship of information. The new Directive on Copyright in the Digital Single Market came into force in June 2019, and all member states of the European Union have two years to implement it.

2. Research methodology

2.1. Sample

As the most vulnerable to changes in social life, Romanian teenagers between 13-19 years have been chosen as the sample of the current research. The influences on them are so great that we can say that nowadays social media and the European Union have become practically a way of life for teenagers. The age was verified from social media profiles or from different videos or posts. Thus, for the content analysis on YouTube videos, 115 subjects were selected (m = 51, f = 64), and for the content analysis on Facebook posts, 274 subjects were selected (m = 185, f = 89).

2.2. Technique and Data Analysis

Because we are dealing with a power relationship between European Union, Romania, and social media, we searched on YouTube and Facebook for keywords related to these aspects: „European Union", „Romania", „social media", „internet", and „Article 13". Thus, from the search results we made a content analysis of the relevant videos found on YouTube and relevant posts found on Facebook. In order to gather the necessary data, we considered on YouTube only the Romanian content such as video blogs, speeches in the European Youth

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7   Vint Cerf et al., Article 13 of the EU Copyright Directive Threatens the Internet (letter), accessed on March 27, 2019. Retrieved from https://www.eff.org/files/2018/06/12/ article13letter.pdf

8   Directive on Copyright in the Digital Single Market 2019/790, accessed on April 20, 2019. Retrieved frohttps://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri= CELEX%3A320 19L0790

Parliament, European activities and projects in schools, debates on different European themes, and interviews on European issues. The analyzed content was represented by teenagers' words extracted from the videos. Written comments or video annotations have not been analyzed, because in most situations they were missing or irrelevant. As for Facebook, we considered five relevant Romanian Facebook groups dedicated for general discussion of teenagers, according to group descriptions and regulations. Each group consists of 50,000 to 250,000 members.

The period from which the posts and videos were chosen is 2016-2019 and the software used for computations is T-Lab 2019 version 4.1.1.4. The preliminary phase consisted in a quantitative analysis. For this, we identified the elementary contexts and then applied the lemmatization process. Then the lemmas were subjected to Thematic Analysis of Elementary Contexts, which involves Hierarchical Cluster Analysis based on bisecting K-means method. The computations were made through a cross-matrix of the elementary contexts with the key-terms (clusters x lexical units).

In addition, we also created an independent variable of polarity to be considered as related to the elementary contexts. On YouTube, the general opinion of each of the subjects was treated as an elementary context, while on Facebook, each reply (post) was treated as an elementary context. So, every elementary context was classified manually as positive, negative, or neutral, depending on the meaning of the message and the feelings it conveys, the non-verbal and paraverbal language, and the description or title of the video.

The Thematic Analysis of Elementary Contexts generates a set of clusters in which key-terms are grouped in a meaningful way. The key-terms were ranked following a chi-square test, depending on the occurrences of the word in the cluster it belongs to, the total number of occurrences of the word throughout the text corpus, and all occurrences of the word, both in the whole text corpus and in the cluster. After that, for a more detailed investigation, the data from the contingency tables obtained were introduced in a correspondence analysis along with the independent variable of polarity (clusters x variable). Finally, we conducted a qualitative analysis of clusters to thoroughly investigate the meaning of keywords and elementary contexts.

3. Results

3.1. YouTube content analysis

For the quantitative analysis 148 YouTube videos were considered (more than 1,000 minutes), from which we extracted a total number of 1,545 relevant words, after which they were turned into 1,312 lemmas. Then, to increase relevancy, the number of lemmas was reduced to 69, keeping only those key-terms with a frequency ≥ 4.

