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(Re)Writing History

**How Germany and France Create and Project EU Narratives
Abroad**

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Lauren Rogers".

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MA Programme Euroculture Declaration

I, **Lauren Rogers**, hereby declare that this thesis, entitled, “**(Re)Writing History: How Germany and France Create and Project EU Narratives Abroad**” submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within this text of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the bibliography.

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Abstract

‘Narrative’ has become such a pervasive term in media and political jargon that its theoretical backbone has become harder to trace. With this in mind, this thesis seeks to contribute to the theoretical understanding of narratives in international relations research, with a focus on the European Union.

This thesis begins with a discussion on narratives in the international system, what kinds of power they exert, and how they provide structure. This will lead into the conceptual debate of narratives as tools vs narratives as identity, which will in turn raise questions about how actors use narratives to maintain ontological security. Within the context of the EU, these questions are of particular relevance, as the struggle to create a narrative for the EU is well documented. Moreover, there remains a struggle to convince member states of the importance of an EU narrative identity.

This thesis will examine the area of common foreign and security policy (CFSP) through the lens of narrative analysis. The case study of the formation and projection of the EU narrative on the Iran Nuclear Deal has been selected to determine whether or not member states in the EU are faithful to EU foreign policy narratives. An analytical framework has been developed based on strategic narrative theory and will be used to test narrative output from the EU, Germany, and France on the subject of the Iran Nuclear Deal. The results of this analysis will be considered using a reflexive approach.

The goal of this research is not to implicate EU member states or to imply a lack of commitment to EU CFSP. Rather, this thesis seeks to demonstrate how deep-seated narratives affect even the closest of alliances. This thesis also seeks to encourage policy makers and scholars to consider the importance of narrative integration in EU research.

Keywords:

Narratives; Strategic Narratives; Public Diplomacy; EU CFSP; Iran Nuclear Deal; JCPOA

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List of Abbreviations:

CFSP: Common Foreign and Security Policy

EEAS: European Union External Action Service

EU: European Union

EU3+3 OR E3+3: The EU, along with the “European Three” (Germany, France and the UK)
Plus the non-European three (US, Russia, and China)

IAEA: International Atomic Energy Agency

IR: International Relations

JCPOA: Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action OR Iran Nuclear Deal

P5+1: UNSC Permanent Five Members (France, UK, USA, Russia, and China) Plus
Germany

PD: Public Diplomacy

UN: United Nations

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

Chapter One: Introduction

In contemporary society, there are few terms that have been used and abused as much as ‘narrative.’ Journalists, activists, and politicians alike speak about “controlling,”¹ “changing,”² or “building”³ a narrative, as if it is something tactile or solid, something that can be laid down and presented as a piece of art. As with many academic-cum-pop-culture terms, ‘narrative’ is often used without the benefit of a theoretical framework. This poses a challenge for researchers. Laura Roselle has maintained that narrative is the natural way humans communicate with one another.⁴ The elements of a story – character, conflict, setting, resolution – are deeply embedded in our ability to communicate. However, narratives can also be used by speakers to try and sway or influence an audience. In this way, narratives can be strategic.

Research on the existence, power, and structure of narratives has been carried out in fields as varied as psychology, history, and social sciences.⁵ Recently, the term has become an integral part of the constructivist discourse in international relations. Within this field, strategic narratives can be understood as selected discourse used by political actors to imbue actions with a sense of meaning or to underscore the importance of a particular decision.⁶ With this in mind, Mattern, Freedman, Miskimmon, Steele, Berenskoetter, Roselle, Colley, and O’Loughlin have attempted to establish a theoretical understanding of narratives to answer questions about where they come from, how they can be used, and what kinds of power they can exert. In this thesis, I will show that narratives are particularly important for understanding EU external relations. In the following chapters, I will demonstrate the importance of considering strategic narratives in research on the common foreign and security policy (CFSP) of the EU.

¹ On May 3, for example, *The New York Times* wrote a report about President Donald Trump’s need to control his narrative in the article “New Revelations Suggest a President Losing Control of His Narrative.” <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/03/us/politics/trump-revelations-narrative.html>

² On May 10, for example, *Forbes* ran the headline, “Meet the Black Woman Working to Change the Narrative on Black Men.” <https://www.forbes.com/sites/christophergray/2018/05/10/meet-the-black-woman-changing-the-narrative-of-black-men/#632111357dd1>

³ See, for example, *Harvard Business Review*’s article, “How to Build a Strategic Narrative.” <https://hbr.org/2016/03/how-to-build-a-strategic-narrative>

⁴ Lawrence Freedman, “Networks, culture and narratives,” *The Adelphi Papers* 45, no. 379 (2006): 23-24.

⁵ See, for example the interdisciplinary Centre for Narrative Research at the University of East London

⁶ Alister Miskimmon, Laura Roselle, and Ben O’Loughlin, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order* (New York: Routledge, 2013): 4.

1.1 Research Problem

The dream of a CFSP for Europe goes back to Charles De Gaulle, but it wasn't until this dream was codified in the form treaties, particularly the Lisbon Treaty, that the EU had any tangible foreign policy agency. Since the creation of the European Union External Action Service (EEAS), this body has behaved almost as a state in terms of foreign policy. Yet, its effectiveness rests on cooperation from member states. This has in turn affected the way narratives are formed and projected. The EU has missions abroad, but they are arguably weaker and certainly less established than the diplomatic missions of their member states. This creates a diplomatic paradox: the EEAS was meant to create a common foreign policy for the EU, but the EEAS is in turn dependent on member states to carry out this strategy. The same is true for communications. In the diplomatic arena, the EU narrative is maintained by European diplomats – even those who are not employed by the EU.

France and Germany, which have the largest foreign ministries in Europe and the greatest political clout, are therefore some of the most important custodians of EEAS strategic narratives abroad. Indeed, even with increased Euroscepticism in national parliaments, both France and Germany have a vested interest in maintaining the European image and narratives through public diplomacy efforts. However, they also have a vested interest in maintaining their own image and narratives abroad, even when these do not align directly with the EU. As the EEAS grows into a more powerful force, this alignment is tested; CFSP may have been agreed upon theoretically, but practically is another matter. Perhaps because of France and Germany's political power within the EU system, this misalignment appears to be rather rare. If there were to be a distinct difference between the EU and Germany, for example, it seems clear that Germany would seek first to secure its own interests. To my knowledge, such a dramatic break between Germany or France and the EEAS has not occurred. Nonetheless, foreign policy has sometimes been referred to as the last bulwark of national sovereignty within the EU.⁷ In other words, sacrificing sovereignty within the EU system is one thing, but within the international system is another. France and Germany, mighty foreign policy players in their own right, may find this sacrifice particularly distasteful, even if they find themselves directly

⁷ For example, in the 2016 Schuman Foundation Conference Report, "Europe and Sovereignty: Reality, Limits and Outlook," the speakers argued that European states are reluctant to give up foreign policy power to the EU. <https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/european-issues/0410-europe-and-sovereignty-reality-limits-and-outlook>

in line with the EEAS position. The question then becomes how these states react to this discomfort. Strategic narratives are a useful tool in answering this question.

1.2 Research Aims

This research seeks to test whether the ideal, that EU member states faithfully project EEAS narratives abroad, is reflected in reality. My primary research question can therefore be summed up thus: *How do EU member states project EU strategic narratives abroad through national public diplomacy?*

I have opted for a single case study to conduct this research. I will examine the formation and projection of the EEAS's strategic narrative about the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), more commonly known as the Iran Nuclear Deal. Using strategic narrative analysis, I will first analyze the formation of the JCPOA narrative by the EEAS in Brussels. This will serve as the control. Later, I will analyze how the French and German Embassies in Washington, DC project this narrative to a US audience. If CFSP is the ideal, then the narratives that are projected by France and Germany should vary little from the original EU narrative. Any variances that do occur, however, will reveal challenges to the CFSP.

1.3 Background and Case Selection

Selecting a case to test this research question was difficult because, although the EEAS was established with the intent of making the EU a foreign policy actor,⁸ there are few instances in which the EEAS has taken a clear foreign policy stance outside of Europe.⁹ Moreover, an appropriate case study would need to put the EU at the same level as its member states, i.e. it would be negotiating alongside its member states. Lastly, the case study would need to be a situation in which the EEAS had the need for a strategic narrative to be projected outside of the EU. These three criteria led me to select the Iran Nuclear Deal negotiations as the best fit.

Iran's nuclear capabilities have been the subject of international debate for nearly half a century. As late as the early 2000s, it seemed unlikely that this nuclear standoff would be

⁸ European Court of Auditors, "Special Report: The Establishment of the EU External Action Service," *ECA Website*, June 30, 2014, accessed May 07, 2018, <https://www.eca.europa.eu/en/Pages/NewsItem.aspx?id=4918>

⁹ The Arab Spring would be an instance in which the EEAS played an active role.

resolved, especially given the increased tensions brought on by the US invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq.¹⁰ Nonetheless, in 2003, Dominique de Villepin, Jack Straw, and Joschka Fischer, the Foreign Ministers of France, the UK, and Germany respectively, traveled to Iran to negotiate a de-escalation of Iranian uranium enrichment with the support of the EU High Representative Javier Solana.¹¹ In 2004, following claims made by Iran that the EU was not delivering on its promise for economic incentives, France, Germany, and the UK again met with Iranian leaders.¹² The resulting agreement was known as the Paris Agreement. However, the encouraging signs of cooperation between the EU and Iran faltered with the election in 2005 of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad¹³ and tensions culminated in 2009 when Iran reportedly began testing long-range missiles.¹⁴

The next turning point in the negotiations came with the election of US president Barack Obama, who pledged in his campaign to open direct channels of communications with Iran.¹⁵ The subsequent 2009 negotiations were held under the auspices of the UN Security Council in the “P5+1” constellation – the permanent five UN Security Council members plus Germany. Despite sanctions and numerous UNSC resolutions (UNSCRs 1737, 1747, 1803, 1835, and 1887),¹⁶ the P5+1 negotiation attempts had little lasting effect on Iran’s enrichment or willingness to cooperate. After many years of back and forth, the negotiations that would eventually lead to the JCPOA began on January 20, 2015. The final 109-page deal included an agreement to a 98 percent reduction of Iran’s enriched uranium stockpiles, a fixed-term halt on the majority of its centrifuges and consent to inspection by the IAEA.¹⁷

This background is not meant as a detailed explanation of the Iran Nuclear Deal, but rather to show that the JCPOA case is appropriate for evaluating this research question. In 2015, the EU was an equal player in the negotiations. Germany and France, who had invested in this deal for

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Elaine Sciolino, “Iran Will Allow UN Inspections of Nuclear Sites,” *The New York Times*, October 22, 2003.

¹² BBC Staff, “Timeline.”

¹³ Mahmoud Ahmadinejad “Ahmadinejad’s Letter to the Americans,” *CNN International*, November 29, 2006, accessed May 15, 2018, <http://edition.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/meast/11/29/ahmadinejad.letter/>

¹⁴ David Sanders and Nazila Fathi, “Iran Test-Fires Missile With 1,200-Mile Range,” *The New York Times*, May 20, 2009.

¹⁵ Michael Gordon and Jeff Zeleny, “Obama Pledges ‘Aggressive’ Iran Diplomacy,” *The New York Times*, November 2, 2007.

¹⁶ Security Council Report, “UN Documents for Iran: Security Council Resolutions,” *SecurityCouncilReport.org*.

¹⁷ EU3+3, “Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action,” *US Department of State Website*, July 14, 2015.

over a decade, were finally seeing results of their arduous diplomatic labor. All three were interested in convincing the US – and the rest of the world – of the deal’s merit. Furthermore, uncertainty over the US congressional vote to approve the JCPOA meant that Germany and France had an incentive to project persuasive narratives in the US. The French and German Embassies in Washington therefore needed to utilize their public diplomacy resources, primarily social media, to sway a US audience. This therefore serves as a perfect case study for this research.

1.4 Organization of Thesis

This thesis is divided into eight subsequent chapters that will help answer this question and inform this case study. In the second chapter, I give an overview of the roots of strategic narrative research. To do this, I first examine the relationship between identity, narrative, and power and how this has led to a discussion about strategic narratives. In the following chapter I introduce which elements are common elements of French, German, and EU narratives.

In Chapter Four, I turn to theoretical approaches to narrative research within international relations and explain why Brent Steele’s reflexive approach fits best with this thesis. In Chapter Five, I introduce the analytical framework that will guide my empirical research. Specifically, I introduce three analytical concepts – international system, issue, and identity narratives – and explain how I will use these concepts to tease out narratives in my selected texts.

In Chapter Six, I will explain my methodology and data selection. In Chapter Seven, I will conduct my empirical analysis of the data. This chapter will be divided into three sections: EU Narratives, French Narratives, and German Narratives. I will further divide these sections into three subsections: International System Narratives, Identity Narratives, and Issue Narratives.

Chapter Eight will be a discussion section. This will be a chance analyze the data and ask follow-up questions. For example, I will discuss who truly defines the EU narrative and whether having a strong identity narrative at the state level precludes having a strong international system narrative at the EU level. Finally, I will point to areas where further research is necessary. I will conclude with Chapter Nine.

Chapter Two: The ‘Narrative Turn’ in International Relations

As discussed in the introduction, much confusion exists as to what constitutes narrative, how to identify them, and what function they can have. For the purposes of this research, I will define narrative thus: a selective interpretation of events that are bound by temporal and spatial considerations and are meant to influence a public or lend legitimacy to actions.¹⁸ Traditionally, narratives are identified by the presence of the elements of a story, however modern researchers such as Thomas Colley also note the presence of overarching narratives, which can be called upon with merely a few words or phrases.^{19;20} Along this same vein, Colley argues that plot is the true differentiating factor between narrative and other forms of discourse. Plot creation, according to Colley, involves “selecting, linking, and ordering events to create an overarching framework of meaning.”²¹ With this in mind, narratives can be understood as being woven together within society. These narratives support and interact with each other at different levels, though interpretation of narratives are left to the individual.

2.1 Narrative, Identity, and Ontological Security

The study of international relations is rooted in the search to explain how the world is structured. For most of the modern era, world order was explained by looking at power. The distribution of military and economic power – or “hard power,”²² as Joseph Nye calls them – were used to explain how states interact and how peace is achieved through balancing this power. Because power was the traditional way of looking at the world, soft power was a logical extension of that. If military power is meant to protect a state’s physical security and economic power is meant to protect a state’s financial security, then soft power is meant to protect a state’s ontological security. Ontological security, in this case, refers to a tendency of states to seek to maintain “consistent self-concepts.”²³

¹⁸ This definition was influenced by Miskimmon et al. *Strategic Narratives*. Catherine Reissman, and Thomas Colley.

¹⁹ Thomas Colley, *‘Peace Through Fighting’: The British Public’s Narrative Understanding of War* (London: King’s College University Press, 2017): 20-21.

²⁰ A common example of this would be The War on Terror. Colley references the slogan “Blair lied, thousands died.”

²¹ Thomas Colley, *Peace*: 18.

²² Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs): 6.

²³ Brent Steel, *Ontological Security in International Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2007): 3.

With this in mind, Janice Bially Mattern has argued that protecting ontological security in the form of establishing a strong state identity, and rhetoric to back it, is one of the most fundamental sources of international order.²⁴ She goes further with her analysis of the ‘identity turn’ in her book *Ordering International Politics: Identity, Crisis and Representational Force* in which she observes, “Identity, as such, can impose order upon disorder; it can be a source of order. But, at least during crises, it does so through force. *It forces order.*”²⁵ Furthermore, Mattern makes a key connection between identity and narrative, arguing that narrative is essential to the construction of identity.²⁶

This ‘narrative turn’²⁷ is the heir apparent to the ‘identity turn’ of the late 1990s and early 2000s.²⁸ When constructivism became the go-to theory to explaining world order, it was natural to look at how the world is socially structured and how state behavior can be explained by social interaction.²⁹ If, as Alisdair MacIntyre posits, humans are “storytelling animals”³⁰ then narratives are the way we communicate our understanding of the world. Hertner and Miskimmon concluded that narratives “often seek to establish order from confusion or complexity.”³¹ They are structured in a way that makes sense: there are actors, conflict or action, and resolution.³² In essence, narratives give meaning, and with meaning comes a sense of one’s place in the world and one’s identity.³³

What is important to keep in mind when looking at narrative and identity, however, is that one does not beget the other, rather there is a symbiotic and ever-changing relationship between the two. Klaus Eder makes this point in his memorable reflection on European collective memory: “the narratives, which tell about a collective memory appear stable only to those who

²⁴ Janice Bially Mattern, *Ordering International Politics: Identity, Crisis, and Representational Force* (New York: Routledge, 2005): 3.

²⁵ Ibid: 10.

²⁶ Ibid: 10.

²⁷ Geoffrey Roberts. “History, Theory and the Narrative Turn in IR.” *Review of International Studies* Vol. 32, No. 4. (2006): 703.

²⁸ Ibid: 2.

²⁹ Ibid: 6.

³⁰ Alisdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981): 216.

³¹ Isabelle Hertner and Alister Miskimmon, “Germany’s Strategic Narrative of the Eurozone Crisis,” *German Politics and Society* 33, no. 1-2 (2015): 45.

³² Laura Roselle, Alister Miskimmon, and Ben O’Loughlin “Strategic Narrative: A New Means to Understand Soft Power,” *Media, War & Conflict* 7, no. 1 (2014): 75.

³³ Alister Miskimmon, Laura Roselle, Ben O’Loughlin, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order* (New York: Routledge, 2013): 32.

observe them at a contingent moment and space linked to a particular people.”³⁴ In other words, narratives and identities are not static and are bound to both timing and audience. Furthermore, as Trine Flockhart clarifies in her analysis of NATO narratives: “If a strong narrative cannot be established, or if competing and diverging narratives coexist, then the likely result is to undermine and weaken the identity of the agent and thereby undermine the ontological security.”³⁵ Narratives are therefore not an exact science; not only do overarching “meta-narratives” exist which affect every subsequent narrative,³⁶ it is also difficult to predict which narratives will become salient in society and which will be contested.³⁷

This is a key factor when looking at the volatile realm of international relations. Steele asserts in his analysis of ontological security: “Narrative is the locus from which we as scholars can begin to grasp how self-identity constrains and enables states to pursue certain actions over others.”³⁸ Narratives therefore aren’t just tools for creating identity, they are also useful for determining world order and for understanding why states sometimes act against behavioral norms. More specifically, states can use their narratives strategically to reach goals.³⁹ Some scholars, including Alister Miskimmon, Laura Roselle and Ben O’Loughlin, on the other hand, argue against viewing narrative as a *tool* used to create identity and claim instead that narrative is the identity itself; the many and complex narratives a state engages with represent not only who it is, but also where it belongs in the world.⁴⁰ Furthermore, states can try to manipulate narrative in order to adjust that place.

2.2 Narratives in the International System

The study of narratives also raises the question about their origins. Who creates a narrative? Who receives it? In the context of this research, the narrative creators that are important are actors within an international system. Some narratives are deeply embedded parts of state

³⁴ Klaus Eder, “Remembering National Memories Together: The Formation of a Transnational Identity in Europe,” in *Collective Memory and European Identity : The Effects of Integration and Enlargement*, ed. by Willfried Spohn. (New York: Routledge, 2005): 211.

³⁵ Trine Flockhart, “Towards a Strong NATO Narrative: From a ‘practice of Talking’ to a ‘practice of Doing,’” *International Politics* 49, no. 1 (2012): 81.

³⁶ Margaret Somers, “The Narrative Construction of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach,” *Theory and Society* 23 no. 5 (1994): 619.

³⁷ Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 102.

³⁸ Steele, *Ontological Security*: 10.

³⁹ Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*: 33.

identity, while others are newly-minted and meant to change something within the international system. Freedman reasons that a successful narrative “will link certain events while disentangling others, distinguish good news from bad tidings, and explain who is winning and who is losing.”⁴¹ In the post-Cold War era, narratives are more contested than ever⁴² and the capacity to create and attempt to project narratives is not just held by states.⁴³ This will be important to keep in mind when examining EU narratives.

Miskimmon et al. suggest that narratives go through three stages: formation, in which an actor crafts the language used; projection, in which specific channels are selected to make the greatest impact; and reception, when the audience receives and interprets the narrative.⁴⁴ The question then becomes, who is the audience and how can they be reached. In many cases, narrative influence is held in state-state interactions, as will be discussed in Section 2.2.1. However, this research will primarily focus on how states try to craft narratives to influence public opinion, specifically among foreign publics. This and the concept of Public Diplomacy will be discussed in Section 2.2.2.

2.2.1 *The Power of Narratives: State to State*

Miskimmon et al. claim that narratives exert influence over states using two types of power: behavioral power and constitutive power.⁴⁵ Behavioral power is perhaps the most common way to understand power; it entails one party (State A) persuading or coercing another party (State B) into doing something. This could be something State B does not want to do or simply something it would not otherwise do. This concept of power is attributed to Max Weber’s *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*.⁴⁶ In terms of narrative, this power can be exerted in several ways. A state can, for example, use a narrative to challenge the identity of another state and force it to comply.⁴⁷ This, Roselle claims, was the case with the intervention in Libya, when France and the UK challenged the US’s identity narrative, which is founded on peace and democracy.

⁴¹ Lawrence Freedman, “Networks, Culture and Narratives,” *The Adelphi Papers* 45, no. 379 (2006): 22.

⁴² See Alister Miskimmon et al *Strategic Narratives*, Chapter 4 “Contestation” for more on this issue.

⁴³ See Alister Miskimmon et al *Strategic Narratives*, Chapter 2 “Actors in Strategic Narratives” for more on this issue.

⁴⁴ Alister Miskimmon, Ben O’Loughlin, and Laura Roselle, *Forging the World: Strategic Narratives and International Relations* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017): 9.