The algorithm used (bisecting K-means) produces a *Hierarchical Cluster Analysis* that indicated 3-7 clusters as available partitions (Table 1):

Table 1: Available partitions for *hierarchical cluster analysis, YouTube corpus*

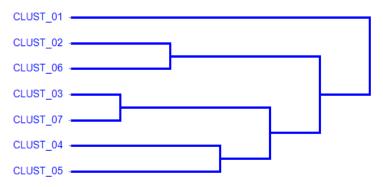| PARTITION	INDEX	GAP		PARENT	CHILD
2 clusters	0.09	0.00		1	2
3 clusters	0.17	0.08		2	3
4 clusters	0.26	0.09	<<	3	4
5 clusters	0.34	0.09		4	5
6 clusters	0.39	0.04		2	6
7 clusters	0.44	0.05		3	7

Figure 1: Dendrogram of available partitions for the text corpus from YouTube

Partition index values are increasing, being obtained by dividing the between cluster variance by the total variance. The biggest gap we find in partitions with 4 and 5 clusters, a „gap" being the difference between one partition's index value and the index value of the previous partition. Through the various bisections made, a cluster can be a „parent" or a „child", as shown in the Figure 1.

Of all the computations, T-Lab software has chosen the partition with four clusters as the most relevant for our text corpus extracted from YouTube (Table 2):

Table 2: Clusters components for YouTube corpus

CLUSTER 1	Chi²	CLUSTER 2	Chi²	CLUSTER 3	Chi²	CLUSTER 4	Chi²
YouTube	85.38	Young	26.85	Rights	93.08	Funds	20.36
Article 13	60.72	Society	21.22	European citizen	27.76	Unity	18.17
Internet	42.37	Refugee	21.22	Citizen	20.05	Advantages	17.47
Video	36.28	Initiative	17.67	Travel	17.01	Money	15.82
Council	30.20	People	14.60	Members	15.13	Family	13.52
Laws	23.54	Values	11.86	Visit	11.32	Romania	11.59
Protect	13.55	Important	9.52	Opinion	5.12	Tolerance	10.12

CLUSTER 1	Chi²	CLUSTER 2	Chi²	CLUSTER 3	Chi²	CLUSTER 4	Chi²
Information	8.59	Culture	6.51	Movement	5.12	Student	7.84
Not good	5.67	Future	5.31			Studies	7.12
Change	5.47	Parliament	5.31			Development	5.94
						Taxes	3.90
						Euro	3.90

Cluster 1 (17,9 %) contains the novelty of the European framework that governs the Internet and social media. All words in this cluster refer to the changes made by European Union through the adoption of „Article 13" (Chi² = 60.72) in March 2019, which especially affects „YouTube" (85.38), but generally the „Internet" (42.73), by imposing content filters to „protect" (13.55) copyright. Thus, all online activity as well as „video" (36.28) uploading will be subject to new „laws" (23.54) that will be able to alter free „information" (8.59) by a method that is seen as a censorship. So, this major „change" (5.47) seems to be „not good" (5.67), and the European „Council" (30.20) has already been notified in this regard.

This is a cluster through which Romanian teenagers express their dissatisfaction as well as concerns about the future of Internet and social media, following the new European regulations. Thus, the cluster name will be „European framework of Internet and social media (YouTube corpus)".
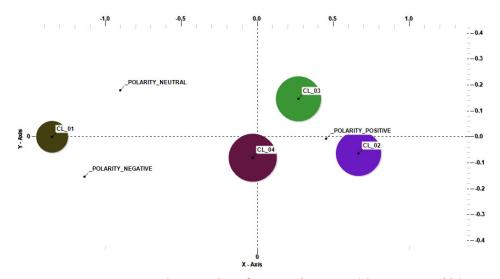
Cluster 2 (26,9 %) represents the most important elements of the social framework through which European identity can be developed. Because the subjects of the research are 13-19 years old, it is natural to talk about being „young" (Chi² = 26.85) in a „society" (21.22). And when we refer to European society, it is normal to meet a huge diversity of „people" (14.60), including „refugees" (21.22). Also, Romanian teenagers seem to be aware that it is very „important" (9.52) to know the European „values" (11.86), but also the European „culture" (6.51). Thus, with „initiative" (17.67), they can build a good European „future" (5.31), bearing in mind that their interests can be represented in the European „Parliament" (5.31) or in the European Youth Parliament. Through this cluster, we can analyze how European integration evolves, reffering to different aspects of society, so for further analysis we will assign the name „Social framework of European integration".

Cluster 3 (26,9 %) is a perfect sequel to the previous cluster. The constituent elements also refer to European identity, only this time it is voluntarily assumed by being a European citizen. And the main qualities that Romanian teenagers seem to enjoy after acquiring their new citizenship are the European „rights" (Chi² = 93.08), mentioning some of the most important: the right to express the „opinion" freely (5.12), the right to „travel" (17.01) and to „visit" (11.32) different places without restrictions, as well as the right of „movement" (5.12) in one of the countries that are „members" (15.13) of the

European Union. At the level of the lexical corpus, we made the difference between the clear collocation „European citizen" (27.76) and the simple word „citizen" (20.05) used mostly in the general sense and only sometimes making reference to Romanian citizenship. But because the references to Romanian citizenship were under 5, we could not fully associate the keyword „citizen" with „Romanian citizen". We have chosen the name of the third cluster „European citizenship and its rights (YouTube corpus)", since this is its main theme. The collocation „European citizen" has a significant frequency of 23.

Cluster 4 (28,2 %) highlights Romania's benefits of European integration, these benefits being numerous, especially as this is the largest cluster. So, we can see that the „advantages" (Chi^2 = 17.47) offered by European Union to „Romania" (11.59) are primarily related to the economic side: European „funds" (20.36) in particular, and „money" (15.82) in general. Other benefits are related to the „family" (13.52), but also to the aspect of being part of European „unity" (18.17).

Also, Romanian teenagers seem to appreciate the „tolerance" (10.12) promoted by European Union, and already think about European „studies" (7.12), for their future status as a „student" (7.84). All the benefits of this cluster would certainly lead to „development" (5.94), even if this involves „taxes" (3.90) and the use of „euro" (3.90), which is not yet adopted in Romania. However, tax compliance and euro can also be seen as advantages, so the name „Advantages of European Union for Romania" can be a suitable name for this cluster.

Figure 2: Correspondence analysis for YouTube corpus (clusters x variable)

Once we have the clusters, we can now establish their connection with the polarity, according to the independent variable that we created. The two-dimensional representation of the correspondence analysis can be seen in Figure 2.

The results of the correspondence analysis reveal a clear delimitation between cluster 1 and the rest. Thus, cluster 1 is mostly composed of negative and neutral elements, showing rather that the „European framework of Internet and social media (YouTube corpus)" is no longer appropriate after the adoption of Article 13 (March 2019), but is rather dominated by uncertainty and reticence.

In contrast, the other three clusters are complementary to each other and all three are mostly composed of positive elements. Considering the distance between cluster 1 and the other three, we conduct further a qualitative analysis of elementary contexts to identify more precisely what are the negative, positive, and neutral elements and what influences they have.

Cluster 1 - **European framework of Internet and social media** (YouTube corpus)

Most of the opinions from the videos analyzed on YouTube about Article 13 are strongly negative, talking about „communist censorship" on YouTube in particular, and on Internet in general. One of the teenagers wrote: „*YouTube will no longer be a free platform, we will not be able to talk about what we want, when we want, there will be no such thing, that it will be basically a communism on the Internet again.*" Also, by approving the article, teenagers could accuse the European Union of not representing the interests of its citizens, as we have seen in our examples: „*Among those who voted for adoption, there are 9 or 10 Romanian MEPs; certainly they do not know what they voted, they will realize within two years until they have to implement the laws for Romania.*" Some opinions are so harsh that they talk about stopping the free access for Internet or YouTube: „*The end of the free Internet in European Union. Most content on YouTube will be deleted, as European Union wishes to. It was not enough that our country has its troubles, corrupt politicians, poverty and much more, but is this coming now? It will also regulate how we behave between us. In other words, they have stuck to power in the highest decision-making forums and decide our lives... All this while EU declares itself: we guarantee individual and collective liberty, a lie! I wonder what's going on in the EU?*".