⁴⁵ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 16.

⁴⁶ See chapter 1.16, *Macht und Herrschaft* by Max Weber

⁴⁷ This refers back to Mattern’s theory on representational force.

France and the UK's shared narratives with the US – based on alliance, responsibility to protect, and freedom – prompted the US to agree last-minute to UN Resolution 1973 to create a no-fly zone in Libya, thereby ensuring the US's own ontological security.⁴⁸ In other cases, the show of force is less subtle; Mattern points to the US post-9/11 War on Terror narrative as a show of representational force that was used to force all democratic nations to choose a side: democracy or terrorism.⁴⁹ It is clear from these instances and many others that strategically deployed narratives can exert behavioral power over states.

Though this type of interaction may traditionally fall under the “soft power”, Mattern rejects the notion that soft power is “soft” at all, arguing instead that soft power is sociolinguistic coercion.⁵⁰ She advocates for an understanding attraction through a sociolinguistic lens, in which attraction is established through communicative exchange.⁵¹ In this model, a state's communications strategy becomes the most important factor in creating attraction. She further addresses the tendency of states to construct ‘realities’ – which she also calls narratives – using communicative exchange and opines that challenging these realities with representational force can coerce compliance.⁵²

Peter Van Ham also acknowledges the importance of communicative exchange in his book, *Social Power in International Politics*. Unlike Mattern, however, Van Ham stresses discursive power in international politics and the importance of “impact of framing, norm advocacy, agenda-setting, the impact of media and communications.”⁵³ According to Van Ham, social power can allow states to set up an ethical framework that binds the entire international community.⁵⁴ This capacity to set standards can be far more valuable than traditional hard power resources, especially in the current political climate.⁵⁵ As many international relations theorists move away from traditional realist and neoliberal views of the world and toward

⁴⁸ For more detail on this case of narrative influence, see Laura Roselle's case study “Strategic Narratives and Alliances, The Cases of Intervention in Libya (2011) and Economic Sanctions Against Russia (2014).”

⁴⁹ Janice Bially Mattern, “Why ‘soft power’ isn't so soft: Representational force and the sociolinguistic construction of attraction in world politics.” *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2005): 604.

⁵⁰ Janice Bially Mattern, “Why ‘soft power’ isn't so soft”: 587.

⁵¹ Ibid: 598.

⁵² Ibid: 600.

⁵³ Peter Van Ham, *Social power in international politics* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2010): 8.

⁵⁴ Peter Van Ham, *Social power in international politics*: 7-9.

⁵⁵ Ibid: 9.

constructivism, norms become especially important. In the era of global governance, a state's power does not lie in its capacity to dominate through physical or economic force, but rather, as Craig Hayden puts it, in its "*right to dominate.*"^{56,57}

This "*right to dominate*" ties neatly into the second type of power derived from narratives: constitutive power.⁵⁸ In making this claim, Miskimmon et al align themselves here with poststructural international relations theory, arguing that there is power in both legitimization and marginalization.⁵⁹ They cite David Campbell's *Writing Security* and discuss the nature of constituting identities and boundaries, and how narrative can take part in constituting both.⁶⁰ It can work thus: if a powerful state manages to convince another state to commit to a cause, and it commits enough times, this cause can then become incorporated into the less powerful state's identity, prompting an identity, behavioral, and narrative change.^{61;62} In other words, actors can attempt to systematically create a narrative framework that legitimizes some actions and delegitimizes others.

2.2.2 Narratives and Public Diplomacy

Many narratives, however, are not meant to exert power over other states, rather to cultivate influence in the public. For this, a state can use public diplomacy (PD), which differentiates itself from "traditional diplomacy" in one key way: audience. Whereas traditional diplomacy is meant to reach influential actors, public diplomacy is meant as a tool to connect with a foreign public.⁶³ PD can be seen as a long-term strategic tool; building this rapport could lead to greater influence in the future. Amelia Arsenault and Geoffrey Cowan frame the goal thus: "By expanding the range of voices and opinions that flow across borders, governments may

⁵⁶ Craig Hayden, "Logics of Narrative and Networks in US Public Diplomacy: Communication Power and US Strategic Engagement," *The Journal of International Communication* 19, no. 2 (2013): 202.

⁵⁷ Emphasis taken from original text

⁵⁸ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 17.

⁵⁹ Ibid: 38.

⁶⁰ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 16.

⁶¹ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 16-18.

⁶² The most comprehensive overview of narrative as a constitutive force can be found in Charlotte Epstein's *The Power of Words in International Relations: Birth of an Anti-whaling Discourse*.

⁶³ Ibid: 7.

help contain negative opinion of state governments while retaining positive perceptions of the nation as a whole.”⁶⁴

This brings us to how narrative fits into the study of public diplomacy, moreover to the question of how states can use narratives strategically. In his book *The Future of Power*, Nye claims that narratives have become the currency of soft power,⁶⁵ and that a well-framed narrative can enhance soft power and a poorly-framed narrative can be “discounted as propaganda.”⁶⁶ Authors searching for policy solutions, such as Anne-Marie Slaughter, have similarly defended the utilization of narrative to build relationships or communicate more effectively.⁶⁷ Indeed, narrative is tied most often to the discussion of strategic communications. In his book *Public Diplomacy* Leonard makes this clear by linking the essential message of a state’s public diplomacy with its “national narrative.”⁶⁸ Strategic communications, in the form of campaigns, social media, press releases, or speeches, can therefore be used to disseminate the narrative to an audience.

Still, the question of how this audience can be reached effectively remains a debate in PD research. In his edited volume *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power and International Relations* Jan Melissen, expands on the idea of networked public diplomacy. He argues that it is essential for states to look at public diplomacy as “promoting and smoothing international relationships.”⁶⁹ When considering the projection of narratives, this makes perfect sense; in order to effectively project a narrative, an actor must first have a receptive audience. In her case studies analyzing the effectiveness of public diplomacy strategies on narrative dissemination, Robin Brown concludes that “the major impact of this strategic use of narrative has been through the political mobilization of pre-existing networks of sympathizers rather than through a simple acceptance of the narrative by broader publics.”⁷⁰ In other words, a state

⁶⁴ Amelia Arsenault and Geoffrey Cowan, “Moving from Monologue to Dialogue to Collaboration: The Three Layers of Public Diplomacy,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 no. 1(2008): 15.

⁶⁵ Joseph Nye, *The Future of Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011): 104.

⁶⁶ Ibid: 93-94.

⁶⁷ Anne-Marie Slaughter, “Preface,” in *A National Strategic Narrative*, ed. Wayne Porter and Mark Mykleby (Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2011).

⁶⁸ Leonard et al, *Public Diplomacy*: 17.

⁶⁹ Jan Melissen, *The new public diplomacy: Soft power in international relations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.) 21.

⁷⁰ Robin Brown, “Public Diplomacy, Networks, and the Limits of Strategic Narratives,” in *Forging the World*, ed. by Alister Miskimmon, Laura Roselle and Ben O’Loughlin (University of Michigan Press, 2017): 183.

wishing to interact with and influence foreign networks must first establish itself as part of the network. This can be through more listening, dialogue, collaboration, or strategic communication, all of which will lead to the construction of a shared narrative space.

2.3 Strategic Narratives

The first memorable use of the term “strategic narrative” was in the white paper “A National Strategic Narrative” released by the Wilson Center in 2011, which was written by “Mr. Y” and prefaced by Slaughter. In her preface, Slaughter defines strategic narrative as “...a story with a beginning, middle, and projected happy ending that will transcend our political divisions, orient us as a nation, and give us both a common direction and the confidence and commitment to get to our destination.”⁷¹ This rather optimistic outlook is countered by Lawrence Freedman: “[narratives] are strategic because they do not arise spontaneously but are deliberately constructed or reinforced out of the ideas and thoughts that are already current.”⁷² Krebs, meanwhile, turns this argument on its head, arguing against the notion that narratives are the product of policy, but rather that policy is written on the base of rationalizing narratives.⁷³ Though each of these authors use different tactics to describe them, they all reach the same conclusion: narratives can be used strategically in foreign policy.

In 2013, Miskimmon, O’Loughlin and Roselle published *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order* which offered the first comprehensive framework on the study of strategic narratives. In their book, Miskimmon et al. open by discussing Slaughter and Freedman’s takes on narrative and by offering a definition of their own:

Strategic narratives are a means for political actors to construct a shared meaning of the past, present and future of international politics to shape the behavior of domestic and international actors. Strategic narratives are a tool for political actors to extend their influence, manage expectations, and change the discursive environment in which they operate. They are narratives about both states and the system itself, both about who we are and what kind of order we want. The point of strategic narratives is to influence the behavior of others.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Anne Marie Slaughter, “Preface”: 2.

⁷² Laurence Freedman, “Networks, Culture and Narratives”: 22.

⁷³ Ronald Krebs, *Narrative and the Making of US National Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 16-18.

⁷⁴ Alister Miskimmon et al. *Strategic Narratives*. 2.

After defining the parameters of their understanding of strategic narrative, Miskimmon et al. identify three types of strategic narratives:⁷⁵

- 1) **Identity narratives** encompass an actor's values and beliefs along with a shared understanding of its "historical self" and "future self".^{76,77} The power of a national narrative, Berenskoetter observes, "lies in its function to provide a community with a basic discourse, or master narrative, which guides and legitimizes courses of action and provides ontological security."⁷⁸ Mattern concurs with this and adds, "a subject is only as secure as the sociolinguistic matrix that constructs her,"⁷⁹ meaning a state's personal sense of self derives from the network of narratives it has at its disposal. National narratives are therefore more than just stories, they are the skeleton on which national identity is built.
- 2) **Issue narratives** are related to policy decisions. Roselle argues that issue narratives "set governmental actions in context," in that they identify specific problems and force states to be transparent about the reasons behind their decision making.⁸⁰ Issue narratives can be domestic or foreign policy related and are often tied to questions of legitimacy, because they are meant to persuade a public that a specific course of action is right.
- 3) **International system narratives** detail how a state understands world order and its place in it. In the current state of affairs, Roselle points out, international system narratives are contested and often contradictory and compete for credibility and legitimacy, to varying degrees of success.⁸¹ Narratives of alliance and conflict shape the way the international system is structured by providing justification for international organizations and, in some cases, for war.

These types of narratives will be explored in further detail in Chapter Five.

The essential takeaway here is that narrative is not just a pop culture term, but that it is an essential concept in understanding the international system. Narratives are far more than innocuous stories told to win public opinion. They are comprised of communications tools –

⁷⁵ Laura Roselle et al., "Strategic Narrative...": 76.

⁷⁶ Ibid: 76.

⁷⁷ Felix Berenskoetter, "Parameters of a National Biography," *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 1 (2014): 270.

⁷⁸ Felix Berenskoetter, "Parameters": 279.

⁷⁹ Janice Bially Mattern "Why 'soft power' isn't so soft": 603.

⁸⁰ Laura Roselle et al., "Strategic Narrative...": 76.

⁸¹ Laura Roselle, "Strategic Narratives and Alliances: The Cases of Intervention in Libya (2011) and Economic Sanctions Against Russia (2014)." *Politics and Governance* 5, no. 3 (2017): 101.

framing, representational force, communicative discourse – along with power to modify behavior. Hayden sums it up thus: “[narratives] also invite a response or action of some sort – an ethical judgment. In this sense, narratives are *structures*. They do things to constrain action and thinking.”⁸² Indeed, by understanding what narratives are being called upon in a given situation, researchers can draw theoretical conclusions about state motivation.

⁸² Craig Hayden. “Logics of...”: 205.

Chapter Three: Narratives in the EU Context

Within the context of this thesis, I will analyze the formation and projection of strategic narratives within the EU. Before looking at the specific narrative I have selected, the issue narrative of the JCPOA, it is important to understand the context of these narratives. As Miskimmon et al demonstrate, narratives do not exist in a vacuum and are in fact supported by references to other narratives and “must be faithful to deeper identity narratives, which are fairly stable and only occasionally challenged.”⁸³ Along with identity narratives, the narratives established by France, Germany and the EU about the JCPOA must also remain faithful to international system narratives. Within the analyzed texts, these narratives are likely to be referenced, but not fleshed out. Jelena Subotić calls this referencing “activation” and argues that different elements of a state’s identity narrative can be “activated” to justify actions.⁸⁴

In this section, I will therefore give a brief overview of the most commonly-cited identity and international system narratives in France, Germany and the EU, with a particular emphasis on the narratives related to CFSP. Later, during my empirical analysis, I will identify which narrative elements have been “activated” to support the JCPOA narrative.

3.1 Narratives of the France

Most scholars agree that the modern biographical narrative of France has been largely influenced by the post-WWII leadership of Charles De Gaulle.⁸⁵ Indeed, Krüger and Stahl identify several “discursive formations” of French foreign policy rhetoric that speak directly to de Gaulle’s legacy: “the realist-autonomous formation (arguments: *indépendance*, *grandeur*, anti-EU, anti-US), the realist-European formation (*grandeur*, balancing with EU, projection of French influence) and the idealist discursive formation (human rights, values of the French revolution, projection of values)”⁸⁶ The overarching ‘meta-narrative’⁸⁷ that is prevalent in each of these “discursive formations” (or narratives), according to Krotz, Stahl, Balme, and Risse,

⁸³ Ronald Krebs, *Narratives*: 13.

⁸⁴ Jelena Subotić, “Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12, no. 4 (2015): 611-12.

⁸⁵ Pernielle Rieker, *French Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017): 15.

⁸⁶ Laura-Theresa Krüger and Bernhard Stahl, “The French Foreign Policy U-turn in the Arab Spring – The Case of Tunisia,” *Mediterranean Politics* 23, no. 2 (2016): 12.

⁸⁷ Margaret Somers, “The Narrative Construction...”: 619.

is the narrative of French Exceptionalism.⁸⁸ This notion is often coupled with the terms *grandeur*, *rang*, *gloire*⁸⁹ which collectively give an image of France's understanding of itself and its duty in the world.

There are three main concepts that are attributed to de Gaulle that play into the narrative of French Exceptionalism: independence, activism, and presence.⁹⁰ France's consistent insistence of remaining an independent foreign policy actor has played a role in creating the modern French national security narrative,⁹¹ which Krebs notes is primarily geared toward restoring French *grandeur* in post-War Europe.⁹² French Independence, especially in the context of de Gaulle, has also led to a French resistance to US interference in Europe which continues to be a regularly activated element of its identity narrative.⁹³ Balme also alludes to the connection between French independence and the nuclear question, which he contests has become a symbol of French power.⁹⁴

The second core component in the French foreign policy narrative is activism. De Gaulle was famously adamant that France take an active role in institutions, organizations, and negotiations in order to help shape the international political system. He once commented that he "was convinced of France's right and duty to act on a world scale."⁹⁵ This commitment to France's role in the international community is demonstrated by the importance given to its seat at the UN Security Council.⁹⁶ This position has afforded France the right to take part in some of the most important decisions in the world and, critically, do so as an individual. This, in turn, ties into the third element of France's understanding of its role in the world: presence. In short, France's self-concept is tied to the notion of itself as a great power.⁹⁷ Rieker notes

⁸⁸ A good description of 'French Exceptionalism' can be found in Chapter Two of Rieker's *French Foreign Policy*: "French Exceptionalism: Old Wine, New Bottle?"

⁸⁹ Ulrich Krotz, *History and Foreign Policy in France and Germany* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015): 69.

⁹⁰ Ulrich Krotz and James Sperling, "The European security order between American hegemony and French independence," *European Security* 20, no.3. (2011): 308.

⁹¹ *Ibid*: 316.

⁹² Ronald Krebs, *Narratives*: 6.

⁹³ Ulrich Krotz and James Sperling, "The European..." 306.

⁹⁴ Richard Balme, "Revisiting French Diplomacy in the age of globalization." *French politics* Vol. 8, No. 1. 92.

⁹⁵ Charles de Gualle as quoted by Ulrich Krotz and James Sperling. "The European security..." 309.

⁹⁶ Pernielle Rieker. *French Foreign Policy*. 23.

⁹⁷ Pernielle Rieker. *French Foreign Policy*. 1.

that, though its material power may have diminished, France's symbolic power⁹⁸ has allowed it to maintain its personal narrative as a great power through presence and activism. In short, France's identity narrative is linked to its ability to act independently, which informs France's understanding of the international system in which it is a global power.

One final narrative is important to mention: the French EU narrative. As one of the founding members, France has had a constituting role in creating the narrative around the EU. Much has been written about De Gaulle's efforts to maintain France's influence within the EU⁹⁹ by, for example, blocking the UK's membership.¹⁰⁰ With the Treaty of Maastricht, France's narrative on the EU changed to view the organization as a facilitating body. Stahl notes that the discourse around the Treaty of Maastricht was such that "the French ideals could only be secured and spread through and with the EU."^{101;102}

Rieker, on the other hand, claims that the narrative of France's dominance within the EU has "eroded," as, perhaps, has its demonstrable power.¹⁰³ In a 2015 report by the Assemblée Nationale, France reports its position within the EU as "weakening."¹⁰⁴ The report recommends: "To be influential in Europe, France needs to better understand how it works, and adopt 'European reflexes': anticipate, share information, make coalitions, avoid arrogance."^{105;106} This self-evaluation of France's role in the EU will be particularly important for this research, as it demonstrates France's feelings of insecurity within the EU system. At the same time, it shows France's shifting narrative on the EU as a whole. In short, France's

⁹⁸ Here Rieker applies Bourdieu's concept of "symbolic power." For more on this concept see Bourdieu's *Social Space and Symbolic Power*

⁹⁹ See, for example, Krotz. *History and Foreign Policy*. 66-73, OR Rieker, *French Foreign Policy*. 15-37.

¹⁰⁰ Pernielle Rieker. *French Foreign Policy*. 25.

¹⁰¹ Bernhard Stahl. "Frankreich: Das jähe Ende des neutralen Vermittlers" in *Vergleichende Außenpolitikforschung und nationale Identitäten. Die Europäische Union im Kosovo-Konflikt 1996-2008* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag, 2009): 168.

¹⁰² My translation. Original quote: "Die französischen Ideale seien nur durch und mit der EU zu sichern und zu verbreiten."

¹⁰³ Pernielle Rieker, *French Foreign Policy*: 25

¹⁰⁴ Assemblée Nationale, "Rapport d'information déposé par la commission des affaires européennes sur l'influence française au sein de l'Union européenne," in Rapport d'information 3468, Paris: Commission des Affaires Européennes, 2015. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Assemblée Nationale, "Rapport." 8.

¹⁰⁶ This translation was taken from Rieker. *French Foreign Policy*. 25. The original text reads: "Pour être influente en Europe, la France doit mieux comprendre le fonctionnement de celle-ci, et adopter des 'réflexes européens' : anticiper, partager l'information, faire des coalitions, éviter l'arrogance."

strong narratives of itself in the system may be difficult to combine with a shift towards a stronger EU.

3.2 Narratives of Germany

National identity in post-WWII Germany is a tenuous concept. The construction of a coherent national narrative in the wake of the Holocaust was a monumental task for the Federal Republic of Germany and it did so with a few core pillars in mind. The first is the “never again” narrative, which directly relates to what Krotz calls the “moral devastation” of Germany.¹⁰⁷ This is important because it informs subsequent elements of the German national biography: commitment to passivism;¹⁰⁸ unwillingness to act unilaterally in international relations, which Stahl dubs the “never alone” narrative;¹⁰⁹ reluctance to take on a leadership role;¹¹⁰ and, most importantly for this research, a deep and abiding commitment to multilateralism, most evident in its relationship with Europe.¹¹¹

One thing most scholars agree on when it comes to the construction of German identity in the postwar context is the essential function of membership to the “West.” Eager to prove itself, Germany pursued western – and European – integration with more vigor than many other countries. Paterson describes Germany in 1949 as the “posterboy of European integration,” noting that its inability to be an individual “actor” in the political sense drew it more strongly toward the multilateral or supranational.¹¹² Miskimmon expands further on this in his analysis of the German response to the Eurozone crisis: “Germany’s biographical narrative is based on the explicit link with western integration (*Westintegration*) and, in particular, with the EU project.”¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Ulrich Krotz. *History and Foreign Policy in France and Germany* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015): 42.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid: 131.

¹⁰⁹ Bernhard Stahl, Henning Boekle, Jörg Nadoll and Anna Jóhannesdóttir, “Understanding the Atlanticist–Europeanist Divide in the CFSP: Comparing Denmark, France, Germany and the Netherlands,” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9, no. 3 (2004): 432.

¹¹⁰ William Paterson, “The Reluctant Hegemon? Germany Moves to Centre Stage in the European Union,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49, no. s1 (2011): 72.

¹¹¹ Ibid: 57.

¹¹² Ibid: 58.

¹¹³ Hertner and Miskimmon, “Germany’s Strategic Narrative”: 47.

This need for integration and the immediate embrace of all things Europe is crucial to understanding Germany's identity and international system narratives. Indeed, where France had hundreds of years of history to build on to construct its national identity in the Fifth Republic, the all-encompassing shame of WWII made German political elites seek to start fresh. Marcussen et al go further, suggesting that Germany sought to "other" its past within its new identity: "In contrast to Gaullist France, German nation state identity now embraced the modern Western vision of Europe, with Europe's 'other' being both Germany's past and communism."¹¹⁴ These interpretations of postwar Germany all point to the same notion: whereas most EU member states needed to determine how to incorporate Europe into their national identity, Germany constructed its national identity with Europe as a primary axis. Indeed, Banchoff supports this claim further when he argues that the negative prewar and the positive postwar narratives of Germany "buttress" its commitment to Europe.¹¹⁵ The narrative arc of Germany is therefore tied inexorably to the narrative arc of Europe.