Cluster 2 - Social framework of European integration

Following hierarchical factor analysis, we noticed that the most important key-term of this cluster is „young", which makes us believe that Romanian teenagers are very open to European integration, and so to assume the European identity. It is important to say that young people are socially influencing each other, so the process of European integration is not done only individually, but on a broad scale of society: „*together with other young people, we represent a part of the present and the future of Europe*". More, the care for the European future is not singular, and teenagers present various joint initiatives on YouTube to ensure a good future: „*The time has come for us to be actively involved in defining our common future. Our ideas, of the young people, can materialize. The idea behind the initiatives is that young people develop their creativity by trying new proposals in*

different areas of life such as art and culture, social inclusion, environmental protection, participation in community life, European awareness, rural development, youth policies, health and many others. Youth initiatives can be a way to turn a personal everyday experience into a starting point for a future project." Such opinions that we found on YouTube, certainly give us strong reasons to believe that social media has an extremely effective role in transmitting the essential impulses and information to enhance the European integration of Romania: *„If you are wondering why such initiatives, the answer is: because you can form yourself as an active and solid European young man and act locally and at European level"; „I want to share the taste for young people to find out new information about their country, about European Union, about the society they live in."* In addition to teenagers' desire to build a good European future, we can see from these examples that European identity must also be actively formed, and teenagers are ready to do so. Moreover, they are so involved in these issues that they want to encourage other people to do the same.

Cluster 3 - European citizenship and its rights (YouTube corpus)

The most surprising result of this study is the widespread assumption of European citizenship in the online environment. We should note that the quality of being European citizen is mostly correlated with European rights and always correlated with positive connotations. Thus, we can say that through all these aspects we can achieve a good European identity. From the analyzed videos we realized that Romanian teenagers know to ideally negotiate their European identity as a supranational one, which is meant to complement the national one and not to replace it: *„On January 1, 2007, Romania has joined the European Union, so Romanian citizens have acquired European citizenship that does not replace national citizenship, but extends it, bringing a number of advantages and rights."*

The assumption of European citizenship is very important to Romanian teenagers and seems to be already part of their way of being: *„We first started as humans, then as citizens of some nations, and in a beautiful evolution we became Europeans.* In contrast, about Romanian citizenship we found too few references that are insignificant. The fact that there are much more references about European citizenship in comparison with Romanian citizenship can be explained by the greater rapprochement of Romanians with the democracy promoted by European Union, rather than the national sovereignty promoted in Romania during 2016-2019: *„a well-informed citizen understands that he plays an active role in European Union and will want to get involved in his democratic life at all levels".* The high frequency of assuming European citizenship in the online environment during this period 2016-2019 may mean a good continuation of the European integration process through social media, while in Romanian politics the same process seems to have suffered a decline.

Thus, European identity survives on social media, regardless of the nationalism promoted in real life. Taking advantage of the Internet, associations with European citizenship do not stop: *„yes, of course I feel like a European citizen*

because I live in Romania, a member of the European Union." So, we think that European identity is very well assumed by Romanian teenagers, and we can say that in our case, YouTube is of great help in building a positive European identity: *„you can learn from different people and together you will have the feeling that you are European citizen".*

Cluster 4 - Advantages of European Union for Romania

This cluster highlights the aid that the European Union has offered to Romania, especially in terms of „funds" and „money". From the analyzed videos on YouTube, we noticed that, in fact, European funds are much more useful to Romania, not just to combat poverty, but also to forget the past political regime of Romania, thus trying to align Romania's politics with European standards: *„Continuing to access the European funds we can grow harmoniously and we can go much easier and faster through this post-communist transition phase."* So, financial benefits could be even vital for strengthening European integration and democracy.

This cluster also refers to the educational system, which should be of great importance to teenagers, because it is their primary concern, and perhaps the best-represented common goal of Romanian teenagers is to study abroad: *„From an educational point of view, exchanges of experience between countries can be a great advantage for students going abroad, because they can study what they like in another environment, they can be exposed to different cultures and also have the employment opportunity."* The teenagers are aware of the need for good education, and so there are many opinions and initiatives that show the importance of European education: *„education is the base of a society, and we now need an education built on European values, because it represents us and this is the future of our country."*

To sum up the analysis of this cluster, we will also use an opinion from YouTube: *„If, for Romania, the European Union had not existed, it should have been invented."* So great are the advantages of European Union, that teenagers believe Romania would have been far behind without having chosen the way of European integration: *„How would a non-European Romania look today? Well, not much different from the Republic of Moldova or current Serbia. It would have been a country fallen prey to its own demons through acts of corruption and underdevelopment, most likely placed in the zone of economic and political influence of Russia and Turkey".*

3.2. Facebook content analysis

For the quantitative analysis we chose 289 relevant posts on Facebook with a total number of 1,176 words, from which we obtained 1,023 lemmas. For more relevant computations, we set the frequency threshold ≥ 3, so only 41 lemmas have been selected for future analyzes.