However, despite this deeply European national identity, CFSP remains a complex and contentious issue. Despite Miskimmon's assertion that "German foreign and security policy has been Europeanized since its very inception,"¹¹⁶ the practicalities of foreign policy have remained difficult. Krotz, Paterson, and Miskimmon have argued that the CFSP challenges represent the broader shift in Germany's identity narrative. Until the 2000s, Germany's instinct to seek refuge in the European project made the answer to this question clear. However, the introduction of the Euro and its subsequent crisis, Germany's stance on military intervention, and the refugee crisis have increasingly thrown Germany, perhaps unwillingly, into a leadership role.¹¹⁷ Krotz sees the German response to this as a clear shift in Germany's biographical narrative: "Germans are slowly and carefully beginning to construct the twelve years of National Socialism as being less central or dominant in their overall view of their history."¹¹⁸ This, Krotz argues, is evidenced in the rhetoric of the recent governments in

¹¹⁴ Martin Marcussen, Thomas Risse, Daniela Engelmann-Martin, Hans Joachim Knopf and Klaus Roscher, "Constructing Europe? The Evolution of French, British and German Nation State Identities," *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 4 (1999): 624.

¹¹⁵ Thomas Banchoff, "German Identity and European Integration," *European Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 3 (1999): 271-272.

¹¹⁶ Alister Miskimmon, *Germany and the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007): 187.

¹¹⁷ For a detailed analysis of this transition, see Paterson's "A Reluctant Hegemon?"

¹¹⁸ Ulrich Krotz, *History and Foreign Policy*: 133.

response to crises. Miskimmon takes this up in his analysis of the German narratives of the Eurozone crisis in which he notes that this and other challenges have “impacted Germany’s relationship with the EU, leading to greater German efforts to shape the EU to German preferences.”¹¹⁹ Despite this shift, the narrative of Germany as a “reluctant” or “benign” hegemon remains common.¹²⁰

Another narrative often found in academic research is the transatlantic or NATO narrative.¹²¹ This ties into the *Westintegration* concept, but instead of the focus on Europe, the transatlantic narrative puts the US at the center of Germany’s reintegration efforts, especially in the case of security concerns. This goes against the Gaullist resistance to US interference¹²² and provides ample ground for tension within Germany’s narrative structure; if Germany’s view of the international system remains one with the US as the center of power, its subsequent narratives will have a decided US bias. Moreover, as the EU becomes more of a foreign policy power in its own right, Germany’s transatlantic focus no longer fits. Indeed, this tension has been cited as a factor for the struggle to create CFSP in Europe.¹²³

3.3 Narratives of EU

As a unique international body, the EU finds itself in a rather strange position when it comes to narratives. On the one hand, as an international actor the EU seeks to develop an independent narrative, one that reflects its identity and defines its goals in the international system. However, equally important is defining what Miskimmon et al call “collective narrative.”¹²⁴ Collective narratives exert a constitutive power within the EU, as they can define the parameters of individual state action.¹²⁵ Tension can exist between these narratives, however, as Eder notes in “Collective Memory and European Identity”: “Even being a European citizen,

¹¹⁹ Isabelle Hertner and Alister Miskimmon, “Germany’s Strategic Narrative”: 48.

¹²⁰ See, for example, William Paterson “The Reluctant Hegemon?” OR Zanny Minton Beddoes, “Special Report: Europe’s Reluctant Hegemon.” *The Economist*, June 15, 2013, accessed May 15, 2018, https://www.economist.com/sites/default/files/20130615_germany.pdf

¹²¹ Thomas Banchoff, “German Identity...”: 269.

¹²² The Franco-American foreign policy relationship is explored in detail in Krotz and Sperling, “The European Security Order...”

¹²³ Alister Miskimmon. *Germany*. 149-151.

¹²⁴ Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 34.

¹²⁵ Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 34.

Europeans still live in the narrative world of the nation, as this is the world they internalized as the world of their collective belonging.”¹²⁶

Cristian Nițoiu has given the most expansive overview of the EU’s “self-representation” in the international community.¹²⁷ She posits that the EEAS has cultivated five distinct roles for the EU: the EU as a “promoter of peace”; the EU as a provider of security; the EU as interested in the well-being of the world; the EU as a democratizing force and the EU as a good neighbor.¹²⁸ Within the context of this research, a few of these stand out as particularly relevant.

The narrative of the EU as a “promoter of peace” is a common thread in the literature. Ian Manners similarly claimed that the core of the EU’s international identity rests on its ability to act as a normative power, where a commitment fundamental principles – peace, democracy, human rights, solidarity, sustainable development – define its role in the international system.¹²⁹ This self-concept was defined in the post-Cold War era and, though it has now been embraced by the EEAS, was largely a question of convenience and capacity; the EU had to legitimize itself within the international community using what resources it had available. The EU’s role as a normative – or ideological¹³⁰ – power also implies much about its capacity to set international standards using soft or social power, rather than hard power resources.

Along with a “promoter of peace”, the EU defines itself as a democratizing force and a good neighbor. These narratives of concern for global well-being, Nițoiu claims, are constructed “in relation to and in opposition of the US.”¹³¹ This is particularly the case in development and climate related issues.¹³² Indeed, providing a counterweight to the US has become a key feature in many of the EU’s international policies. Manners refers to this as the “gender myth” of EU external relations,¹³³ where the US represents the masculine, hard power and the EU relies on

¹²⁶ Klaus Eder, “Remembering National Memories”: 210.

¹²⁷ Cristian Nițoiu, “The Narrative Construction of the European Union in External Relations,” *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 14, no. 2 (2013): 241.

¹²⁸ Ibid: 246-247.

¹²⁹ Ian Manners, “Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction of Terms?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, no 2 (2002): 242-243.

¹³⁰ Ian Manners, “Normative Power Europe”: 239.

¹³¹ Cristian Nitoiu. “The Narrative Construction.” 251.

¹³² Ibid: 252.

¹³³ Ian Manners, “Global Europa: Mythology of the European Union in World Politics,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48, no. 1 (2010): 77.

the feminine powers of “accession, trade and aid.”¹³⁴ Manners himself admits that the binary gender myth represents a “gross simplification” of the both actors’ external roles, but nonetheless this illustrates the tendency in literature,¹³⁵ and perhaps in policy,¹³⁶ for the EU to characterize its external relations to complement, or supplement, the US.

One final narrative is important for this research: the EU as a player in a multipolar world. In this narrative, the EU does not seek supremacy, but rather seeks to be one of the major players in a world full of major players. Manners suggests that this narrative rests on a commitment to the notion that “multilateralism is built into the EU’s DNA as it is itself a multilateral forum, albeit a rather complicated one.”¹³⁷ This embedded multilateralism, according to the EEAS, “gives us a unique advantage to steer the way in a more complex, but more contested world.”¹³⁸ The EU’s self-concept here, it seems, is a symbol of multilateralism in a multipolar world. This also ties into Nicolaïdis and Howse’s argument that the EU’s narrative projection is based on “EUtopia”¹³⁹; the EU seeks to replicate its model of regional integration around the world and in doing so styles itself as a symbol of cooperation.¹⁴⁰

However, because of its structure, contestation of EU narratives often starts from within. As Miskimmon notes, “Inevitably, the EU’s attempts to narrate its identity (...) come up against entrenched narratives, emanating primarily from the EU’s member states.”¹⁴¹ This contestation can manifest in crisis and can reveal internal division. The narrative of the un-united EU, indeed, is one narrative that all three of these actors have an interest in countering, yet to do so France and Germany in particular may have to surrender a measure of narrative sovereignty.

¹³⁴ Ibid: 78.

¹³⁵ See, for example, Nitoiu, “Narrative Construction”: 251-252.

¹³⁶ For example, on page 77 of “Global Europa”, Manners quotes former EU High Representative Javier Solana: “Europeans and Americans it seems no longer inhabit separate continents, but separate planets – divided by a fundamentally different world outlook. I am from Venus, which, according to its detractors, is faint-hearted, soft-headed and militarily and politically weak. You are from Mars, which I am told is powerful, virile, dynamic: a land of moral clarity and resolute action.”

¹³⁷ Ian Manners, “Global Europa”: 81.

¹³⁸ European Union External Action Service, “Strategic Review: The European Union in a Changing Global Environment,” *EEAS Website*, June 25, 2015. 1.

¹³⁹ Kalypso Nicolaïdis and Robert Howse, “‘This is my EUtopia’: ...Narrative as Power,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, no. 4 (2002): 768.

¹⁴⁰ Nicolaïdis and Howse, “This is my EUtopia”: 768.

¹⁴¹ Miskimmon et al., *Forging the World*: 88.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework

The most exhaustive look at the methodological side of narratives in international relations comes from O’Loughlin et al. in *Forging the World*. The authors detail the “Spectrum of Persuasion,”¹⁴² which is meant to categorize scholarly approaches in international relations. Along their spectrum are the four discourse models identified by Steele: rationalist, communicative action, reflexive, and poststructural.¹⁴³ These four models are then applied to narrative analysis:

- In a **rationalist approach**, scholars are interested in how interactions lead to actions and produce “observable outcomes.”¹⁴⁴ Power and rhetoric are key elements to a rationalist analysis, as is the ability to establish causality.¹⁴⁵ Krebs and Jackson use a rationalist model in their theory of rhetorical coercion.¹⁴⁶ This theory assumes that there is anarchy within a given international system, however concedes that rhetorical coercion is most likely to produce results on the regional scale, where anarchy is more mitigated.¹⁴⁷
- The **communicative action** approach is linked to Jürgen Habermas.^{148;149} Scholars assume that actors have a goal in mind and that they try to persuade other actors to come to consensus to reach that goal. Identities remain given in this type of analysis, however there is an assumption that actors “set aside any single interest they had beforehand and open themselves up for persuasion by good arguments.”¹⁵⁰ The emphasis is not on the power dynamic, as in the rationalist approach, but on the negotiation of a mutual position.
- Using **reflexive approach**, according to O’Loughlin, assumes that actors are in a constant state of measuring reputation against identity and any discrepancies can lead to anxiety.¹⁵¹ In “Using Force to Save Face,” Ben Mor applies a reflexive approach to the 2006 Israeli-Lebanon War. He argues that aggressive foreign policy is often an

¹⁴² Ben O’Loughlin et al., “Methods Alive!” in *Forging the World: Strategic Narratives in International Relations* ed. by Alister Miskimmon, Ben O’Loughlin and Laura Roselle (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017): 43.

¹⁴³ Brent Steele, *Defacing Power: The Aesthetics of Insecurity in Global Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010): 81.

¹⁴⁴ O’Loughlin et al., “Methods Alive!”: 27.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid: 43.

¹⁴⁶ Krebs and Jackson, “Twisted Tongues”: 42.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid: 56.

¹⁴⁸ O’Loughlin et al., “Methods Alive!”: 30.

¹⁴⁹ The concept of communicative action in international relations was introduced by Jürgen Habermas in his book, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*.

¹⁵⁰ O’Loughlin et al., “Methods Alive!”: 30

¹⁵¹ O’Loughlin et al., “Methods Alive!”: 33.

exercise to “redeem humiliation and restore self-esteem” rather than a result of strategic consideration.¹⁵²

- A **poststructural approach** assumes an existing discourse that structures the international system. The concern with poststructural analysis lies not in the interaction between states within a given frame, but rather how those discursive frames are established by actors.¹⁵³ In her seminal work, “The Power of Words in International Relations,” Charlotte Epstein demonstrates the importance of “identifying where meaning is produced”¹⁵⁴ in international relations in order to understand power dynamics in the system.

Each of these approaches can be applied during strategic narrative analysis to garner different perspectives on a situation. In the next section, I will explain why the reflexive approach fits best with this research, but first I will rule out the other three. To begin, I am not examining a conflict, nor do I expect any influence I find to be overt, which rules out a rationalist approach. Furthermore, I will not examine the dialogue between the EU and the member states, meaning a communicative action approach makes little sense. Finally, because this case study is small and deals only with one policy narrative and three actors, a poststructuralist approach would be impossible.

4.1 The Reflexive Approach

For the purposes of this research, the reflexive approach is most appropriate. This research seeks to demonstrate that, despite commitment to CFSP, EU member states have the ability to adjust and change EU strategic narratives when projecting them abroad. This is possible because of a power imbalance; EU member states have a more established and well-known diplomatic network that have greater public diplomacy capacity. Because of this, if a strategic narrative is formed by the EU, it may be projected differently. A reflexive approach, which demands a power imbalance, a consideration for biographical narratives, and an insecure “self,” can allow me to identify how perceived threats to ontological security explain these narrative changes.

¹⁵²Ben Mor, “Using Force to Save Face: The Performative Side of War: Using Force to Save Face,” *Peace & Change* 37, no. 1 (2012): 96.

¹⁵³ Alister Miskimmon, “Strategic Narratives”: 16.

¹⁵⁴ Epstein, Charlotte, *The Power of Words in International Relations: Birth of an Anti-Whaling Discourse*, 1st ed. Vol. 1, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008): 5.

The first consideration for a reflexive approach is an actor's biographical narrative.¹⁵⁵ Wodak and Mattern argue that biographical narrative is constructed through discourse¹⁵⁶ and, logically, that biographical narratives can be identified through discourse analysis. Berenskoetter notes that scholars can use the concept of biographical narrative to examine how actors react to threats to their ontological security. The concept, he notes, "directs our attention to how orientation and a stable sense of being-in-the-world is lost, whether through the inability to integrate significant experiences into a coherent story, or a profound mismatch between a biographical narrative and action."¹⁵⁷ In other words, discrepancies between biographical narrative and state behavior are not only glaring, they can also have an unbalancing affect.

Steele, however, takes this line of argument further, claiming that states exist in a state of "reflexive monitoring" in which they measure narrative against reality.¹⁵⁸ He asserts that "biographical narrative represents the best approximation of what a state's actions mean to its sense of national 'Self,' and it is integral to the securing of self-identity through time."¹⁵⁹ The biographical narrative is crafted by "state agents"¹⁶⁰ that, over time, develop a body of discourse and a rhythmic pattern to speech that adhere to the unfolding narrative.

Within this case study, the biographical narrative is a particularly interesting concept. While one could argue that Germany and France have strong, or at least deeply-embedded, biographical narratives, the idea of an EU collective identity can be best described as controversial. This lack of a strong biographical narrative puts the EU in a disadvantageous position in this case study, one that force it to consider its own ontological security more closely.

The second element necessary for a reflexive approach is a power imbalance. This distinguishes the reflexive approach from the rationalist approach. In a rationalist approach, one would also assume a power imbalance, but that the influence would therefore be top-down. In other words, a more powerful state A would use narratives to "trap" a less powerful state

¹⁵⁵ Felix Berenskoetter, "Parameters of a National Biography": 270.

¹⁵⁶ Janice Bially Mattern, "Why Soft Power isn't so Soft...", Ruth Wodak, *The Discursive Construction...*

¹⁵⁷ Felix Berenskoetter, "Parameters of National Biography": 280.

¹⁵⁸ Brent Steele, *Defacing Power*: 76.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*: 76.

¹⁶⁰ Brent Steele, *Defacing Power*: 77.

B.¹⁶¹ However, a reflexive approach implies that a *less powerful* state A can use strategic narratives to influence a *more powerful* state B. Mattern also explored this possibility in her work on “representational force,” but, Steele notes, reflexive discourse focuses “almost exclusively on the subject’s aesthetic insecurity as a basis for action.”¹⁶² States’ inner anxieties cause change, not the external force.

The notion of a power imbalance is also pertinent to this research, because one could easily argue that each side is more powerful than the other. On the one hand, the EU is meant to act as a supranational legislative body that has the capacity to make decisions for the 27-state collective. The nature of EU integration necessitates abdication of some authority, which will naturally prompt insecurity for member states. In this way, the EU can be understood as the more powerful entity, and a reflexive approach would assume that the less powerful entities try to manipulate this state of affairs. As Bomberg and Pearson note: “European integration shapes domestic policies, politics and polities, but Member States also project themselves by seeking to shape the trajectory of European integration in ways that suit national interests.”¹⁶³ I argue that in foreign policy, which has traditionally been the last stronghold of member state power in the EU, members will be more likely to attempt to establish “bottom-up” power. Therefore, the power imbalance may prompt insecurity in the foreign policy wings of the French and German government, which in turn could lead to attempts at manipulation.

However, in the context of this research, one could equally argue that the more powerful actors are France and Germany and the less powerful is the EEAS. The history, power, and infrastructure of the German and French diplomatic operations in Washington is immense. The EEAS is still a relatively new entity and, although there is an EU mission in Washington, the German and French missions have much greater clout among Washington’s elites. This is illustrated by the fact that, although several mentions were made in the press of the “European”

¹⁶¹ An instance of this would be George W. Bush’s “War on Terror Speech,” in which he famously declared, “Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.” Bush, George W. “State of the Union Address: September 21, 2001.” *The Guardian Online*. September 21, 2001. Accessed May 07, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/21/september11.usa13>

¹⁶² Brent Steele, *Defacing Power*: 83.

¹⁶³ Elizabeth Bomberg and John Peterson, “Policy Transfer and Europeanization: Passing the Heineken Test?” *Queen’s Papers on Europeanization* No 2. (2000): 7.

diplomats pressuring Congress on the Iran Deal, all of the diplomats mentioned were either German, French or British.¹⁶⁴

The final component of reflexive discourse is the notion of state insecurity and the sense of “self.” The reflexive approach to “self” aligns with the poststructuralist approach in its departure from the constructivist view on identity. Poststructuralists in particular take aim at the notion that the identity is in any way fixed, and argue that this one-to-one transfer of the sociological concept of “self” to international relations can be dangerous.¹⁶⁵ Epstein contends, “conventional constructivism tends to approach identity change on one modality alone, that of change, rather than loss,”¹⁶⁶ and that this approach is fundamentally unable to capture the “openness, ambivalences, and indeed losses that inhere in the dynamics of identity formation and change.”¹⁶⁷

In the context of reflexive discourse, this lack of fixed identity implies insecurity. Steele notes that contradictions and discrepancies naturally exist between a state’s rhetoric and its actions, but it is only when this is called to light that states react, either by changing their narrative or by changing their actions.¹⁶⁸ States can therefore use reflexive discourse strategically to “call out”¹⁶⁹ this discrepancy in order to impose insecurity. Steele argues that states often have an inherent source of “shame”¹⁷⁰ that can be played upon when utilizing reflexive discourse. This is, however, far from an exact science; indeed, predicting how states will react to these sources of shame or to perceived inconsistencies is dependent on context, empowered actors, and the flexibility of its identity.¹⁷¹

This focus on “self” and insecurity will be especially relevant when I examine how France and Germany project the EU narrative. France in particular is described as having a strong

¹⁶⁴ See, for example, Crowley, Michael, “Old Europe Pushes Iran Deal on Capitol Hill,” *Politico*, July 28, 2015. Accessed May 07, 2018.

¹⁶⁵ Charlotte Epstein, “Stop Telling Us how to Behave: Socialization Or Infantilization?” *International Studies Perspectives* 13, no. 2 (2012): 136-137.

¹⁶⁶ Charlotte Epstein, “Stop Telling Us How to Behave...”: 142.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid: 142.

¹⁶⁸ Brent Steele, *Defacing Power*. 86-87.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid: 85.

¹⁷⁰ Steele singles out Germany’s shame over the Holocaust and the British shame over its appeasement policy to illustrate this point.

¹⁷¹ Brent Steele, *Defacing Power*: 100.

biographical narrative and sense of “self.”¹⁷² Yet, as with any state, there are inconsistencies between narrative and action. In fact, one could argue that the abdication of power to the EEAS represents one of these inconsistencies, because France is at once committed to a strong national foreign policy and also to a common European foreign policy. If, for example, the EEAS chooses to form a strong, EU-centered narrative of the JCPOA and dismisses the French contribution, this could prompt a reaction, because it will reveal this inconsistency.

¹⁷² Martin Marcussen, “Constructing Europe?”: 619-620.

Chapter Five: Analytical Framework

Scholars applying a reflexive lens have had some success in strategic narrative research thus far. Subotić, for example, applied a reflexive lens and proposed looking at when narrative elements are “activated” during projection to draw conclusions about state behavior.¹⁷³ Similarly, Arsenault et al. take a reflexive approach and recommend that scholars look at components that make narratives strategic, including sponsoring agents, legitimizing agents, narrative structures, promotion, and suggested outcomes.¹⁷⁴ Finally, Szostek’s points out that the same narrative can be analyzed with success at many ends of the ‘spectrum of persuasion’.¹⁷⁵ These studies use differing methodological tools, including CDA, thematic analysis, and performative analysis, but apply a reflexive lens.

What is necessary in all these cases, however, is a strong analytical framework that can demonstrate how states behave reflexively. For this research, my analytical framework will draw from Miskimmon, Roselle, and O’Loughlin’s original three-layered understanding of strategic narratives.¹⁷⁶ The three analytical concepts that will guide my research are: international system narratives, identity narratives, and issue narratives.

5.1 Prior Assumptions

Before delving into the three analytical concepts that will buttress my empirical research, however, I will address a few assumptions that must be taken into account. These assumptions are based on the prior research on narratives, my decision to select a reflexive approach, and my understanding, based on research, of the EEAS.

First, given that strategic narratives do not generate spontaneously, it must be assumed that they are supported by other issue, identity, and international system narratives. Which narratives are selected to support a given strategic narrative can reveal much about the context in which the actor is projecting this strategic narrative. However, Roselle makes clear that they

¹⁷³ Jelena Subotić, “Narrative”: 611-612.

¹⁷⁴ Arsenault, Amelia, Sun ha Hong, and Monroe E Price, “Strategic Narratives of the Arab Spring and After,” in *Forging the World: Strategic Narratives and International Relations* ed. Alister Miskimmon, Laura Roselle, Ben O’Loughlin (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018): 191.

¹⁷⁵ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 7.

“are not arguing that all narratives in the international system are strategically deployed by actors.”¹⁷⁷ It is therefore necessary to determine the sum total of narratives that are active within a given text before drawing conclusions about motivation, context, or ontological insecurity. This will help determine which narratives are being used strategically and who they are meant to influence.

I also assume, based on Steele’s theory of reflexivity, that states have a sense of “self” and that they are vulnerable to ontologically insecurity.¹⁷⁸ This will guide my selection of empirical questions I use to analyze the text. For example, when filtering out a state’s identity narrative, I will concentrate on the relationship between its “historical self” and “future self” and ask whether the statements can be perceived as reactionary.

Finally, I will conduct this research under the assumption that the EEAS is meant to forge a CFSP in the EU; that the member states fully support this goal; and that the Treaty of Lisbon codified that goal. According to Article V of the Treaty of Lisbon:

European CFSP, shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.¹⁷⁹

In short, I approach with the assumption that the EU and its member states are attempting to integrate foreign policy. This means any strategic narratives formed by the EEAS should be projected by member states with few changes. I will therefore draw on statements made by High Representative Mogherini to demonstrate the formation of the EU strategic narrative on the JCPOA, but look at member states to determine the projection, as any foreign policy goals stated by the EU should have support from the member states. This assumption represents the ideal, however I will hypothesize whether or not this ideal is likely later in this chapter.

¹⁷⁷ Laura Roselle et al., “Strategic Narrative...”: 77.

¹⁷⁸ Brent Steele, *Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State* (London: Routledge, 2008): 2-3.

¹⁷⁹ The European Union, *Treaty of Lisbon*, Title 5, Chapter 1, Article 21, (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2009).

5.2 International System Narratives

International system narratives are meant to explain how a state views the world and its own place in the system. Narratives of alliance, conflict, and the structure of the system are examples of these. In identifying the international system narratives, I must therefore begin by looking at how an actor positions itself in relation to the world. This can also be viewed as the “setting”. American leaders, for example, use the phrase ‘American leadership’¹⁸⁰ to ascertain its position as the preeminent power. In different situations, however, American politicians may emphasize the necessity for alliances to demonstrate US commitment to the liberal world order. Combined, this creates an international system narrative of the US as at once part of, and leader of, the international community. However, the international system can also include deeply embedded narratives, “the East vs the West” or “the War on Terror”, for example.¹⁸¹ Roselle et al. argue that these overarching narratives rarely apply to the entire system, especially in the Post-Cold War era.¹⁸² Nonetheless, narratives provide the overall frame in which the action takes place.

International system narratives are also useful, however, to pinpoint which players an actor considers powerful and which players drive positive and negative change. This is particularly interesting in the context of the JCPOA, as there are three competing “systems” at work. The negotiators in the deal – Russia, the US, China, France, the UK, Germany, and the EU – can be understood in two frames: the P5+1 (the UNSC Permanent Five plus Germany) or the EU3+3 (the EU and its three members, plus China, Russia, and the US). In one frame, cooperation begins at the UN and can be understood as top-down. In the other, regional cooperatives, such as the EU, take precedence. These two worldviews are also competing with the concept of individual action; some states could choose to emphasize the individual, rational decision of a state to cooperate, rather than a system-driven cooperation. Determining who France and Germany view as the powerful players in the system will reveal how they conceptualize the EU’s role. What can then be inferred is the relative commitment to EU CFSP.

¹⁸⁰ See, for example, Barack Obama’s foreign policy speech in 2008
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jul/16/uselections2008.barackobama>

¹⁸¹ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narrative*: 61-63.

¹⁸² Laura Roselle, “Strategic Narratives and Alliances”: 101.

5.3 Identity Narratives

Narrowing the lens of analysis, the identity narratives are the natural next stage. Identity narratives are the most important for a reflexive analysis.¹⁸³ Steele asserts that “the ‘Self’ of states is constituted and maintained through a narrative which gives life to routinized foreign policy actions.”¹⁸⁴ From this definition, we can assume that the identity narrative is a constant part of any rhetorical action and is used to reinforce policy decisions, but also that these policy decisions reinforce identity narratives. A state’s identity narrative, however, is complex and multidimensional. Different elements will naturally fit better in different situations and a state can choose to select elements of an identity narrative to support specific actions.

Two elements are important when identifying identity narratives: values and ideals, and statements about the “self.”^{185, 186} Again, the frame of a traditional narrative is used in the analysis. The protagonist of an identity narrative is always the actor itself, and the analysis must begin by identifying what elements of the “self” are emphasized. Berenskoetter singles out the “historic” and “future” selves as particularly important.¹⁸⁷ He argues that the national biography is an amalgamation of the “experienced past” and the “envisioned future” and that the space between these is where contestation can occur.¹⁸⁸ In the context of the JCPOA, France’s historic commitment to nuclear energy could play a role in its narrative formation. Its “experienced past” with peaceful nuclear energy is positive. Similarly, Germany’s commitment to future denuclearization could feature in its narrative. Germany’s ideal “envisioned future” is the phasing out of nuclear energy. Extracting these instances will be helpful in revealing differences in approach.

Elements of nationalism are also important in this level of analysis. For the sake of narrative, these actors may argue that they are in a unique position to understand the complexities of the negotiations, whether because of long-lasting diplomatic relations with Iran, as in the case of Germany, or because of a permanent seat on the UNSC, as in the case of France. Furthermore,

¹⁸³ Brent Steele, *Defacing Power*. 76.

¹⁸⁴ Brent Steele, *Ontological Security*: 3.

¹⁸⁵ Alister Miskimmon et al. *Strategic Narratives*: 33.

¹⁸⁶ Felix Berenskoetter, “Parameters of a National Biography”: 277.

¹⁸⁷ Felix Berenskoetter, “Parameters of a National Biography”: 270-273.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*: 277-278.

the actors may elevate their own contributions at the expense of others. This can be problematic if that entails devaluing the contribution of the EU. As mentioned above, the assumption here is that Germany and France are committed to a CFSP. This puts the “state agents”¹⁸⁹ in a difficult spot, France and Germany may seek to avoid accusations of inconsistency by committing to one path: the EU or the nation.

Finnemore argues that powerful states are inherently hypocritical, but it is only when hypocrisy is confronted that a state is forced to react. She notes, “Hypocrisy leads others to question the authenticity of an actor’s moral commitments but also its moral constitution and character.”¹⁹⁰ According to Steele, moments of hypocrisy can be used by other actors to drive a state to action in order to secure its sense of “self.”¹⁹¹ However, in the context of this research, France and Germany may feel forced to choose between “selves”: the national “self” and the European “self.” My research seeks to demonstrate that this commitment to national and EU identity narratives can cause tension, and perhaps provoke ontological insecurity. Unlike Steele, however, I argue that this sense of insecurity is not a deliberate result of EU provocation, rather the result of internal conflict arising from these dual commitments.

5.4 Issue Narratives

The final stage of analysis will isolate the concise issue narrative each actor is projecting about the Iran Nuclear Deal. Issue narratives are related to policy decisions. Roselle argues that issue narratives “set governmental actions in context” in that they identify specific problems and force states to explain the reasons behind their decision making.¹⁹² Actors will utilize identity and international system narratives to reinforce their issue narratives.

In extracting an issue narrative from a body of text, there is an even greater focus on narrative structure, because the issue narrative will be the thesis of the text and will therefore be more clearly developed. The international system and identity narratives will not be fully fledged stories, because they are meant to support the central story of how the JCPOA came to be and what it means for the future.

¹⁸⁹ Brent Steele, *Defacing Power*: 77.

¹⁹⁰ Martha Finnemore. “Legitimacy, hypocrisy...”74.

¹⁹¹ Brent Steele, *Ontological Security*: 170.

¹⁹² Laura Roselle et al., “Strategic Narrative...”: 76.

It will be useful, then, to begin with the “characters,” with a particular focus on who has agency.¹⁹³ The characters in an issue narrative are confined to a tight time frame and the context of the negotiations, whereas in the international system narrative, the actor tries to place itself and others within its concept of the system as a whole.¹⁹⁴ For example, an actor could characterize Iran as a historic aggressor that took part in negotiations under coercion and must henceforth be closely monitored. Here, Iran’s “role” in the issue narrative is that of an element that must be contained. In an international system narrative, however, an actor could draw upon a broader narrative of “the west” “democratizing” rogue states, which would place Iran’s actions in the context of the system.¹⁹⁵

The time frame and context are also important for understanding the “setting.”¹⁹⁶ This does include the system, but also forces questions about the conditions under which the negotiations took place. This will help define what drives the negotiations. Is this a story of conflict or consensus? Are states acting or reacting to external change? Answering these questions will reveal what the actor suggests as the best resolution, or ideal outcome.

Coupled with the ideal outcome will also be the “tone” of the story. Differences in tone are significant because they have ramifications on all levels of narrative. In this case, I define tone as “optimistic”, “pessimistic”, or “neutral” about the possible outcome of the negotiations. If Germany, for example, consistently frames the JCPOA as a way to avoid catastrophe (pessimistic), while the original EU message was one of hope (optimistic), this represents a fundamental departure from the EU narrative. Furthermore, it shows a different understanding of the system; a message of hope assumes that the system is inherently cooperative, whereas “avoiding catastrophe” seems to suggest a system of coercion.

5.5 Summary of the Analytical Framework

¹⁹³ Ibid: 75.

¹⁹⁴ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Forging the World*: 8.

¹⁹⁵ In *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order*, Miskimmon et al. identify different types of actors that can be present in an international system narrative. A “Rogue State”. They argue on page 40, “In terms of narrativity, the very concept of a weak/rogue state suggests we’re at a Time A when it’s rogue and we need to get to a Time B when it’s not rogue.”

¹⁹⁶ Alister Miskimmon et al. *Strategic Narratives*: 6-7.

These three analytical concepts will be enormously important for answering my research question. In short, the above descriptions allowed me to establish a series of questions that guide my empirical analysis. Using these questions, I will be able to extract which international system and identity narratives are being used to support the EEAS, German, and French narrative of the JCPOA. A summary of my analytical framework can be found on Table 5.5.

Analytical Concept	Question
International System	<i>How do these actors position themselves in relation to the rest of the world?</i>
International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order? The EU? The UN? Individual states?</i>
International System	<i>What is the ideal for the system?</i>
International System	<i>Does the actor identify the negotiators as P5+1 or EU3+3?</i>
International System	<i>How does this actor describe the system?</i>
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions?</i>
Identity	<i>How is this actor in a unique position to understand the JCPOA? Do they identify a historical link?</i>
Identity	<i>What values and ideals are promoted by these actors?</i>
Identity	<i>What is the relationship between the “historic self” and “future self” in this narrative?</i>
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>
Issue	<i>Who has the power in the JCPOA?</i>
Issue	<i>Is the actor implicating other actors within these negotiations?</i>
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>
Issue	<i>Does the speaker have an optimistic, pessimistic, or neutral take on the deal?</i>
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>
Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>

Table 5.5: Analytical Framework

5.6 Hypotheses

5.6.1 The EU’s Strategic Narratives

I will begin this research by studying the formation of the EU narrative on the JCPOA. Miskimmon, Roselle and O’Loughlin argue that studying the formation of the narrative can

help identify the “strategic goals” of an actor.¹⁹⁷ Examples of types of strategic goals can be legitimation, nation promotion, or persuasion. In this stage, the point of the research is to determine how the EU is attempting to frame the sequence of negotiations and the EU’s role. In order to hypothesize about the possible results of this analysis, however, it is important to set the stage of the EEAS in the given time frame.

Given that the EEAS was only in its fourth year of operation in 2015, taking part in the JCPOA negotiations, especially with such a prominent role, could be viewed as a potential source of legitimacy. In the six months leading up to the final agreement, the EEAS endured criticisms, ranging from alleged overspending¹⁹⁸ to questions of its diplomatic legitimacy¹⁹⁹. The Iran Nuclear Deal offered a chance to define the EEAS’s purpose in the international system. Within its narrative, I therefore expect the EU to stress its leadership role.

Along that same vein, I expect it to depreciate the work of the UNSC, and perhaps even its own member states. This will be most evident in the way Mogherini or the European Council mention Germany, France, and the UK’s contribution to the deal. Although these three countries were actively nurturing diplomatic channels with Iran for over a decade, I expect Mogherini will not mention these efforts or will refer to them as “European” efforts.

The EU may also seek to demonstrate its role as a “promotor of peace.”²⁰⁰ Nițoiu points out, “The EU positions itself as a unique international actor that has its main goal and duty in promoting its peace for the emancipation of other states and peoples.”²⁰¹ This lends itself well to the role of facilitator, as it implies that, with the EU in charge, there is a level playing field. From the standpoint of strategic goals, this could also serve to enhance the EU’s reputation on the world stage. By underscoring its role as a leader and peacemaker, the EU has a chance to prove that it is not only a legitimate organization, but also a desirable one.

¹⁹⁷ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 8.

¹⁹⁸ Matthew Holehouse, “Fit for an Emperor: EU Diplomats Plan £2 million Dinner Service,” *The Telegraph*, July 17, 2015, accessed May 07, 2018,

¹⁹⁹ Paul Taylor, “New Face But Same Old Problems for EU Foreign Policy,” *Reuters*, May 10, 2015, accessed May 07, 2018,

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*: 243.

²⁰¹ Cristian Nițoiu, “The Narrative Construction of the European Union in External Relations,” *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 14, no. 2 (2013): 244.

My hypotheses for the EU narratives are therefore:

H1: *The EEAS will try to establish itself as the leader of the negotiations in order to legitimize its foreign policy agency.*

H2: *The EEAS will downplay the French, German, and UK roles in favor of styling the JCPOA as a “European” Effort.*

H3: *The EEAS will play on the “EUTopia” narrative of the EU regional cooperative as the global idea.*

5.6.2 France’s Strategic Narratives

When studying the projection of the EU narrative, I will isolate the diplomatic communications released by the French Embassy in Washington, DC. This makes sense, because, as I mentioned in the introduction to this section, the assumption inherent in the Treaty of Lisbon is that the French and German diplomatic missions are committed to projecting the EU strategic narrative abroad. Despite this assumption, I have a few hypotheses about how the French narrative could differ from the EU version.

First, as has been established by Risse,²⁰² Delanty,²⁰³ Eder,²⁰⁴ and others, forming a European identity is difficult, and tension is bound to appear between the collective and the individual. I expect this tension to be on full display in the case of France. Charles de Gaulle famously once said, “France cannot be France without *grandeur*.”²⁰⁵ I expect this notion of “French Exceptionalism” to translate into powerful, nation-centered narratives about the JCPOA. When it comes to foreign policy, Rieker suggests, “there seems to be especially strong consensus in France about the importance of maintaining the role of France in the world.”²⁰⁶ This could mean that France will highlight its own contributions to the deal, but also its position as a member of the UN Security Council. This could serve to undermine the EU message.

²⁰² See, for example, Thomas Risse, “Neofunctionalism, European identity, and the puzzles of European integration,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 12 no. 2 (2005): 291-309.

²⁰³ See, for example, Gerard Delanty. *Inventing Europe: The Ambivalence of Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995).

²⁰⁴ See, for example, Klaus Eder, “Remembering National Memories Together: The Formation of a Transnational Identity in Europe,” in *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement*, ed. Klaus Eder and Willfried Spohn, 197-220 (NEVERLAND RANCH: Taylor and Francis, 2005).

²⁰⁵ Quoted in Pernielle Rieker, *French Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017): 1.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*: 21.

Another topic I expect to see in the French texts is peaceful nuclear energy. France has been famously committed to nuclear energy from the onset. Moreover, its commitment to nuclear non-proliferation has had its skeptics;²⁰⁷ France was the last of the UNSC members to sign the 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.²⁰⁸ Its position as a nuclear power and a user of nuclear energy will force the French speakers to take a careful line on this issue for fear of being seen as hypocritical, especially given the fact that the JCPOA dealt exclusively with the nuclear weapons, not nuclear energy. I therefore hypothesize that the French will reiterate the expectation of a peaceful Iranian nuclear program and perhaps even an affirmation of France's commitment to nuclear as a clean energy.²⁰⁹

My hypotheses for the French narratives are therefore:

H4: *Because of its relatively strong national narrative, the French Embassy will highlight French contributions to the JCPOA above other individual actors.*

H5: *The UNSC will be featured regularly as the facilitating actor of the JCPOA, as this supports the 'activism' and 'presence' elements of its identity narrative.*

H6: *France will differentiate between civilian nuclear energy and nuclear weapons in order to avoid contradicting its own identity narrative.*

5.6.3 Germany's Strategic Narratives

As with France, I expect Germany to struggle with balancing the national and European messages. However, because of Germany's history, I expect the balance to tilt more in favor of the European message than a national one. Despite the concerns of some that post-Cold War reunified Germany would seek to establish dominance in Europe,²¹⁰ Germany instead responded by integrating itself more closely into the European framework.²¹¹ As Krotz and

²⁰⁷ See, for example, see Florent Pouponneau and Frederic Merand, "Diplomatic Practices, Domestic Fields, and the International System: Explaining France's Shift on Nuclear Nonproliferation," *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (2017): 123–135.

²⁰⁸ For an extensive look at France's shifting policy on nuclear non-proliferation, see Pouponneau and Merand. "Diplomatic Practices..."

²⁰⁹ According to the IAEA, in 2017 71.61% of France's energy production came from nuclear power. <https://www.iaea.org/pris/CountryStatistics/CountryDetails.aspx?current=FR>

²¹⁰ See, for example, John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War." *International Security*, 15, no. 1 (1990): 5-56.

²¹¹ Alister Miskimmon, *Germany and the Common Foreign Policy of the European Union* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007): 34-35.

Schild note, “Germany, for its part, counted among the most active promoters of supranational models of decision making inside the CFSP.”²¹² Given this commitment, I hypothesize that Germany will take far greater care to promote the European role in the JCPOA negotiations and will not display a large degree of nationalism.

In fact, based on Steele’s theory, Germany may be more likely to downplay its own role in the negotiations. Much has been written about Germany’s “reluctance”²¹³ to assume the mantle of leadership, and some have suggested that the shame tied to WWII is the driving force behind this reluctance.²¹⁴ With this in mind, I expect that the embassy will respond by emphasizing European cooperation and will not mention its long-term role in these negotiations.

Unlike France, Germany is not a nuclear power, although it has the capacity to create a nuclear bomb. Moreover, following the Fukushima disaster in 2011, the German government passed a measure to phase out nuclear energy plants and committed to denuclearization at the commercial level.²¹⁵ I therefore expect Germany to have a far more critical stance of nuclear energy in its narrative on the JCPOA than either France or the EU. Elements of this commitment to denuclearization will also feature in Germany’s identity narrative and will be coupled with a historic pacifist stance.

Finally, it is important to reflect on audience. I selected this case in part because Germany and France were forced to use public diplomacy to project their narratives in order to persuade the US audience of the merits of the JCPOA in advance of the congressional vote on the deal. While the narrative was formed in Brussels with an international audience in mind, France and Germany are projecting it with a US audience in mind. I do not expect this to alter the narrative too much, because the EEAS also understood that the US was the only uncertain element in putting the deal into action. However, I do expect the tone of the message to change from formation to projection, in part because of the audience.

²¹² Ulrich Krotz and Joachim Schild, *Shaping Europe: France, Germany, and Embedded Bilateralism from the Elysée Treaty to Twenty-First Century Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 221.

²¹³ See, for example, Sandra Destradi, “Reluctance in international politics: A conceptualization,” *European Journal of International Relations* 23, no 2. (2016): 315-340.

²¹⁴ Zanny Menton Beddoes, “Special Report: Europe’s Reluctant Hegemon.”

²¹⁵ Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz, und nukleare Sicherheit, “Die Entwicklungen in Deutschland nach der Reaktorkatastrophe in Japan,” *BMU Website*. January 1, 2018.

The EU will likely form a message that is based on a hopeful vision of a cooperative international community. This optimism, as I mentioned above, will serve to reinforce the EU's position as a "promoter of peace." In selling the deal to a US audience, however, I expect France and Germany to take a less optimistic and more realistic approach. They are more likely to emphasize the capacity to verify Iran's part in the deal, rather than highlighting building trust.

My hypotheses for the German narratives are therefore:

***H7:** Germany will downplay its own contribution to the Iran Deal and will instead focus on the European effort to reach the deal.*

***H8:** Germany will concentrate on bringing greater peace to the Middle East through the JCPOA, which will activate the pacifist element of its identity narrative.*

***H9:** Germany and France will take a comparatively less optimistic tone than the EU in an effort to appeal to US audiences.*

Chapter Six: Methodology

Narrative analysis often involves a combination of linguistic and structural tools. Squire claims that narrative researchers often choose from three paths of research: narrative structure, which uses linguistic analysis; narrative content, which uses thematic analysis; and narrative context, which can use historical and political analysis.²¹⁶ Catherine Riessman similarly divides narrative analysis into four sub-groups: thematic, structural, performative and interactional.²¹⁷ Riessman and Squire agree, however, that these methods of analysis can be used in conjunction with one another.²¹⁸ An eclectic methodological approach is therefore common; variations include qualitative vs quantitative, elicited vs non-elicited data, oral vs written texts and type of analysis from the above-mentioned options.²¹⁹

However, though it is important to remember that these texts contain narratives, it is also important to remember that the narratives are couched in texts. Because of this, critical discourse analysis is unavoidable in studying narratives. Ruth Wodak details methodological approaches that should be used in order to closely examine a text, including studying political texts indexically, extricating instances of metaphor, and isolating the use of “binary reasoning.”²²⁰ Wodak defines binarity as the “discursive construction of ‘us’ and ‘them’”²²¹ and surmises that binary reasoning is often used in political speeches as a tool to simplify complex messages.²²² The retreat to “self” vs “other” style is easy to understand, but also promotes more inward-looking political landscape.²²³ Analyzing the use of these linguistic tools can help scholars to set the tone of a speech and hypothesize about the motives that drive a speaker.