Running the *Hierarchical Cluster Analysis* with bisecting K-means algorithm, we obtained a solution with 3-9 clusters as available partitions (Table 3).

Table 3: Available partitions for hierarchical cluster analysis, Facebook corpus

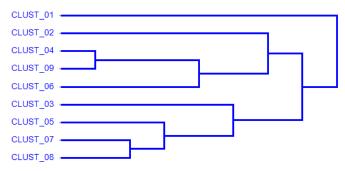| PARTITION	INDEX	GAP		PARENT	CHILD
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4 clusters	0.29	-0.08		2	4
5 clusters	0.46	0.17		3	5
6 clusters	0.56	0.10		4	6
7 clusters	0.60	0.04		5	7
8 clusters	0.70	0.10		7	8
9 clusters	0.71	0.01		4	9

Figure 3: Dendrogram of available partitions for the text corpus from Facebook

With only one exception (the case with 4 clusters) partition index values are increasing, being obtained by dividing the between cluster variance by the total variance. After all the computations and bisections made automatically by the T-Lab software, the relationships between the clusters as „parent" or „child" can be seen in Figure 3. T-Lab selected the partition with three clusters to be the most significant for the text corpus extracted from Facebook, with the following component elements (Table 4):

Table 4: Clusters components for Facebook corpus

CLUSTER 1	Chi^2	CLUSTER 2	Chi^2	CLUSTER 3	Chi^2
Article 13	127.93	Brexit	42.51	Rights	94.78
Internet	62.21	Countries	38.97	European Citizen	91.67
Copyright	38.48	European Union	17.04	Funds	21.73
YouTube	34.58	People	8.82	Romania	14.37
Video	22.93	City	8.10	Free	4.98
Support	15.24	Romanian	5.44		
Music	15.24	Travel	4.60		
Access	7.13	Population	4.60		
Change	6.64	English	4.60		
		Europe	4.44		

CLUSTER 1	Chi^2	CLUSTER 2	Chi^2	CLUSTER 3	Chi^2
		Members	4.34		
		Leave	4.34		
		Bucharest	4.34		

Cluster 1 (17,4 %) related to Facebook corpus has many common words with the cluster 1 of YouTube corpus. This means a confirmation of the dissatisfaction and concerns of Romanian teenagers regarding the future of the Internet and the social media by adopting in the European Parliament of „Article 13" (Chi^2 = 127.93) in March 2019. The following keywords highlight again that European Union wants to change the „Internet" (62.20) through a „copyright" (38.48) law that will especially affect „YouTube" (34.57) by filtering and possibly blocking „video" (22.93) content or „music" (15.23). Thus, the Internet „access" (7.12) is about to suffer a major „change" (6.63), which will not have the users' „support" (15.23). This cluster 1 related to Facebook corpus will be named after the model of cluster 1 related to YouTube corpus. So, the name will be: „European framework of Internet and social media (Facebook corpus)".

Cluster 2 (42,8 %) brings something almost entirely missing from the previous YouTube corpus: how the European integration of Romania can be influenced by Brexit, that means the exit of „England" (Chi^2 = 42.50) from the European Union; between the cluster components we can also find „countries" (38.97) and „European Union" (17.03). More, in this cluster we have references to the social framework in which is created the European identity. This time, besides the keyword „people" (8.81), we also have the keyword „Romanian" (5.43) that can help us better understand the negotiation of multiple identities. More, we have some references of the „city" (8.09) of „Bucharest" (4.34) in „Europe" (4.40) and to the „English" (4.60) „population" (4.60) that will „leave" (4.34) the European Union. Thus, it will be more difficult for the „members" (4.34) of the European Union to „travel" (4.60) to England. Because this cluster refers largely to Brexit, its name will be „Brexit vs. European integration".