These methodological tools will inform my case study, in which I will use narrative analysis. I will primarily focus on the structural and temporal questions in my analysis in order to

²¹⁶ Squire et al., *What is Narrative Research*: 8-9.

²¹⁷ Catherine Riessmann, “Narrative Analysis,” in *Narrative, Memory & Everyday Life* (Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield, 2015): 2-3, <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/4920/>.

²¹⁸ Catherine Riessmann, “Narrative Analysis”: 3, and Squire et al. *What is Narrative Research*: 10.

²¹⁹ Ibid: 24-25.

²²⁰ Ruth Wodak, “Language and Politics,” in *English Language: Description, Variation and Context* ed. J. Culpeper, P. Kerswill, R. Wodak, A. McEnery and F. Katamba (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 582-583.

²²¹ Ruth Wodak, “Language and Politics”: 583.

²²² Ibid: 583.

²²³ Ruth Wodak, “Language and Politics”: 585.

establish context. However, I will also use Wodak's linguistic toolkit to identify persuasive elements of the texts.

6.1 Methodology

This case study will be conducted in two parts in which I trace the formation and projection of the EU strategic narrative on the JCPOA. My case study is unique in that I am using the EEAS as my basis for the formation of the strategic narrative. Messages from two member states, France and Germany, will be the basis for the projection of the narrative. I then assess what differences, if any, exist between the European formed narrative and the French and German projected narratives. As noted in Chapter Four, I take a reflexive approach, meaning I concentrate on how changes in discourse can be explained by actors' sense of "self" and perceived threats to ontological security.²²⁴

I begin by conducting a strategic narrative analysis on the texts released by the EEAS immediately following the signing of the JCPOA on July 14, 2015. The timeframe for this analysis is July 14-31, 2015. Using the analytical framework I developed in the previous chapter, I dissect the text for elements of international system, identity, and policy narratives. I use the questions raised in my analytical framework to distill these narratives. A complete list of the questions used for each analytical concept can be found in Section 5.5.

This system allows me to distill the narrative about the Iran Nuclear Deal itself, as well as the network of international system and identity narratives supporting it. By retrieving all narrative elements from the text, I can develop a clearer picture about the EU's sense of "self" and ontological (in)security. The resulting policy narrative of the Iran Nuclear Deal will then serve as my control.

The second stage will involve analyzing the projection of this narrative by German and French diplomatic missions. The timeframe of this analysis is July-October 2015. Because public diplomacy is the most effective tool for projecting narratives abroad,²²⁵ my main focus will be on public diplomacy tools. I have therefore selected four Twitter accounts – two Ambassador accounts and two embassy accounts – and two Facebook accounts – the German and French

²²⁴ Alister Miskimmon et al. *Forging the World*: 42.

²²⁵ Alister Miskimmon et al. *Strategic Narratives*: 152.

Missions to the US – as my data sources. I will then again apply my analytical framework to the data to distill the international system, identity and policy narratives. In order to maintain continuity, I have opted to use the same questions for my three analytical concepts. This will make direct comparisons much easier.

Previous research on narratives in social media²²⁶ have used mixed methods approach. Indeed, Snelson's review of social media research in the social sciences revealed a consistent adherence to a mixed method approach and it has been especially useful in content analysis,²²⁷ however she cautions against mixing methods too liberally.²²⁸ With this in mind, I maintain a largely qualitative analysis of the social media posts, as I did with the EU texts. However, I will add an analysis of the use of the words "Europe/EU/European," "France/French," and "Germany/German." The proportion of posts utilizing these words could allow for deeper interpretation of the data. In this way, I have modified Bain and Chaban's approach, who previously used Twitter data to analyze EU narratives.²²⁹ However, as I made clear above, my methods are primarily qualitative, whereas Bain and Chaban were primarily quantitative.²³⁰

6.2 Data

In studying the formation of the EU narrative, I have selected four EU texts. The first is a joint press release from EU High Representative Federica Mogherini and Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif announcing that a deal had been reached. It was released on July 14, 2015.²³¹ The second is a statement released by Mogherini on July 15, 2015. This statement is titled, "Mogherini Proud of EU Contribution to Iranian Deal."²³² The EU Council conclusions on the Iran Nuclear Deal, released on July 20, 2015, serve as my third text.²³³ Finally, I use an op-ed

²²⁶ See, for example, Jessica Bain and Natalia Chaban, "An Emerging EU Strategic Narrative? Twitter Communication during the EU's Sustainable Energy Week," *Comparative European Politics* 15, no. 1 (2017): 135-154.

²²⁷ Chareen Snelson, "Qualitative and Mixed Methods Social Media Research: A Review of the Literature," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 15, no. 1. (2016): 1-15.

²²⁸ Ibid: 12.

²²⁹ Jessica Bain and Natalia Chaban: "An Emerging...": 135-155.

²³⁰ Ibid: 140.

²³¹ Federica Mogherini and Javad Zarif, "Joint statement by EU High Representative Federica Mogherini and Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif Vienna," website of the European Union External Action Service, July 14, 2015.

²³² Federica Mogherini, "Mogherini Proud of EU Contribution to Iranian Deal," website of the European Union External Action Service, July 15, 2015.

²³³ The Council of Europe, "Council conclusions on the agreement on Iran's nuclear programme," website of the Council of Europe, July 20, 2015.

authored by Mogherini and published in *The Guardian* on July 28, 2015. The title of the op-ed is, “The Iran Deal is a Disaster for ISIS.”²³⁴ I retrieved all of these texts from the archived version of the EEAS website preserved on July 30, 2015.

These texts function well for the analysis of the formation of the narrative. They were released within a two-week period immediately following the negotiations, which means they are a clear indicator of the initial EU narrative. Furthermore, the inclusion of the EU council text underscores the goal of the EU to speak with one voice and will prove a valuable control when looking at how these narratives are projected.

For the projection of this EU narrative, I gathered data from the Twitter and Facebook accounts of the German and French diplomatic missions in Washington, DC. The timeframe for this analysis was much longer – July to October – because of the impending vote in congress. I opted to include two accounts for each actor: the ambassador accounts, @GerardAraud (France) and @AmbWittig (Germany); and the two general embassy accounts, @FranceintheUS and @GermanyinUSA. The two Facebook accounts were general Embassy accounts.

I culled a total of 44 tweets mentioning the phrases “JCPOA”, “Iran Deal” or “Iran Nuclear Deal” from the French accounts, 8 from the embassy account and 36 from Ambassador Gerard Araud, who is notoriously active on Twitter.²³⁵ I excluded nine additional tweets by Ambassador Araud about the deal because eight of them were replies to questions, and one of them was a lament about US celebrity Kim Kardashian’s Rolling Stone cover.²³⁶ The replies were excluded to avoid making this a conversational analysis; several of the questions were leading questions and Araud’s answers would have been impossible to analyze without looking at the questions as well.

From the German accounts I selected 32 tweets mentioning the signal phrases, 16 from each account. It was not necessary to exclude any of the German Embassy tweets. I gathered this

²³⁴ Mogherini, Federica, “The Iran Deal is a Disaster for ISIS,” *The Guardian Online*, July 28, 2015.

²³⁵ Colum Lynch, “Can Washington Tame France’s Tart-Tongued Ambassador?” *Foreign Policy*. September 9, 2014.

²³⁶ “Forget the Iran deal, the Greek crisis : Kim Kardashian on the cover of Rolling Stone? The death of rock’n’roll! <http://trib.al/7iQ8xKi> ” <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud/status/621751185196847104>

data using Twitter's native advanced searching tools. I also used Facebook's native search tools to gather posts from the German and French Embassies in Washington. The French Embassy had zero post about the Iran Deal, while the German Embassy had three posts. I decided to include both Facebook and Twitter to get a more comprehensive overview of the public diplomacy efforts.

6.3 Limitations

There are several limitations to this type of analysis that I wish to draw the reader's attention to. First and foremost, despite Miskimmon et al.'s detailed model, I have chosen to exclude an analysis of the reception of these narratives. This decision was made in part because of the limited scope and resources of this paper, but also because of the questions I am trying to answer. For this research, the highest priority is in the narratives themselves, not in the audience or the effectiveness. Although the lack of consideration on reception may make this thesis feel incomplete, I believe this was the best course of action.

Another limitation concerns my selected data and the difference between using speeches versus using social media. Originally, I wanted to incorporate both of these elements in both parts of the research. Social media function in a unique way in public diplomacy because they offer a synthesized, condensed version of the exact message an actor wants to send. One way to look at it is to think of tweets as the ideal soundbites an actor wants traditional media to pick up. For narrative analysis, this lightens the load of analysis considerably. The second reason I wanted to incorporate social media is because it functions as an archive of messaging that, by virtue of being posted on a third party website, is rarely deleted even during a change in ruling party. This makes it an effective tool for historical research.

In the initial stages of my research, I examined the social media along with archived speeches and statements on the Iran Nuclear Deal from all three actors but found it difficult to find one dataset that worked for all three. The EU central social media accounts did not provide enough texts while the German Embassy website redesigned removed any speeches or statements prior to 2017. In the end, I opted to look at the speeches and statements for the EU, as this was only meant to serve as a control. The French and German Embassy websites have little material that dates back to July 2015, so here I opted for social media.

One final limitation must be noted: the use of a single case study to infer about a general result. This is a common issue with all case studies. In John Gerring's text "Case Study: What it is and What it does", he argues that case studies are a useful research method in exploratory and theory-building research because they have the ability to generate broader hypotheses.²³⁷ This case study will not prove that Germany and France are attempting to undermine the EEEAS at every turn or that CFSP is in danger, but it could open the door for further research in this area.

²³⁷ John Gerring, "The Case Study: What it is and what it does," in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science* ed. Robert Goodin, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011): 1141.

Chapter Seven: Empirical Analysis

In the following sections, I use the analytical framework developed in Chapter Five to analyze the international system, identity, and issue narratives present in the EU, German, and French texts. As mentioned in my methodology, I also conducted a small quantitative analysis prior to the qualitative analysis.

7.1 Formation: The EU Narrative in Brussels

In this section, I will analyze the four texts published on the EEAS website from July 1-31, 2015. Table 7.1 shows the texts used and how they will be referred to in the subsequent analysis.

Text	Date	Author	Code
Joint statement by EU High Representative Federica Mogherini and Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif Vienna	14 July 2015	Federica Mogherini and Javad Zarif	Joint Statement
Mogherini Proud of EU Contribution to Iranian Deal	15 July 2015	Federica Mogherini	Mogherini Proud
Council conclusions on the agreement on Iran's nuclear programme	20 July 2015	EU Council	Council Conclusions
The Iran Deal is a Disaster for ISIS	28 July 2015	Federica Mogherini	Iran Deal/ISIS

Table 7.1 Text identification for EEAS data

7.1.1 International System

Based on the four texts included in this study, the EU's international system narrative is deeply rooted in cooperation, regionalism, and faith in international organizations. An international system narrative is meant to provide context for an actor; it defines the actors place in the world and its understanding of how the world is structured.²³⁸ In her initial statement, Mogherini notes, "With courage, the international community has made an historical step towards peace,"²³⁹ and the term "international community" is used repeatedly throughout the four documents, including an instance describing the starting point of the negotiations as "lack of trust between Iran and the international community."²⁴⁰ The addition of the temporal

²³⁸ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 61.

²³⁹ Federica Mogherini and Javad Zarif, "Joint statement by EU High Representative Federica Mogherini and Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif Vienna," website of the European Union External Action Service, July 14, 2015.

²⁴⁰ Federica Mogherini, "The Iran Deal is a Disaster for ISIS," *The Guardian Online*, July 28, 2015.

consideration, argued by Colley as essential to narrative,²⁴¹ further supports this as being a narrative element. Time is also a factor in Mogherini's op-ed in the *Guardian*: "We need to restart political processes to end wars."²⁴² The international cooperation narrative can therefore be summed up thus: the international community faces many challenges, including lack of trust, but through renewed diplomatic efforts, these challenges can be overcome. The subsequent cooperation can lead to lasting peace.

Regionalism also features heavily in the EU texts. There is an emphasis on the importance of creating "a more stable and secure region."²⁴³ The EU stresses a need for cooperation to occur first between Iran and its "neighborhood"²⁴⁴ and then within the international community, indicating a specific understanding of how cooperation is reached: first within the state, then the region, then the world. This regionalism makes sense in the context of the EU, which itself is a symbol of how regional cooperation can lead to greater international cooperation. This harkens back to Nicolaidis's notion of the EUtopia narrative, in which "the EU seeks to reproduce itself by encouraging regional cooperation."²⁴⁵ However, this narrative also comes with an EU element, as evidenced by the Council statement: "The Council invites the High Representative to explore ways in which the EU could actively promote a more cooperative regional framework and to report back to the Council in the coming months."²⁴⁶ Furthermore, when arguing for how to best stop the bloodshed in the Middle East, Mogherini calls for "regional powers" to come to the table.²⁴⁷ Based on this analysis, the EU's understanding of the system is supported by regional interests in which regional cooperation is the ideal starting point to becoming part of the international community. As a neighbor of the Middle East, the EU has a vested interest in facilitating regional cooperation.

Finally, there is a commitment to the necessity and value of international organizations. In the texts, Mogherini and the council both list the countries that took part in the negotiations, but name international organizations – the UN, the International Atomic Energy Association

²⁴¹ Thomas Colley, *Peace*: 18-19.

²⁴² Federica Mogherini, "The Iran Deal..."

²⁴³ The European Council, "Council conclusions on the agreement on Iran's nuclear programme," website of the European Council, July 20, 2015.

²⁴⁴ Mogherini. "The Iran Deal..."

²⁴⁵ Kalypso Nicolaidis and Robert Howse, "This is my EUtopia": 768.

²⁴⁶ The European Council, "Council Conclusions."

²⁴⁷ Federica Mogherini. "The Iran Deal..."

(IAEA), even the EU – as the ultimate authorities on the matter. The Council notes the “important role of the IAEA in the verification of the JCPOA”²⁴⁸ and the UN’s power to “endorse” the deal.²⁴⁹ Meanwhile, the European Council only “acknowledges” the role played by Germany, France, and the UK in the preceding years²⁵⁰ and makes no further mention of these efforts. The absence of national bodies is particularly interesting for two reasons. First, reading these texts, one would assume that there were no more national hurdles for the deal, when in fact the national congress in the US still needed to ratify it, and there was still some uncertainty whether or not this would occur. These texts all seem to indicate a specific cast of characters in the JCPOA narrative that reflect a broader EU understanding of the system as a collection of international organizations. While individual countries played a role in negotiating the JCPOA, after the negotiations were over, the deal needed to be handed to international organizations for proper care: the UNSC to adopt it, the IAEA to verify it, and the EU to play a “coordinating role”.²⁵¹

Finally, I want to call attention to one last overarching narrative that seeps into these text. In Mogherini’s Op-Ed piece, she carefully lays out a story of overcoming conflict. “The Middle East is in turmoil,”²⁵² she writes, and the only way to counter that turmoil is careful, measured, cooperation. While she argues in favor of dialogue, she is also drawing on a broader, western narrative of a Middle East in shambles and a duty to rectify these issues. Furthermore, the title of the article – “The Iran Deal is a Disaster for ISIS” – plays on the “War on Terror” narrative that has been common since 9/11.²⁵³ This narrative was far from fleshed out in the texts, but the use of certain phrases, Colley points out, can harken an audience back to larger narratives.²⁵⁴ In the Op-Ed text specifically, Mogherini refers to the “clash of civilizations,” narrative²⁵⁵, and the need to counteract it. Yet, she also uses the phrases “apocalyptic ideology”, “sectarianism”, and “Muslim world”,²⁵⁶ which counterintuitively remind the audience of those same narratives rather than undermine them.

²⁴⁸ The European Council. “Council Conclusions.”

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Federica Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

²⁵³ See for example...

²⁵⁴ Thomas Colley, *Peace*: 20.

²⁵⁵ Federica Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

7.1.2 Identity

Identity narratives provide actors with a fundamental understanding of their ideals, envisioned future, and origin.²⁵⁷ Elements of these narratives are interspersed within all rhetorical texts, including these four. Mogherini began “Mogherini Proud” by saying “the European Union wrote one of the best pages in history”²⁵⁸ and reiterated in other statements that the JCPOA owed its existence to the EU. By positioning itself as the “facilitator” of the JCPOA, the EU stakes a claim as a valid and powerful foreign policy actor. This is further supported by the use of the moniker “EU3+3” (The EU countries plus Russia, China and the US) rather than the traditional “P5+1” (the UNSC Permanent 5 plus Germany) to describe the negotiators, which is present in “Joint Statement”. This phrasing places the EU, rather than the UN, at the center of the negotiating table. This ties into two deep-rooted narratives discussed in Chapter Three: the EU as a “promoter of peace”²⁵⁹ and the EU as an equal player in a multipolar world.²⁶⁰

Berenskoetter’s theory on the relationship between the “historic” and “future” selves also features prominently in these texts.²⁶¹ These elements are also time bound, which, as Krebs notes, allows for a continuously evolving narrative of the nation.²⁶² In “Mogherini Proud,” Mogherini makes clear that the success of the deal is thanks in part to previous High Representatives, Javier Solana and Catherine Ashton and praises “their vision and their dedication.”²⁶³ This text paints a picture of the historic “self” of the EEAS as dedicated to “keeping the dream alive”²⁶⁴ in the face of adversity. In “Iran Deal/ISIS” the historic self is utilized to point to the EU’s unique position in understanding the issues in the region. Mogherini writes, “We Europeans have a long tradition of cultural and economic relationship with Iran.”²⁶⁵ This indicates a narrative that the EU is not only uniquely positioned to facilitate

²⁵⁷ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 32.

²⁵⁸ Federica Mogherini, “Mogherini Proud of EU Contribution to Iranian Deal,” website of the European Union External Action Service, July 15, 2015.

²⁵⁹ Cristian Nitoiu, “The Narrative...”: 243.

²⁶⁰ Ian Manners, “Global Europa...”: 80.

²⁶¹ Felix Berenskoetter, “National Biographies”: 272-273.

²⁶² Ronald Krebs, *Narratives*: 11.

²⁶³ Federica Mogherini, “Mogherini Proud.”

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Federica Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

the Iran Deal, it is also because of the “vision” of the EEAS that this was even possible. This selective interpretation of the past is another common element in identity narratives.²⁶⁶

The “future self,” represented in these texts most closely follows Nițoiu’s theory of the EU’s “good neighbor” narrative. In “Council Conclusions” and “Iran Deal/ISIS”, the term “regional” is used several times and Mogherini describes herself as tasked with “exploring ‘ways in which the EU could actively promote a more cooperative regional framework.’”²⁶⁷ The notion here is that the EU will be part of building up a regional cooperative, of which it will be an active participant. The “future self” for the EU is therefore continued involvement in the region in the position of partner. This, Mogherini argues, will help build up civil society and develop an “alliance of civilizations”²⁶⁸ to counteract the negative forces in the region.

All four of these texts include elements of Manners’ “normative power” narrative, where the EU is a promotor of western values and ideals: peace, democracy, and cooperation. Along with this, however, is a consistent reference to the value of hard work and determination. This identity narrative element has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned in previous research, but I found it to be very prominent in these texts. The phrases “common work”²⁶⁹, “intensive work”²⁷⁰, “hard work”, “extraordinary work”²⁷¹, and “strong determination”²⁷² are a few examples of this. This may indicate a shift away from the “gender myth” understanding of the EU as the idealist and the US as the realist.²⁷³ In these texts, it is clear that the EEAS values and understands the struggle that goes into these deals, and the tone is therefore less idealistic.

Finally, these texts show a clear tendency of Mogherini to promote the EEAS contributions above all else. The only nod to German, French and British efforts comes from the “Council Conclusions,” in which the EU Council “acknowledges” their contributions. Meanwhile, the EU is described as the “strong, credible facilitator” and Mogherini claims, “With pride, I can say the European Union made [the Iran Deal] possible.”²⁷⁴ The team who worked on the deal

²⁶⁶ Ronald Krebs, *Narratives*: 11.

²⁶⁷ Federica Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Federica Mogherini and Javad Zarif, “Joint Statement.”

²⁷¹ Federica Mogherini, “Mogherini Proud.”

²⁷² Federica Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

²⁷³ Ian Manners, “Global Europa...”: 78.

²⁷⁴ Federica Mogherini, “Mogherini Proud.”

is also described as “European.” It is clear from this that the EU is trying to build a narrative of itself as a leader, a legitimate power, and as responsible all of the work of European powers, not just of the EEAS itself.

7.1.3 Issue

The crux of this text, however, rests on a coherent and strategically deployed issue narrative. The issue narrative is supported by the elements of identity and international system narratives identified in the above sections. In this case, the issue narrative is the centerpiece and therefore it will be easier to identify traditional elements of the story: the characters; the setting, or conditions, under which the negotiations took place; the resolution or ideal outcome; and the tone, which in this case will mean whether the narrator has an optimistic, pessimistic or neutral understanding of the negotiations.

The characters of the Iran nuclear negotiations are made clear in all four texts. In “Iran Deal/ISIS” Mogherini refers to the players as “all six world powers”²⁷⁵. In other texts, the six countries are listed out²⁷⁶ and the EU is cited as having had a “coordinating role,”²⁷⁷ or as “facilitator,”²⁷⁸ implying again that the EU is somehow above the throng of inter-nation power struggles. Only four individuals are named in these texts: current and former High Representatives Federica Mogherini, Catherine Ashton and Javier Solana, and Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif. Again, this is described as a European effort. The difference between what Krebs calls “the agents who act, who are acted upon and who react”²⁷⁹ is also noticeable in these texts; those who act are organizations (the IAEA “verifies”²⁸⁰, the UN “adopts”²⁸¹, the EU “steers”²⁸², the Council “invites”²⁸³) while individual countries, especially Iran, are acted upon. Aside from the actual players in the negotiations, Mogherini draws particular attention

²⁷⁵ Federica Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

²⁷⁶ Federica Mogherini and Javad Zarif, “Joint Statement,” The European Council, “Council Conclusions.”

²⁷⁷ The European Council, “Council Conclusions.”

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ronald Krebs, *Narratives*: 11.

²⁸⁰ The European Council, “Council Conclusions.”

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Federica Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

²⁸³ The European Council, “Council Conclusions.”

to “commentators,”²⁸⁴ “skeptics,”²⁸⁵ and “pessimists”²⁸⁶ who have been critical of the deal. This allows her in several occasions to point to the overwhelming commitment of the parties and the negotiations teams.

The negotiations are described as having taken place under enormous international pressure. Mogherini repeatedly refers to the process as “difficult”²⁸⁷ and “complex.” However, she also selectively describes how the process unfolded. She writes, “We should always keep in mind that the starting point for the negotiations was the lack of trust between Iran and the international community.”²⁸⁸ This mistrust, she claims, led to the many “twists and turns”²⁸⁹ of the talks, and that it was only the “strong political will”²⁹⁰ of all actors that an agreement was ultimately reached. The narrative that unfolds throughout these texts is therefore one of hard-fought consensus. Nowhere does it seem as though the EU3+3 harangued or forced Iran into a compromise, rather this story seems to be one of consensus building and equal participation.

This is also apparent in the EU’s vision of the future. Mogherini and the Council identify two ideal outcomes in these texts. The first is for the “steady improvement”²⁹¹ of EU-Iranian relations. The second is that this deal will bring Iran back into the fold of the international community thereby ensuring a “more stable and secure region.”²⁹² Again, Mogherini paints a picture of a long-standing crisis finally coming to a close and a future of peaceful interaction. Overall, all four texts embody an optimistic message and speak of a “new chapter.”²⁹³

Finally, these texts use specific language to describe the deal. In all four texts, the word historic is the primary adjective used. This again implies the enormous amount of work involved and carries a positive vision of the future. In other instances, the speakers call the deal “detailed,”²⁹⁴

²⁸⁴ Federica Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Federica Mogherini, “Mogherini Proud,” Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

²⁸⁸ Federica Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

²⁸⁹ Federica Mogherini and Javad Zarif, “Joint Statement.”

²⁹⁰ Federica Mogherini, “Mogherini Proud.”

²⁹¹ The European Council, “Council Conclusions.”

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Federica Mogherini and Javad Zarif, “Joint Statement.”

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

“good,”²⁹⁵ “comprehensive,”²⁹⁶ and “verifiable.”²⁹⁷ These assurances serve to reinforce the EU’s optimism and to quell fears of the skeptics.

The EU’s strategic issue narrative on the JCPOA can therefore be summed up thus: the Iran nuclear deal was an arduous process that required the full support of the international community, under the coordination of the EU. This deal will ensure a peaceful Iranian nuclear program and will rebuild relations between Iran and rest of the world.

7.2 Projection: The French EU Narrative in Washington

In this section, I will analyze the social media output of the French Embassy in Washington from July-October 2015. Table 7.2 shows the number of mentions in the French texts of the signal phrases “EU/E3/Europe”, “France”, and “Mogherini/EEAS” as well as mentions of President François Hollande and Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius.

Quantitative Data: French Embassy					
	Total	EU OR Europe OR E3	France	Fabius OR Hollande	Mogherini OR EEAS
@GerardAraud	36	7	4	2	0
@FranceintheUS	8	1	1	4	1
Facebook	0	0	0	0	0
Total	44	8	5	6	1

Table 7.2 Quantitative Data on the French Embassy

7.2.1 International System

The French Ambassador to the US, Gérard Araud, paints a complex and at times contradictory picture of the international system from July to October 2015. Known for his off-the-cuff style of tweeting and for his acerbic style²⁹⁸, Araud began the month of July by describing a grim picture of the state of the Iran Nuclear Deal. He cautioned against “wishful thinking”²⁹⁹ and even went so far as to say, two days before the deal was signed that “whatever the regime in Teheran, a problem for its neighbors.”³⁰⁰ He also reiterated several times the need for a balance

²⁹⁵ Federica Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

²⁹⁶ The European Council, “Council Conclusions.”

²⁹⁷ Federica Mogherini, “The Iran Deal...”

²⁹⁸ Colum Lynch, “Can Washington...”

²⁹⁹ Gerard Araud, Twitter post (1 of 8). 14 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018.

<https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

³⁰⁰ Gerard Araud, Twitter post. 12 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

of power within the Middle East.³⁰¹ This speaks to a larger realist narrative that depicts the international system as inherently anarchical with relative peace only being possible through power balancing.³⁰² By adhering to realism, Araud is echoing a larger tradition in French foreign policy.³⁰³ However, French realism does not align with the EU's understanding of the world system, which is one of cooperation and neoliberal institutionalism.

Nonetheless, Araud does expend some energy in promoting the role of institutions. He repeatedly refers to both the EU and the UNSC as the drivers behind world order. On September 9, he reaffirmed the cooperation of the UNSC: “#IranDeal

Finally, again in line with realism, Araud seems to set up the world into two camps. He refers to “we” as, alternatively, the P5 and the Europeans. This pronoun is used in several instances in the context as something “we” have done to suppress (“impose”, “reimpose”, “show firmness”, “inspect”) “them”, in this case Iran. This binary construction has been widely discussed in the context of discourse analysis.³⁰⁴ Within narrative analysis, Araud's tweets fall into the category of a Rogue State narrative, in which Normal³⁰⁵ or Great Powers³⁰⁶ describe a state as not complying with international norms. This type of framing can be dangerous, argues Robert Litwak, in that it “perpetuates the false dichotomy that sets up containment and engagement as mutually exclusive strategies.”^{307, 308} In short, although France and rest of the P5+1 are engaging with Iran, this Rogue State narrative can undermine that engagement. However, from the French perspective, this narrative reinforces France's membership in the UNSC and its preeminent position within EU foreign policy decisions.

Absent from the Araud and the French Embassy tweets is any sentiment of universal cooperation, strong institutions, and the pursuit of lasting peace. These were central elements

³⁰¹ Gerard Araud, Twitter posts 12 and 14 July.

³⁰² For more on the “balance of power” in international relations, see, for example, *Man, The State, and War* by Kenneth Waltz

³⁰³ Laura-Theresa Krüger and Bernhard Stahl, “The French Foreign Policy...”: 5.

³⁰⁴ Ruth Wodak, “Language and Politics”: 583.

³⁰⁵ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 37

³⁰⁶ Alister Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives*: 35.

³⁰⁷ Robert Litwak, *Rogue states and U.S. foreign policy: containment after the Cold War* Washington (Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Press, 2000): XIV.

³⁰⁸ Litwak's book refers primarily to the US approach to Rogue States, however Miskimmon, Roselle, and O'Loughlin expand this into the Rogue State narrative as a category that can be applied in various cases, as is done in this text.

in the EU's international system narrative. This suggests France's unwillingness to subscribe to the overall EU worldview. However, as noted in Chapter Three, membership to the EU and the concept of a "French Europe" is also a central axis of France's worldview. This paradox will be discussed further in Chapter Eight.

7.2.2 Identity

In Chapter 4, I hypothesized that the French public diplomacy efforts would include an undercurrent of a strong biographical narrative. However, after examining the data, I found that the identity narrative was far less overt than I had originally predicted. There were only two instances in which Araud promotes the uniquely French contribution to the JCPOA. On July 14, he began a series of tweets about the history of the deal by pointing out that the initial letter to Iran to open negotiations was "based on a French draft."³⁰⁹,³¹⁰ Later, when he is making the case to the US congress that the deal is worth agreeing to, he says that there is "no credible alternative" to the deal and promises French vigilance in ensuring that Iran does not cheat.³¹¹

Interestingly, this muted promotion of the French contribution is coupled with a more noticeable inclusion of the "European" contribution. In his brief history of the negotiations, Araud mentions three European ministers who were behind the push for a deal. During the lobbying campaign, he repeatedly refers to his "EU colleagues".³¹² Several times he singles Germany and the UK out in this regard. Meanwhile, the French Embassy praises the efforts of Federica Mogherini.³¹³ This display of Europeanism is particularly interesting given the political context in France in 2015. As mentioned in Chapter 2, a 2015 report entitled, "On French Influence in the European Union"³¹⁴ recommended that, in order to wield greater

³⁰⁹ Gerard Araud, Twitter post (4 of 8). 14 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

³¹⁰ While I did find references to this letter in news articles, I could not verify whether or not it was in actuality based on a French draft.

³¹¹ Gerard Araud, Twitter post (2 of 4). 9 September 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

³¹² Gerard Araud, Twitter post (9 of 9). 21 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

³¹³ French Embassy, Twitter post (2 of 2). 20 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/FranceintheUS>.

³¹⁴ Assemblée Nationale, "Rapport d'information."

influence in Europe, France must “avoid arrogance” and the tendency to “go it alone.”³¹⁵ In short, the discourse among the French political elite in 2015 was leading away from the “Independent France” narrative and toward a “French Europe” narrative in which France works through the EU to achieve results. Araud’s consistent mention of Europe, with only a few mentions of the French role, aligns with this shift.

Other central elements to the French identity narrative are presence and activism,³¹⁶ both of which are on full display in this data. Again, Araud commits “French vigilance” to make sure Iran does not cheat, but he also repeatedly reiterates the power and commitment of both the P5 and the EU3. In one instance, he tweeted, “We (P3) [sic] have been able so far to detect the nuclear activities of Iran by our own means. The inspections will improve our capabilities.” In other instances, he uses the collective pronoun in the context of the EU. This demonstrates that France is a present and central figure in both organizations. Furthermore, Araud continuously points to things that can be done. He says that “we” can “detect”, “inspect”, “explain”, and “reaffirm” along with several other actionable verbs, which reinforces this notion of French activism in international affairs.

Finally, values and ideals are conspicuously absent from the French tweets. However, one thing stood out among these tweets as uniquely French and affirmed an earlier hypothesis: the continued adherence to nuclear power. Nuclear power has not only played a part in establishing France on the global stage, Gabrielle Hecht even argues that technological advancement in the form of civilian nuclear energy development played a crucial role in constructing the modern French national identity.³¹⁷ With this in mind, it makes sense that Araud alludes twice to the legality and normality of Iran’s operation of a civilian nuclear program. On September 8, for example, he tweeted, “The debate is not about any Iranian nuclear program but about its possible military goal. If civilian, it is legal.”³¹⁸ Activating this narrative element therefore supports France’s independence and its national identity.

³¹⁵ Assemblée Nationale, “Rapport d’information”: 75. My translation, original text: “cavalier seul”

³¹⁶ Ulrich Krotz and James Sperling, “The European Security...”: 308.

³¹⁷ See Gabrielle Hecht, *The Radiance of France : Nuclear Power and National Identity after World War II*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009.)

³¹⁸ Gerard Araud, Twitter post (2 of 2). 8 September 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

7.2.3 Issue

The strongest departure from the EU message on the JCPOA comes with how France frames the narrative of the negotiations themselves. In a series of tweets on the day the deal was signed, Araud described the back and forth first between Europe and Iran and then between the UNSC and Iran. In one instance he tweets, “Between 2005 and 2013, scores of useless meetings. Iran doesn't engage in a negotiation and doesn't answer to several proposals.”³¹⁹ Here, he highlights the struggle to reach a deal and again seems to depict a binary constellation with Iran on one side, the rest of the world on the other. The EU, on the other hand, constructed a narrative of consensus building in which all sides worked to reach an agreement.

The French JCPOA narrative is also interesting in its “characters.” Along with this binary constellation, Araud singles out the US several times, both to flatter and to implicate. He points out the US “has paid the lowest price for the implementation of sanctions against Iran.”³²⁰ A day later, he lambastes the US press for its one-sided depiction of the negotiations: “as usual, the rest of the world doesn't exist. Don't say the US press isn't patriotic...”³²¹ Later, he praises specific meetings with congress members. This technique has the effect of infantilizing both the US and Iran and constructs a narrative of Europe as the only sensible negotiating team.

In describing the actual content of the deal, the French Embassy adheres to the EU's “historic moment” narrative. Araud, too, uses terms the “good deal” and “technical” to present the JCPOA as a well-thought-out, comprehensive agreement. However, he departs slightly from the EU in his insistent use of the word “compromise.”³²² On September 9, he tweeted, “The message of the P5+1: the Iran deal is compromise. Both sides would want it different but it is globally a good result for us.”³²³ This somewhat pessimistic tone can be found in many of Araud's tweets. On August 25, he wrote that foreign policy “has hardly anything to do with

³¹⁹Gerard Araud, Twitter post (7 of 8). 14 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

³²⁰ Gerard Araud, Twitter post (2 of 2). 15 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

³²¹ Gerard Araud, Twitter post (1 of 4). 16 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

³²² Gerard Araud, Twitter post (3 of 8). 14 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

³²³ Gerard Araud, Twitter post (3 of 4). 9 September 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

trust.”³²⁴ In 10 out of 36 tweets, he refers in some way to sanctions, inspection, verification, or cheating in the context of this deal. Indeed, his only references to the future are related to the possibility of further sanctions or repercussions if Iran fails to live up to the agreement. It would hard to find a greater departure from the EU message, which centered on building a better future.

The French narrative of the Iran Nuclear Deal as projected by the French Embassy and Ambassador can therefore be summed up thus: the negotiations were a long and arduous process with Iran on one side and the rest of the world on the other. Although this deal is not perfect, it is the best solution on the table and will bind Iran’s future capabilities, as long as other countries remain vigilant.

7.3 Projection: The German EU Narrative in Washington

In this section, I will analyze the social media output of the German Embassy in Washington from July-October 2015. Table 7.3 shows the number of mentions in the German texts of the signal phrases “EU/E3/Europe”, “Germany”, and “Mogherini/EEAS” as well as mentions of Chancellor Angela Merkel and Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier.

Quantitative Data: German Embassy					
	Total	EU OR Europe OR E3	Germany	Steinmeier OR Merkel	Mogherini OR EEAS
@AmbWittig	16	4	1	4	0
@GermanyinUSA	16	3	3	10	0
Facebook	3	2	1	2	1

Table 7.3 Quantitative Data on the German Embassy

7.3.1 International System

Similar to Ambassador Araud, German Ambassador Wittig highlights the collective EU effort to lobby congress in the US in favor of the deal. He mentions meeting with then-House Speaker Nancy Pelosi along with his EU colleagues.³²⁵ Meanwhile, the embassy Twitter and Facebook

³²⁴ Gerard Araud, Twitter post (2 of 2). 25 August 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GerardAraud>.

³²⁵ Peter Wittig, Twitter post. 9 September 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/AmbWittig>.

accounts mention several times “E3+3 leaders”³²⁶ or “EU Foreign Ministers,”³²⁷ again emphasizing a worldview in which the EU is a global player. This is not as dramatic as the EEAS International System narrative, in which the EU plays a “coordinating role” in world events, however it is in line with the French emphasis of the importance of the EU on the world stage. Finally and unsurprisingly, as the only non-permanent member of the UNSC in the negotiations, Germany did not use the P5+1 formulation in any of the posts, nor did it mention the UN involvement.

Where Germany departs from France and the EU, however, is the inclusion of the transatlantic narrative, which can be understood as an international system in which Europe and the US are the two axes that control the international system and are imbued with moral authority. Wittig calls the Iran Deal a “transatlantic success”³²⁸ and requests “all Transatlantic Hands on deck for Implementation of Iran Deal.”³²⁹ In addition, the embassy and Wittig tweeted multiple times directly about Secretary of State John Kerry and President Barack Obama. There are two possible explanations for the inclusion of the transatlantic narrative. First, Wittig could be trying to counterbalance the increasingly-prominent narrative of the strained German-US relationship. That same summer, for example, Politico ran a headline claiming the need for a “reboot”³³⁰ in German-American relations. Foreign Policy similarly published an article citing “Germany’s America Angst.”³³¹ The promotion of the transatlantic narrative could therefore be an effort to preserve or protect German-US relations in a troubling time. Similarly, one could argue that this inclusion is an instance of what Steele calls “flattery discourse.”³³² In that case, reiterating the transatlantic narrative could be seen as a rhetorical tool to remind the US audience of the moral obligation implicit in the transatlantic narrative, thereby coercing compliance.

³²⁶ German Embassy. Facebook post. 14 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://www.facebook.com/GermanyinUSA/>

³²⁷ German Embassy, Twitter post. 4 September 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GermanyinUSA>.

³²⁸ Peter Wittig, Twitter post. 17 September 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/AmbWittig>.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ Derek Chollet, “US-German relations need a reboot,” *Politico*. June 5, 2015. <https://www.politico.eu/article/us-german-relations-reboot/>

³³¹ Bruce Stokes, “Germany’s America Angst,” *Foreign Policy*, May 13, 2015. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/05/13/germanys-america-angst-public-opinion-polls/>

³³² Brent Steele, *Defacing Power*: 78-79.

Regardless of the reason, Miskimmon has previously posited that a certain tension exists between the transatlantic narrative and the narrative of the EU as a global player.³³³ Furthermore, promoting an international system narrative based solely on the influence of western powers devalues non-western contributions. By including the transatlantic narrative and, more importantly, by failing to mention EU institutions, Wittig and the Embassy undercut two narratives the EEAS was trying to promote: Europe as a global actor in its own right, and international negotiations as multilateral, cooperative effort.

Despite the differences with the EU, Germany's overall understanding of the system seems to be in line with EU idealism. This idealism is best evidenced in a Facebook post quoting Steinmeier: "It is historic because we have shown that major international conflicts, can be resolved through dialogue and perseverance."³³⁴ In addition, Germany's ideal for the system echoes the EU sentiment of building a peaceful Middle East with strong regional cooperation.³³⁵ In a tweet featuring a screenshot of former German Foreign Minister Steinmeier's statement on the deal, the German Embassy selected the quote, "It could also be a first, a major step towards more peaceful

7.3.2 Identity

As hypothesized, there is little overt national promotion in the German posts. In one instance, Wittig tweets about hosting US Congressmen for dinner to discuss, among other things, "Germany's role in Europe",³³⁶ however this is as far as Wittig or the Embassy goes to single Germany out. Any notion of Germany acting alone or having a particular role in this deal other than as part of a group – the EU or the transatlantic partnership – is absent. Again, this reflects Stahl's hypothesized "Never Alone" narrative, in which Germany is reluctant to take any unilateral action.³³⁷ Indeed, Wittig, much like Araud, speaks instead of the collective European will to create this deal. "Europe has big skin in the game of US debate!"³³⁸ he tweeted at a summit at the Aspen Institute. In another instance, the embassy reports sharing the "German/E3

³³³ Alister Miskimmon, *Germany and the Common Foreign and Security Policy in Europe*: 90.

³³⁴ German Embassy, Facebook post. 14 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018.

<https://www.facebook.com/GermanyinUSA/>

³³⁵ Peter Wittig, Twitter post. 1 September 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/AmbWittig>.

³³⁶ Peter Wittig, Twitter post. 22 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/AmbWittig>.

³³⁷ Bernhard Stahl et al., "Understanding the Atlanticist...": 432.

³³⁸ Peter Wittig, Twitter post (1 of 3). 24 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/AmbWittig>.

perspective on the Hill.”³³⁹ The inclusion of “German” here is interesting, but the use of a slash rather than the word “and” indicated that the German and EU perspective are interchangeable, thus reinforcing the European Germany narrative.

Furthermore, these statements continue to support a vision of the EU as the future. The German Embassy quotes a *France24* article about the deal: “The collective presence of four high-profile figures -- Britain's Peter Westmacott, Germany's Peter Wittig, France's Gerard Araud, as well as the EU ambassador David O'Sullivan -- would come to be a feature of European lobbying efforts.”³⁴⁰ They also tweet a link to a *Politico* article entitled “Old Europe Pushes Iran Deal on Capitol Hill.”³⁴¹ This serves as a reminder of current and future cooperation of the EU and its member states on foreign policy questions. Nonetheless, the absence of any reference to the EEAS as an institution undermines the narrative of Germany as the “posterboy for European integration”.³⁴²

On the contrary, in one instance the Embassy even draws instead on the newly blossoming narrative in Germany of world leadership. On September 9, the Embassy tweeted an interview with Steinmeier in a German newspaper. They selected the quote: “Germany is taking responsibility” and tweeted along with this the hashtags #Refugees, #Ukraine, and #IranDeal.³⁴³ The word “responsibility” has long been a part of German foreign policy rhetoric³⁴⁴ and denotes not only past shame, but the growing awareness from Berlin that Germany must assume a more assertive foreign policy position. In this context, although the other posts do little to highlight the German role, the responsibility narrative is a signal for the future.

³³⁹ German Embassy, Twitter post. 29 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018.
<https://twitter.com/GermanyinUSA>.

³⁴⁰ German Embassy, Facebook post. 4 September 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018.
<https://www.facebook.com/GermanyinUSA/>

³⁴¹ German Embassy, Twitter post. 29 July 2015.

³⁴² William Paterson, “The Reluctant Hegemon?": 58.

³⁴³ German Embassy, Twitter post. 31 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018.
<https://twitter.com/GermanyinUSA>.