Cluster 3 (39,8 %) is a strengthening of the European identity that the individual can assume through the Internet. It is similar to cluster 3 from YouTube corpus, having again the most important keywords „European citizen" (Chi^2 = 91.66) and the associated „rights" (94.78). Linked to these keywords, we discover also „Romania" (14.36) and „funds" (21.73), highlighting the benefits of European integration. We also should note the keyword „free" (4.97) which is an important right for Romanian teenagers. As in the past study, this cluster will be named „European citizenship and its rights (Facebook corpus)".

The three clusters related to Facebook corpus were introduced into a correspondence analysis along with the independent variable of polarity. Thus, the associations clusters *x* variable can be seen in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Correspondence analysis for Facebook corpus (clusters x variable)

Each of the three clusters corresponds largely to a polarity: cluster 1 is closer to the negative polarity, showing as in the previous study that Article 13 has inappropriately influenced the „European framework of Internet and social media (Facebook corpus)". Cluster 2 contains rather neutral elements but with a significant proportion of negative elements, showing what might be the influence of „Brexit vs. European integration". Cluster 3 is the closest to positive polarity and demonstrates as before that „European citizenship and its rights (Facebook corpus)" can bring an important series of benefits for a good European integration of Romania.

Still, we will conduct a qualitative analysis of clusters to thoroughly investigate the meaning of keywords and elementary contexts, especially since clusters 1 and 2 contain both important negative elements and neutral elements.

Cluster 1 - European framework of Internet and social media (Facebook corpus)

As we have already seen, Article 13 is a real interest for Romanian teenagers and we have again the confirmation that European Union succeeds in influencing the Internet in a negative way, so we found on Facebook even dramatic views related to this subject: „*Rest in peace Internet, Article 13 was approved*", „*European Union wants to cut off all the Internet*", „*Save YouTube! Article 13 destroys everything!*".

Also, we can find again elements related to communism and censorship: „*If Article 13 is true, there will be communism on the Internet*", „*Article 13 says it will censor our videos.*" We should notice that on Facebook, users not only take note of this article, but also urge to sign various petitions to stop the effects: „*Sign here for rejecting Article 13!*", „*Let's save the Internet! Europe wants to introduce Article*

13 that would mean that music or images from other sources will no longer be legal." Whatever the changes, one of the opinions on Facebook presents a reality that can be painful: *„European Union has adopted Article 13 which most likely will drastically change the Internet we currently know. What do you think? Is this the end of the Internet?".* It is certainly not the end of the Internet, but it could be a major change in how we surf the Internet and how we interact within social media.

Cluster 2 - Brexit vs. European integration

In Facebook discussions, Brexit seems to be very important among Romanian teenagers, and this explains why „England" has the highest chi-square value in this cluster. Investigating the elementary contexts, we have noticed that all the usage of the word „England" refers to the Brexit problem, and have strongly negative connotation: *„I am going to cry, I do not want England out of the European Union",* which shows the desire for European unity and therefore the appetite for a complete European identity. Brexit is certainly not seen as a good thing from many perspectives, both for England and for other countries: *„Now England as a lonely country is nothing, before it was important because it was at the top of Europe", „England will most likely exit the European Union. Most likely, we'll need a visa to travel there."* From these examples we can also see the good understanding of the concept of unity for all the countries in the European Union. So, Romanian teenagers seem to be aware that together, member states can have common benefits, being even stronger. But alone, thus adopting the politics of national sovereignty, benefits diminish. Also, in this cluster, we managed to capture a broader picture of the Romanian identity and, rather, of not identifying with it: *„Romania is a country with a low status in the European Union and especially worldwide", „Why are we the most corrupt in the European Union?", „Long live Ceausescu and the Romanian Communist Party! We will be free and up-to-date with European standards when the poplar will make pears".* It is noticeable how the image of being Romanian suffers a decline and how, unexpectedly, there is again a connection with communism in Romania, as happened in the case of Article 13. This may be a sign that history cannot be erased so easily, and although communism was abolished in Romania in 1989, it is still present even in the minds of young people who have not lived in that regime. Hence the need for a greater assumption of European identity, to change the general mentality in Romania and to promote the democratic values of the EU to the detriment of communist values.