³⁴⁴ For more on this see, for example, Hanns Maull, “What German Responsibility Means,” *Security and Human Rights* Vol. 26 (2015)

At the same time, Wittig and the Embassy quoted Steinmeier and Chancellor Angela Merkel far more than the French quote their leaders. In fact, nearly half (15 out of 32) of the tweets from both accounts and 2/3 of the Facebook posts included either quotes from leaders or links to speeches or texts by those leaders. The bulk of these were references to Steinmeier, who was quoted in eight tweets and Facebook posts and two further speeches were linked. In one instance, Wittig tweets, “#IranDeal is a ‘victory of political sense and perseverance,’ says FM #Steinmeier in @HuffingtonPost. Worth a read!”³⁴⁵

This instinct to defer to Berlin rather than posting original content could indicate several things. First, compared to the French Ambassador, who is known for his bold statements, any ambassador would likely seem less outspoken. In other words, the difference could be a question of style. However, the question is not whether Wittig makes neutral statements. The interesting thing is that his original statements are often slightly re-worded versions of Steinmeier statements. In his official statement on the day the Iran Deal was signed, Steinmeier said, for “[The Iran Deal] could also be a first, major step towards a more peaceful Middle East.”³⁴⁶ On September 1, Wittig tweets, “#IranDeal could be a major step towards a more peaceful #MiddleEast.”³⁴⁷ This is nearly a word-for-word rewrite. This style, coupled with the instinct to quote rather than comment, displays a deference to Berlin’s statements that is surprising and could be symptomatic of a general reluctance to take on a leadership role.

Finally, Germany’s ideals and values, as seen through these posts, are similar to the EEAS narratives. The embassy and Wittig both emphasize “persistence”, “perseverance”, and “diplomacy”, as the keys to the success of this agreement, which is similar to the EEAS’s value of hard work. The word “peace” is also used liberally in these posts in various forms: “#MiddleEastPeace”, “Greater peace”, “peaceful(ly)”. This draws on the pacifist element of the Germany’s identity narrative.³⁴⁸ On the other hand, Germany’s deeply embedded “civilian power” narrative, in which civilian means of solving crises supersede military means, is served

³⁴⁵ Peter Wittig, Twitter post. 16 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/AmbWittig>.

³⁴⁶ German Embassy, Twitter post (2 of 3). 14 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GermanyinUSA>.

³⁴⁷ Peter Wittig, Twitter post. 1 September 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/AmbWittig>.

³⁴⁸ Bernhard Stahl et al., “Understanding...”: 435.

by the adherence to dialogue and the emphasis on peace.³⁴⁹ This begs the question whether Germany is intentionally reiterating the EU message or whether the points of convergence are coincidental.

7.3.3 Issue

Germany's issue narrative of the Iran Deal itself falls somewhere in between the idealistic EEAS and the pessimistic France. From a storytelling standpoint, the German speakers depict the events leading up to the Iran Deal as the difficult and complicated. Wittig and the Embassy quote Merkel and Steinmeier who use the words, "persistence," "perseverance," and "dialogue," and refer to the deal as a "breakthrough." In a Facebook post, the embassy quotes Steinmeier's assessment that the deal was reached in a time "where mistrust and even open hostility initially appeared to be insurmountable." The deal is described as "historic" and "crucial" in bringing about change in the region.

The pattern this story fits is one of hard-fought consensus. Germany borrows from France's binary constellation – Iran on one side, the rest of the world on the other – in its focus on Iran's need to "prove its sincerity."³⁵⁰ Deputy Chief of Mission Philipp Ackermann is quoted as saying this deal is "not based on trust, but verification."³⁵¹ He further speaks of the deal as a chance to "stop Iran,"³⁵² while Wittig speaks of "blocking"³⁵³ Iran's nuclear capabilities. Steinmeier, meanwhile claims the deal will rule out Iran's capacity to "make a break" for the bomb,³⁵⁴ which buttresses the notion that this deal is the only thing holding back chaos. This echoes the French message and goes against the EEAS's narrative of cooperation.

Still, unlike France, Germany seems to have an optimistic vision for the future. On July 14, Wittig tweets, "One of the biggest opportunities of the #IranDeal: Young Iranians craving for more contacts with the Western world have more chances."³⁵⁵ In addition, as mentioned above,

³⁴⁹ Felix Berenskoetter and Bastian Giegerich, "From NATO to ESDP: A Social Constructivist Analysis of German Strategic Adjustment after the end of the Cold War," *Security Studies* 29, no. 3, (2010): 440.

³⁵⁰ Peter Wittig, Twitter post. 19 October 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/AmbWittig>.

³⁵¹ German Embassy, Twitter post. 6 August 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GermanyinUSA>.

³⁵² German Embassy, Twitter post. 7 August 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GermanyinUSA>.

³⁵³ Peter Wittig, Twitter post. 8 September 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/AmbWittig>.

³⁵⁴ German Embassy, Facebook post. 16 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://www.facebook.com/GermanyinUSA/>

³⁵⁵ Peter Wittig, Twitter post. 14 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/AmbWittig>.

the German statements emphasized the possibility of “greater peace” in the Middle East as a result of the deal and, like the EU, encouraged Iran to play a “constructive role” in the region.³⁵⁶ Finally, Steinmeier’s reference to the deal as the “first step”³⁵⁷ towards peace fixes the JCPOA in temporal order, the pre-JCPOA being chaotic and contentious, while the post-JCPOA has the potential for peace.

The characters in the German narrative on the JCPOA also differ from France and the EU in their specificity. Unlike the EU, Germany singles out individuals, rather than international organizations, as the source of cooperation. The IAEA and UN are notably absent from the German narrative, as is any direct mention of the EEAS. Instead, Germany Ambassador Wittig and the German Embassy mention the specific players – the foreign ministers of the seven negotiators – with a particular emphasis on Secretary of State John Kerry, who is mentioned twice and quoted once. Other mentioned individuals include Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi, US President Barack Obama, Russian Ambassador to the US Sergey Kislyak, Chancellor Merkel, French President Hollande and UK Prime Minister Cameron. The inclusion of individuals may be an effort to legitimize and personalize the debate to a US audience.

The German issue narrative of the JCPOA can therefore be summed up thus: the time before the JCPOA was contentious and Iran stood opposed to the international community. Thanks to a multilateral effort, steered by the transatlantic partnership, a hard-fought and historic deal was reached. This deal will stop Iran from getting a bomb and will pave the way for a more peaceful future.

7.4 Summary

It is clear from the above analysis that the German and French Embassies in Washington did not project the EEAS narrative faithfully. I have demonstrated the issue narratives for all three actors were different. Moreover, this data shows a clear pattern between the international system, identity, and issue narratives of each actor; indeed, while Germany and France may not have been faithful to the EU message, they remained faithful to their own deeply embedded narratives.

³⁵⁶ Peter Wittig, Twitter post. 14 October 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/AmbWittig>.

³⁵⁷ German Embassy, Twitter post (2 of 3). 14 July 2015. Accessed 20 February 2018. <https://twitter.com/GermanyinUSA>.

Chapter Eight: Discussion

In this chapter I discuss how these results fit into three broad concepts: ontological security, CFSP, and narrative integration. In doing this, I will also discuss whether my hypotheses were proved or disproved. Finally, I will suggest areas for further research.

8.1 Ontological Insecurity

Steele's theory of reflexivity states that actors react to perceived threats to their ontological security.³⁵⁸ In this case, all three states experienced some measure of insecurity and, by using strategic narratives, sought to counterbalance this insecurity. I made a series of hypotheses regarding ontological insecurity which I will now address.

The EEAS's narrative of the JCPOA, though it serves as the control in this case, is the first instance in which insecurity is demonstrated. I hypothesized (**H1** and **H2**) that the EU would bolster its own contributions to the JCPOA while simultaneously downplaying German and French contributions. Both of these hypotheses were supported by my analysis. In order to promote its own role on the world stage, the EEAS chose to implicate other actors and devalue the contribution of individual actors as a whole. This supported the EU's understanding of a system based on regional cooperation and international organizations. Moreover, had the member states supported this narrative fully, the JCPOA narrative could have contributed to a larger narrative structure in the EU, thereby reinforcing its identity.

Unfortunately, this was not the case. Both France and Germany departed from the original EU message. For France, a state with a demonstrably strong identity narrative, a historic link to the region, and, arguably, divided loyalties (the EU vs the UNSC), projecting a narrative of the Iran Deal meant balancing many competing interests. The strong message formed at the EU level, where the EU was at the center of the success of the negotiations, threw this balance into disarray. In order to maintain its sense of self – in which membership to the UNSC and independence as a foreign policy actor are critical – France had no choice but to adjust the EU's narrative.

³⁵⁸ Brent Steele, *Defacing Power*: 76

I argue that this data perfectly demonstrates the difficulty France experience's in balancing these interests. With this in mind, my expectation was that France, known for its strong identity narrative and its foreign policy independence, would seek to assert itself several times as a separate entity in the EU (**H4**). This expectation was evidenced in the text. Furthermore, as hypothesized, it took great care in elevating its role as a permanent UNSC member, with five total mentions of the UN (**H5**). However, in recent years French policy makers advocate working through the EU to strengthen France's power in many areas, including foreign policy. The French Embassy also praised the work of the EEAS once and the French Ambassador included the EU (or Europe) in 7 out of 36 of his tweets.

Araud and the French Embassy vacillate on a day-to-day basis between applauding Federica Mogherini (July 20) and promising swift response from the P5 (described as "we") in case Iran cheats on the deal (July 21). This is not to say that membership to the EU and to the UNSC are mutually exclusive, but it does show that, despite the EU's wish to convey a message of its first real victory on the world stage, France is unwilling to comply fully. In short, the attempt to bring all three concepts into its messages (independent France, France in the UNSC and France in the EU) is a reflection of France's current uncertainty. As the EU pushes for greater CFSP integration, France must decide if it is willing to shed some long-held elements of its identity narrative to make room for a more "European France."

Germany, meanwhile, had a similar balancing act. This case study shows that Germany had a choice for narrative activation on the Iran Deal. As discussed in Chapter Three, two elements of Germany's post-WWII identity narrative were commitment to the EU and to transatlanticism.³⁵⁹ I predicted that Germany would therefore be more strongly aligned with the EU message and promote the EU contribution to the JCPOA (**H7**). This, I believed, would have reflected a need to secure the European element of Germany's identity. The German Embassy chose instead to "activate" the transatlantic narrative. Given this, I posit that the several references to US involvement in the deal were included as a mechanism to protect this narrative and also to remind the US audience of Germany's postwar commitments. This partially supports my hypothesis (**H9**) that of a tone shift to entice US audiences. This activation further reminds the US of its strong alliances, perhaps as a way to counterbalance

³⁵⁹ Alister Miskimmon. *Germany*. 149-151.

the oft-repeated narrative of the EU as a counterbalancing (and therefore competitive) power to the US.³⁶⁰ Still, the inclusion of this, especially at the expense of promoting the EU's institutions, could serve to weaken the impact of the EU narrative on a US audience.

Given this data, I argue that France and the EEAS showed more signs of ontological insecurity and reacted by devaluing others' contributions in the case of the EEAS and by vacillating between narratives in the case of France. Germany, by contrast, chose to flatter the US into a positive position on the JCPOA rather than to draw attention to the EU.

8.2 European Common Foreign and Security Policy

This research also raises questions about the ideal of CFSP as delineated in the Treaty of Lisbon. The CFSP does not entail the member states abdicating authority in all external relations. Yet, in this case, when the EEAS took an active role as a negotiator, one would expect France and Germany to defer to the EU. Years after the EEAS was established, one of the EU's largest member states was unwilling to surrender foreign policy supremacy (as in the case of France), and one doesn't even acknowledge the EEAS as an institutional actor (as in the case with Germany). Furthermore, there were differences between the French and the German narratives of the Iran Nuclear Deal and in their understanding of the international system. This research therefore shows that the EU did not in this case have the power to impose its narrative on its member states.

If EU integration is understood as a two-way process, as Bomberg and Peterson argue³⁶¹, then France and Germany's adjustment of the EU's message on the Iran Nuclear Deal could be seen as an attempt to influence the EU's foreign policy stance. Within the course of this research, I was unable to identify any instances of this. Furthermore, the adjustments made by France and Germany were small enough that it would be difficult to prove they were trying to adjust the EU message as a whole rather than adapting that message to their own existing identity and international system narrative frameworks.

France and Germany were not unwilling to incorporate the EU into their messages, even if they did not adopt the exact same messaging. This implies a basic commitment to the CFSP

³⁶⁰ Cristian Nitoiu. "The Narrative Construction." 251.

³⁶¹ Bomberg and Peterson

paradigm. What was notably missing, on the other hand, was the inclusion of the institutional backbone of CFSP, the EEAS. The French Embassy made one mention of Mogherini and one of the EEAS, while Germany made none. Furthermore, the words “EU” or “Europe” were primarily used in conjunction with actions in the US taken by French, German, or British diplomats. For example, both Araud and Wittig refer to their “EU colleagues.” I argue that the inclusion of the first two terms strengthens the identity narrative of France and Germany, because, whether or not they agree with EU action, Europeanness is, to differing degrees, a quintessential element of France and Germany’s identity narratives after WWII. The inclusion of the institutions of the EU, on the other hand, implies tacit agreement with EU policies. Because of this struggle to adapt to CFSP, using the word Europe is a safer choice.

Nonetheless, an area of further research could be whether the lack of inclusion of EU institutions in member state narratives contributes to the continued lack of understanding of the EU abroad; if the member states are not doing their part to promote these institutions, one can hardly expect third party countries, including the US, to take them seriously.

8.3 Narrative Integration

In Chapter Five, I explained the difference between an international system and identity narrative. The EU, as a unique international body, raises interesting questions about the nature of narratives for the EU and its members. As discussed in previous chapters, the debate on whether or not European identity exists is ongoing, and it is unlikely to be cleared up with this thesis. I would argue, however, that whether or not the member states or EU citizens subscribe to this identity, the institution of the EU (and therefore the EEAS) operates as though there is an EU identity. Narrative analysis on EU texts must therefore be conducted as though this is true.

If the EU has its own identity, then it can also have an understanding of the system. That understanding of the system, according to this case study, is one where regional players are important and cooperation begins at the regional level before expanding to the international. What is important to understand is that, if we take this approach, the EU is not a system itself, rather just another player within the system. Conversely, other international organizations, for example the UN and WTO, are often treated within narrative research, as a structural element of an international system narrative. This is an issue of narrative theory as a whole; the lack of

a consistent understanding of how international or intergovernmental organizations can be categorized leads to problems for any research that include these actors.

If, as is possible in the case of France, a strong identity narrative precludes a strong EU narrative then the logic here becomes circular; if the EU assumes a strong identity, as in these texts, it could prompt its members to react with a strong national identity narrative, which in turn weakens the perceived EU narrative. If, on the other hand, the EU were to praise member states and assume a secondary role, it could also undermine its attempts to build an individual identity narrative. In other words, a question that must be addressed by all strategic narrative researchers is whether the EU, UN, or other organizations are a *system* or an *identity*.

I believe this research demonstrates that France and Germany see “Europeanness” as an essential part of their *national* identity narrative but see the EU itself rather as an *international system* narrative. I posit that this research doesn’t show a lack of commitment to the EU, but rather a difference in expectations; if the EU expects its identity narrative to usurp a national identity, especially in such a contested arena as foreign policy, it is bound to be disappointed. If it instead expects its member states to support it as a system, member states are likely more willing to comply.

With this in mind, an area of further inquiry may be that of narrative integration as a wider EU integration effort. I argue that there could be a case for understanding narratives as a function of greater integration. Epstein’s work on anti-whaling narratives demonstrated the constitutive power of oft-repeated narratives.³⁶² Within the EU, efforts are already being made to strengthen a common narrative.³⁶³ These efforts could, over time, lead to greater integration at a governmental level. While some scholars have attempted to distill common narratives about the EU, to my knowledge none have analyzed efforts to integrate existing narratives. Despite this gap, I believe narrative integration to be a crucial element to any political integration, especially in foreign policy. This research demonstrates that, even on subjects about which

³⁶² Charlotte Epstein, *The Power of Words in International Relations: Birth of an Anti-Whaling Discourse*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008.

³⁶³ See, for example, the European Commission campaign “A New Narrative for Europe” https://europa.eu/youth/new_narrative_for_europe_en

there is a consensus, differences in narrative projection still exist and could affect the way these narratives are received and interpreted.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

This research has shown that EU member states, despite agreeing to CFSP, have failed to integrate their foreign policy narratives. In the JCPOA case, the narrative that was formed in Brussels was not faithfully projected by the German and French Embassies in Washington. Moreover, in my case study I have demonstrated a clear instance in which France and Germany have changed the narrative that was formed in Brussels in order to better serve elements of their own identity narratives.

There is no evidence in this case to indicate that France and Germany changed the EU narrative maliciously. I argue instead that these states react out of insecurity to preserve their own national identities. However, this effort to shield their own ontological security can, in some instances, weaken the CFSP narrative of the EU. In some ways, this case study reflects an ongoing discussion among EU scholars about the value and existence of EU identity. Here, we see states seeking to protect their most deep-seated narrative elements instead of protecting the legitimacy and ontological security of the EU. In light of this, I have suggested that narrative integration be an important step for EU identity formation. These scenarios – where the EU position and the member state position differ – are far from scarce, and EU institutions would be wise to consider the constitutive power of strategic narratives in their integration efforts.

This thesis has also raised questions about the nature of strategic narratives in public diplomacy. With my case study, I have shown that public diplomacy, including social media, is not value neutral. These are tools used by states to disseminate a perspective of events, often imbued by the speakers with meaning. In the case of the Iran Nuclear Deal, France and Germany were not simply telling the story of the negotiations, they were selling their version of the negotiations to affix this event within the framework of their existing identity and international system narratives. For France, this meant affirming the importance of the UNSC and the EU, demonstrating France's activism, and maintaining a system based on a powerful few. For Germany this meant maintaining the balance between Europe and the US, arguing in favor of cooperation, and focusing on a more peaceful future.

As the term narrative becomes more and more a part of popular and scientific syntax, it is important to properly define it. But definition is only half the battle. Understanding what narratives are active in what contexts can give scholars and citizens greater insight into the

goals and motivations of state agents. Moreover, this type of research can give valuable perspective on the international system as a whole. As the EU continues to struggle with its identity and member states question how to best incorporate the EU into their national myths, narratives can be an indispensable tool. Only then can scholars determine who speaks for the EU and who crafts its narrative.

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Appendix I: EEAS Data

Joint statement by EU High Representative Federica Mogherini and Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif Vienna		
Analytical Concept	Question	Quote
International System	<i>Does the actor identify the negotiators as P5+1 or EU3+3?</i>	The E3/EU+3 and the Islamic Republic of Iran welcome this historic Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)
International System	<i>Does the actor identify the negotiators as P5+1 or EU3+3?</i>	presented within the next few days by the E3+3 to the Security Council for endorsement.
International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order? The EU? The UN? Individual states?</i>	We, the EU High Representative for Foreign and Security policy and the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, together with the Foreign Ministers of the People's Republic of China, France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States of America
International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order? The EU? The UN? Individual states?</i>	counting also on the contribution of the International Atomic Energy Agency.
International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order? The EU? The UN? Individual states?</i>	will produce the comprehensive lifting of all UN Security Council sanctions as well as multilateral and national sanctions related to Iran's nuclear programme
International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order? The EU? The UN? Individual states?</i>	Many people brought these difficult negotiations forward during the last decade and we would like to thank all of them - as we would like to thank the International Atomic Energy Agency for its critical contribution and close cooperation as well as the Austrian government for the support and hospitality.
International System	How does this actor understand the system?	This achievement is the result of a collective effort.
Identity	<i>What is the relationship between the "historic self" and "future self" in this narrative?</i>	We have always been aware we had a responsibility to our generation and the future ones.
Identity	<i>What is the relationship between the "historic self" and "future self" in this narrative?</i>	This is the conclusion of our negotiations, but this is not the end of our common work. We will keep doing this important task together.
Identity	<i>What values and ideals are promoted by these actors?</i>	With courage, political will, mutual respect and leadership, we delivered on what the world was hoping for: a shared commitment to peace and to join hands in order to make our world safer.
Identity	<i>What values and ideals are promoted by these actors?</i>	This is the conclusion of our negotiations, but this is not the end of our common work. We will keep doing this important task together.
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	We, the EU High Representative for Foreign and Security policy and the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, together with the Foreign Ministers of the People's Republic of China, France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States of America met here in Vienna, following several months of intensive work, at various levels and in different formats, to negotiate the text of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), based on the key parameters agreed in Lausanne on 2 April.
Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations</i>	No one ever thought it would be easy. Historic decisions never are. But despite all twists and turns of the talks, and the number

	<i>take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>	of extensions, hope and determination enabled us to overcome all the difficult moments.
Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>	Thanks to the constructive engagement of all parties, and the dedication and ability of our teams, we have successfully concluded negotiations and resolved a dispute that lasted more than 10 years.
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	ensure that Iran's nuclear programme will be exclusively peaceful, and mark a fundamental shift in their approach to this issue. They anticipate that full implementation of this Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action will positively contribute to regional and international peace and security. Iran reaffirms that under no circumstances will Iran ever seek, develop or acquire any nuclear weapons.
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	will produce the comprehensive lifting of all UN Security Council sanctions as well as multilateral and national sanctions related to Iran's nuclear programme, including steps on access in areas of trade, technology, finance, and energy.
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	This agreement opens new possibilities and a way forward to end a crisis that has lasted for more than 10 years.
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	We call on the world community to support the implementation of this historic effort.
Issue	<i>What is the tone?</i>	No one ever thought it would be easy. Historic decisions never are. But despite all twists and turns of the talks, and the number of extensions, hope and determination enabled us to overcome all the difficult moments. We have always been aware we had a responsibility to our generation and the future ones.
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	We now have a duty to build on the historical result we have achieved in Vienna.
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	With courage, political will, mutual respect and leadership, we delivered on what the world was hoping for: a shared commitment to peace and to join hands in order to make our world safer. This is an historic day also because we are creating the conditions for building trust and opening a new chapter in our relationship.
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	No one ever thought it would be easy. Historic decisions never are
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	These documents are detailed and specific: that is important because all sides wanted clarity so as to ensure the full and effective implementation of the agreement.