Cluster 3 - European citizenship and its rights (Facebook corpus)

The main elements of this cluster are „European citizen" and its „rights" just as in the third cluster of the YouTube content analysis. Therefore, we can say that there is a perfect continuation between the two clusters and a strengthening of the European identity that Romanian teenagers assume through the Internet. Investigating the elementary contexts of this third cluster related to Facebook

corpus, we can say that being a European citizen is now even clearer: of the 47 mentions concerning the European citizen, 40 of them have the approximate form „European citizen with rights".

We can once again say that the European citizenship is part of teenagers' way of being, because they assume it in extremely varied situations: from opinions about the city they live in, to the problems encountered in school and to the general issues of Romania: „*I'm kidding, do what you want, you are a European citizen and you have rights*", „*Because it is my right of being European citizen and I can express my opinion wherever and whenever I want*", „*I am European citizen and I have the right to do what I want*". Sometimes this phrase is used on Facebook to put an end to contradictory discussions: „*I have nothing to do, you are a European citizen in the end. You have rights*".

We also encountered cases where the phrase „*I am European citizen and I have rights*" was included in a standalone Facebook post without any link to any subject. And the other users also agreed in the comments on the same thing, both in relation to their person and the person who posted. Sometimes, Romanian teenagers in their self-presentations are assuming their European identity by directly stating that they are European citizens, without being constrained by someone: „*If you have asked for it, I must present myself. I'm the new moderator and I'm old in the group. I am 15 years and 15 months, I am from Calarasi, I am 1.72 m tall, I have green eyes, I am brunette, funny, sympathetic (I boast myself, lol), and I am European citizen and I have rights! I'm waiting for questions, that's the short part of my presentation*".

From what we have seen so far, Romanian teenagers are very pleased to be European citizens. Thus, they can feel that they live in „*a free world with European rights*". The feeling of freedom is again brought into discussion, demonstrating once again that this is a very important advantage that EU has given to Romania.

4. Conclusions

Comparing all the essential data in the process of co-building and sharing multi-dimensional identities, we can conclude that for our sample the European identity is significantly stronger than the Romanian national identity. This attitude is widely supported by a voluntary and conscious assumption of the European citizenship, which is made in a proud manner and on a very large scale, mostly correlated with European rights. On the other side, the assumption of the Romanian citizenship is almost non-existent, and the few references to Romania are often negative.

Moreover, the European identity is built in an active way, especially since we noticed many initiatives of young people on YouTube and Facebook for creating a better European future and for having an education based on the European model. This shows us that social media also has an effective role in strengthening the European identity. And this role of social media is all the more important as the period considered in the research (2016-2019) was marked by

nationalist politics in Romania. From this point of view, social media can even be a „refuge" for the development of the European identity.

It should also be noted that the European identity is understood in a unitary way, as it should be, namely as a supra-national identity. Thus, the European identity transcends the national one in order to be part of a larger category. That is why the Romanian teenagers had reactions of regret regarding the exit of Great Britain from the European Union. If Romanian teenagers had not had a well-defined European identity, they would not have cared about Brexit.

In the complex process of co-building and sharing multi-dimensional identities, there are a lot of interdependent relationships and mutual influences (Devos and Doise, 2013), and that is why we are talking about an identity „negotiation" (Swann and Bosson, 2008). The same happens with the European identity and the Romanian identity. And sometimes all we need is an unexpected trigger to extrapolate elements from one side to the other. In our case the trigger was the new Directive on Copyright in the Digital Single Market that came into force in June 2019. The Directive was drafted by the EU, and the Article 13 was characterized in our study by a „communist censorship". It could have been characterized only by the term „censorship", but in this case it seems that the term „communist" was extrapolated from the Romanian identity to the European identity. We must not forget that before 1989 in Romania it was one of the harshest communist regimes in Europe. But this case of extrapolation is an isolated one, and in general we can say that the European identity of Romanian teenagers is largely positive, and its strengthening can be achieved also through social media.

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