Mogherini Proud of EU Contribution to Iranian Deal		
Analytical Concept	Question	Quote
International System	How do these actors position themselves in relation to the rest of the world?	Yesterday the European Union wrote one of the best pages of its history: the Iranian nuclear deal has been reached thanks to the facilitation of the EU
International System	How do these actors position themselves in relation to the rest of the world?	EU a strong, credible and respected facilitator
International System	How do these actors position themselves in relation to the rest of the world?	With pride, I can say the European Union has made it possible.
International System	<i>How does this actor understand the system?</i>	With courage, the international community has made an historical step towards peace.
Identity	<i>What is the relationship between the “historic self” and “future self” in this narrative?</i>	But it is mainly thanks to the extraordinary work of an extraordinary team, the European one, that we made it. I would like to thank first of all Javier Solana and Catherine Ashton that have invested a lot in this process. We have built on their legacy, and if we are here to celebrate an historical event, it is thanks to their vision and their dedication.
Identity	<i>What is the relationship between the “historic self” and “future self” in this narrative?</i>	It is their competence, their skills, their creativity, and their patience, that made the EU a strong, credible and respected facilitator in this crucial process.
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions? In other words, is there an element of nationalism?</i>	Yesterday the European Union wrote one of the best pages of its history: the Iranian nuclear deal has been reached thanks to the facilitation of the EU
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions? In other words, is there an element of nationalism?</i>	EU a strong, credible and respected facilitator
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions? In other words, is there an element of nationalism?</i>	With pride, I can say the European Union has made it possible.
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions? In other words, is there an element of nationalism?</i>	What we have achieved is the result of the strong political will of all parties, and the combined commitment of many. But it is mainly thanks to the extraordinary work of an extraordinary team, the European one, that we made it.
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions? In other words, is there an</i>	But our gratitude goes first to all those, in the EEAS and in all the European institutions, who have been working behind the scenes for years, tirelessly and with impressive dedication,

	<i>element of nationalism?</i>	keeping the dream alive even in the most difficult moments - and there have been many.
Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>	It has been a difficult, complex, long process. What we have achieved is the result of the strong political will of all parties, and the combined commitment of many

Council conclusions on the agreement on Iran's nuclear programme		
Analytical Concept	Question	Quote
International System	<i>How do these actors position themselves in relation to the rest of the world?</i>	with the facilitation of the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign and Security Policy
International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order? The EU? The UN? Individual states?</i>	Council fully supports the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2231 (2015) unanimously adopted on 20 July 2015 endorsing the JCPOA and urging its full implementation.
International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order? The EU? The UN? Individual states?</i>	The Council acknowledges the important role of the IAEA in the verification of the JCPOA
International System	<i>What is the ideal for the system?</i>	Council invites the High Representative to explore ways in which the EU could actively promote a more cooperative regional framework and to report back to the Council in the coming months.
International System	<i>What is the ideal for the system?</i>	The Council expresses the expectation that this positive development will open the door to a steady improvement in relations between the European Union, its Member States and Iran, as well as improved Iranian regional and international relations, and that it will constitute a basis for a more stable and secure region.
Identity	<i>What is the relationship between the "historic self" and "future self" in this narrative?</i>	In light of the agreement in Vienna, the Council invites the High Representative to explore ways in which the EU could actively promote a more cooperative regional framework and to report back to the Council in the coming months.
Identity	<i>How is this actor in a unique position to understand the JCPOA? Do they identify a historical link?</i>	The Council acknowledges the role played by France, Germany and the UK since launching the negotiations in Tehran in 2003 with the Tehran Agreement.
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	The Council welcomes the 14 July 2015 agreement reached in Vienna between Iran and China, France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, with the facilitation of the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign and Security Policy, on a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA).
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	The Council acknowledges the role played by France, Germany and the UK since launching the negotiations in Tehran in 2003 with the Tehran Agreement.
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	The Council expresses its appreciation for the coordinating role played by the High Representative, which was instrumental in bringing these negotiations to a successful conclusion and acknowledges the support by the Austrian government in hosting the final round of the talks
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	The Council requests the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy to continue playing a coordinating role during the implementation of the JCPOA
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	The Council expresses the expectation that this positive development will open the door to a steady improvement in relations between the European Union, its Member States and

		Iran, as well as improved Iranian regional and international relations, and that it will constitute a basis for a more stable and secure region.
Issue	<i>Who has the power in the JCPOA?</i>	Council fully supports the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2231 (2015) unanimously adopted on 20 July 2015 endorsing the JCPOA and urging its full implementation.
Issue	<i>Is the actor implicating other actors within these negotiations?</i>	The Council acknowledges the role played by France, Germany and the UK since launching the negotiations in Tehran in 2003 with the Tehran Agreement.
Issue	<i>What is the tone?</i>	In the context of the long-running diplomatic efforts to reach a comprehensive, long lasting and peaceful solution to the Iranian nuclear issue, this is an historic moment.

The Iran Deal is a Disaster for ISIS		
Analytical Concept	Question	Quote
International System	<i>How does this actor understand the system?</i>	We should always keep in mind that the starting point for the negotiations was the lack of trust between Iran and the international community
International System	<i>How does this actor understand the system?</i>	The whole Middle East is in turmoil
International System	<i>What is the ideal for the system?</i>	We need to restart political processes to end wars
International System	<i>What is the ideal for the system?</i>	Cooperation between Iran, its neighbours and the whole international community could open unprecedented possibilities of peace for the region, starting from Syria, Yemen and Iraq.
International System	<i>What is the ideal for the system?</i>	There is nothing more worrisome to Isis than cooperation between “the west” and the Muslim world, for it defies the narrative of a clash of civilisations the group is trying to revive
International system	<i>Who are the major players in world order? The EU? The UN? Individual states?</i>	I witnessed first-hand the commitment of the Iranian negotiators, under the leadership of foreign minister Mohammad Javad Zarif, and the commitment of all six world powers.
Identity	<i>What is the relationship between the “historic self” and “future self” in this narrative?</i>	We Europeans have a long tradition of cultural and economic relationship with Iran. Before sanctions began in 2005, cooperation between our parts of the world spanned many areas, from energy to trade. But our shared interests go well beyond the economy.
Identity	<i>What values and ideals are promoted by these actors?</i>	We should be confident that the same strong determination can build a different regional framework, one based on cooperation rather than confrontation.
Identity	<i>What values and ideals are promoted by these actors?</i>	The Vienna deal tells us that we all have much to earn if we choose cooperation over confrontation
Identity	<i>How is this actor in a unique position to understand the JCPOA? Do they identify a historical link?</i>	We Europeans have a long tradition of cultural and economic relationship with Iran. Before sanctions began in 2005, cooperation between our parts of the world spanned many areas, from energy to trade.
Identity	<i>How is this actor in a unique position to understand the JCPOA? Do they identify a historical link?</i>	After decades of tensions and distrust, 12 years of hope and fear and 22 months of intense, difficult, highly technical and political negotiations, we had finally made it.
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	Commentators are divided and the debate is still heated.
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	The sceptics will argue this is very unlikely, or impossible. The pessimists will warn of the dangers.
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	I witnessed first-hand the commitment of the Iranian negotiators, under the leadership of foreign minister Mohammad Javad Zarif, and the commitment of all six world powers.

Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>	After decades of tensions and distrust, 12 years of hope and fear and 22 months of intense, difficult, highly technical and political negotiations, we had finally made it. Will this turn a page in Iran's relations with the rest of the world? Commentators are divided and the debate is still heated. I understand the reasons behind the scepticism. But I believe a new chapter really is about to be opened.
Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>	We should always keep in mind that the starting point for the negotiations was the lack of trust between Iran and the international community. In the end, we agreed on a deal that is not based on trust, but on precise commitments, on transparency and verification.
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	A deal that, while implemented, will allow us to build trust and lay the foundations for a new relationship.
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	The objective of the negotiations was to address and resolve concerns about Iran's nuclear programme and to agree on verifiable long-term guarantees about the exclusively peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear programme. Iran's aspiration to a civilian nuclear programme is fully recognised, with the assurance that "under no circumstances" will the country seek to acquire the bomb.
Issue	<i>Who has the power in the JCPOA?</i>	when the seven countries around the table in Vienna, under the steer of the European Union, finally reached a deal on Iran's nuclear programme.
Issue	<i>What is the tone?</i>	The heart-warming images of the young people of Iran celebrating in the streets give us good reason to be hopeful; we saw an outpouring of joy at what had just happened, mixed with the expectation of a better tomorrow. They served as a reminder that this deal is also an investment in the generations that are celebrating a different future.
Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>	There was much speculation about some of the meetings in Vienna being "heated". You would not expect anything less when the issues are so relevant. Still, we all wanted the talks to be based on mutual respect and clarity. And they truly were.
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	It is a deal made to withstand the challenge of time; a good deal, with no space for interpretations or doubts
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	The objective of the negotiations was to address and resolve concerns about Iran's nuclear programme and to agree on verifiable long-term guarantees about the exclusively peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear programme.

Appendix II: German Embassy Data

Germany: International System Narratives				
Analytical Concept	Question	Date	Source	Tweet
International System	<i>Does the actor identify the negotiators as P5+1 or EU3+3?</i>	20.07.15	AmbWittig	E3+3 leaders have stressed that full implementation of #IranDeal by #Iran is key. This deal could contribute to greater peace in #MiddleEast
International System	<i>How do these actors position themselves in relation to the rest of the world?</i>	22.07.15	AmbWittig	Good dinner discussion yesterday w/ @RepErikPaulsen @RepBoustany @RepMcSally @RepStefanik on #Iran, #TTIP + #Germany's role in #Europe.
International System	<i>How does this actor understand the system?</i>	17.09.15	AmbWittig	#IranDeal was a transatlantic success. I wrote a blog post for @atlanticcouncil about need for swift implementation!
International System	<i>What is the ideal for the system?</i>	14.10.15	AmbWittig	10/16: FM #Steinmeier will travel to Teheran to talk abt implementation of nuclear deal+encourage Iran to play a constructive role in region
International System	<i>What is the ideal for the system?</i>	01.09.15	AmbWittig	#IranDeal could be a major step towards a more peaceful #MiddleEast. Essential that it goes through!
International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order? The EU? The UN? Individual states?</i>	09.09.15	AmbWittig	Other EU Ambs & I met today w/@NancyPelosi to discuss #IranDeal. Our stance is clear: this is a good deal for Middle East and world.
International System	<i>Does the actor identify the negotiators as P5+1 or EU3+3?</i>	29.09.15	GermanyinUSA	John Kerry E3+3 Foreign Mins (including FM #Steinmeier + @JohnKerry) and #Iran met in NY to discuss implementation of #IranDeal
International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order? The EU? The UN? Individual states?</i>	29.09.15	GermanyinUSA	John Kerry E3+3 Foreign Mins (including FM #Steinmeier + @JohnKerry) and #Iran met in NY to discuss implementation of #IranDeal
International System	<i>How does this actor understand the system?</i>	04.09.15	GermanyinUSA	FM #Steinmeier at EU foreign ministers informal meeting: #migration, #IranDeal, #Russia. Video: e, #Russia. Video: http://tvnewsroom.consilium.europa.eu/event/informal-meeting-of-foreign-affairs-ministers-gymnich-september-2015/arrival-and-doorstep-de-steinmeier22 ...
International System	<i>What is the ideal for the system?</i>	14.07.15	GermanyinUSA	FM #Steinmeier's full statement: "It could also be a first, a major step towards more peaceful #MiddleEast" #IranDeal

International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order? The EU? The UN? Individual states?</i>	17.09.15	GermanyinUSA	"Wanted: All—Transatlantic—Hands on Deck for Implementation of Iran Deal" blog by @AmbWittig in @AtlanticCouncil http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/wanted-all-transatlantic-hands-on-deck-for-implementation-of-iran-deal ...
International System	<i>Does the actor identify the negotiators as P5+1 or EU3+3?</i>	29.07.15	GermanyinUSA	#IranDeal is crucial. @AmbWittig has been sharing German/E3 perspective on the Hill. http://www.politico.com/story/2015/07/iran-deal-uk-france-germanyambassadors-lobby-congress-120741.html
International System	<i>Does the actor identify the negotiators as P5+1 or EU3+3?</i>	14.07.15	German Embassy Washington	The E3+3 talks with Iran in Vienna achieved a historic breakthrough this morning. Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier: "Today is a good day, maybe even a historic day for everyone who wants to see this dispute settled peacefully. It's also a great moment for me personally. It is historic because we have shown that major international conflicts, can be resolved through dialogue and perseverance. And that this is also possible where mistrust and even open hostility initially appeared to be insurmountable." Pictured from left: Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi; French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius; Foreign Minister Steinmeier; EU High Representative Federica Mogherini; Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif; Ali Akbar Salehi, head of Iran's atomic energy organization; Russian Foreign Minister Sergej Lawrow; British Foreign Secretary Philip Hammond; US Secretary of State John Kerry; and US Energy Secretary Ernest Moniz. http://bit.ly/1LeuHcI

Germany: Identity Narratives				
Analytical Concept	Question	Date	Account	Tweet
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions? In other words, is there an element of nationalism?</i>	22.07.15	AmbWittig	Good dinner discussion yesterday w/ @RepErikPaulsen @RepBoustany @RepMcSally @RepStefanik on #Iran, #TTIP + #Germany's role in #Europe.
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions? In other words, is there an element of nationalism?</i>	14.10.15	AmbWittig	10/16: FM #Steinmeier will travel to Teheran to talk abt implementation of nuclear deal+encourage Iran to play a constructive role in region
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions? In other words, is there an element of nationalism?</i>	24.07.15	AmbWittig	At @AspenSecurity Forum: panellists on #Iran endorse nuclear agreement. Europe has big skin in the game of US debate! #ASF15 @AspenInstitute
Identity	<i>What values and ideals are promoted by these actors?</i>	16.07.15	AmbWittig	#IranDeal is a "victory of political sense and perseverance," says FM #Steinmeier in @HuffingtonPost. Worth a read! http://www.huffingtonpost.com/frankwalter-steinmeier/a-great-moment-for-diplom_b_7804796.html ...
Identity	<i>What is the relationship between the "historic self" and "future self" in this narrative?</i>	04.09.15	German Embassy Washington	"The collective presence of four high-profile figures -- Britain's Peter Westmacott, Germany's Peter Wittig, France's Gerard Araud, as well as the EU ambassador David O'Sullivan -- would come to be a feature of European lobbying efforts." #IranDeal
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions? In other words, is there an element of nationalism?</i>	29.07.15	GermanyinUSA	#IranDeal is crucial. @AmbWittig has been sharing German/E3 perspective on the Hill.
Identity	<i>How is this actor in a unique position to understand the JCPOA? Do they identify a historical link?</i>	31.07.15	GermanyinUSA	"Refugees: 'Germany is taking responsibility'" - Interview w/FM #Steinmeier on #IranDeal, #Ukraine, #Refugees. @SWPde http://www.auswaertiges-Refugees.Infoservice/Presse/Interview/2015/150730_SuedwestPresse.html
Identity	<i>What is the relationship between the "historic self" and "future self" in this narrative?</i>	19.10.15	GermanyinUSA	FM #Steinmeier is 1st GER FM to travel to #Iran since '03. His @MunSecConf speech in #Teheran: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Infoservice/Presse/Reden/2015/151017_Teheran.html ...
Identity	<i>What values and ideals are promoted by these actors?</i>	31.07.15	GermanyinUSA	"Refugees: 'Germany is taking responsibility'" - Interview w/FM #Steinmeier on #IranDeal, #Ukraine,

				#Refugees. @SWPde http://www.auswaertiges- amt.de/EN/Infoservice/Presse/Intervi ew/2015/150730_SuedwestPresse.ht ml
Identity	<i>What values and ideals are promoted by these actors?</i>	14.07.15	GermanyinUSA	Chancellor #Merkel: #IranNuclearDeal is an „important success of persistent politics and international diplomacy.“ MT @RegSprecher #IranDeal

Germany: Issue Narratives				
Analytical Concept	Question	Date	Account	Tweet
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	10.09.15	AmbWittig	Chllr #Merkel, @Number10gov #Cameron +@fhollande in @washingtonpost on why they support the #IranDeal: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/cameron-hollande-and-merkel-why-we-support-the-iran-deal/2015/09/10/a1ce6610-5735-11e5-b8c9-944725fcd3b9_story.html ...
Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>	19.10.15	AmbWittig	Ystdy was official adoption day for #IranDeal. Important step in process & a chance for #Iran to prove its sincerity
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	19.10.15	AmbWittig	Ystdy was official adoption day for #IranDeal. Important step in process & a chance for #Iran to prove its sincerity https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/10/18/statement-president-adoption-joint-comprehensive-plan-action ...
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	09.09.15	AmbWittig	Other EU Ambs & I met today w/@NancyPelosi to discuss #IranDeal. Our stance is clear: this is a good deal for Middle East and world.
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	08.09.15	AmbWittig	#Congress returned today.As they discuss #IranDeal important to remember:deal will block Iran's path to bomb+could help MiddleEast stability
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	20.07.15	AmbWittig	E3+3 leaders have stressed that full implementation of #IranDeal by #Iran is key. This deal could contribute to greater peace in #MiddleEast
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	14.07.15	AmbWittig	One of the biggest opportunities of the #IranDeal: Young Iranians craving for more contacts with the Western world have more chances.
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	15.07.15	AmbWittig	For all those interested in the details of the #IranDeal – here is a link to the full text : http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/docs/iran_agreement/iran_joint-comprehensive-plan-of-action_en.pdf
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	01.07.15	AmbWittig	FM #Steinmeier in an interview with #Iran's news agency @IRNANews s a : "Transparency is a key criterion." http://bit.ly/1IsgSXL

Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	09.09.15	AmbWittig	Other EU Ambs & I met today w/@NancyPelosi to discuss #IranDeal. Our stance is clear: this is a good deal for Middle East and world.
Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>	16.07.15	German Embassy Washington	In an op-ed on HuffingtonPost.com, Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier writes: "The deal reached in Vienna is a victory of political sense and perseverance. The Vienna agreement brings more security to the region and rules out the possibility of Iran making a break for a nuclear bomb in a lasting and verifiable manner. A continuous, comprehensive control regime will secure far-reaching restrictions on Iran's nuclear activities."
Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>	14.07.15	German Embassy Washington	The E3+3 talks with Iran in Vienna achieved a historic breakthrough this morning. Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier: "Today is a good day, maybe even a historic day for everyone who wants to see this dispute settled peacefully. It's also a great moment for me personally. It is historic because we have shown that major international conflicts, can be resolved through dialogue and perseverance. And that this is also possible where mistrust and even open hostility initially appeared to be insurmountable."
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	29.09.16	GermanyinUSA	John Kerry E3+3 Foreign Mins (including FM #Steinmeier + @JohnKerry) and #Iran met in NY to discuss implementation of Good nDeal (@JohnKerry Good meeting with P5+1 colleagues and #Iran on implementation of @TheIranDeal.)
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	05.08.15	GermanyinUSA	DCM #Ackermann: @POTUS #Obama delivering strong message in favor of #IranDeal at @AmericanU #ObamaAtAU
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	10.09.15	GermanyinUSA	Article in @washingtonpost by Chllr #Merkel, Pres @fhollande and #IranDeal: ov on #IranDeal: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/merkel-hollande-and-merkel-merkel, Pres t-the-iran-Merkel, Pres 10/a1ce6610-5735-Merkel, Pr 944725fcd3b9_story.html ...
Issue	<i>What is the tone? (Optimistic, Pessimistic, Neutral)</i>	07.08.15	GermanyinUSA	DCM #Ackermann on #IranDeal: "verifiable deal"+"best way of stopping Iran frm getting

				nuclear weapons" @washingtonpost http://wpo.st/HQpT0
Issue	<i>What is the tone? (Optimistic, Pessimistic, Neutral)</i>	06.08.15	GermanyinUSA	DCM #Ackermann: Briefed US journalists today on GER's take on #IranDeal. deal not based on trust, but on verification
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	07.08.15	GermanyinUSA	DCM #Ackermann on #IranDeal: "verifiable deal" + "best way of stopping Iran frm getting nuclear weapons" @washingtonpost http://wpo.st/HQpT0
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	16.07.15	GermanyinUSA	Check out FM #Steinmeier's Op-Ed in the @HuffingtonPost about the success of the #IranDeal: k http://www.huffingtonpost.com/frank-walter-steinmeier/a-great-moment-for-diplom_b_7804796.html ...
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	15.07.15	GermanyinUSA	Want to know more about the #IranDeal? A comprehensive look, including links to the full text, from @GermanyDiplo: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/RegionalesSchwerpunkte/NaherMittlererOsten/Iran/aktuell/150714_IRN_Deal.html ...
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	14.07.15	GermanyinUSA	Scenes from #Vienna as final pieces of #IranDeal fell into place. FM #Steinmeier: A historic day! MT @GermanyDiplo GermanForeignOffice Iran talks Vienna: Behind the scenes of the last plenary meeting

Appendix III: French Embassy Data

France: International System Narratives				
Concept	Question	Date	Source	Tweet
International System	<i>Does the actor identify the negotiators as P5+1 or EU3+3?</i>	21.07.15	GerardAraud	We (P3) have been able so far to detect the nuclear activities of Iran by our own means. The inspections will improve our capabilities.
International System	<i>Does the actor identify the negotiators as P5+1 or EU3+3?</i>	16.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. The EU3 launched the negotiation. All the P5+1 had an input into it while recognizing the critical role of the US
International System	<i>Does the actor identify the negotiators as P5+1 or EU3+3?</i>	15.07.15	GerardAraud	Among the P5+1, the U.S. has paid by far the lowest price for the implementation of the sanctions against Iran.
International System	<i>How do these actors position themselves in relation to the rest of the world?</i>	21.07.15	GerardAraud	Meeting with my UK, German and EU colleagues Sen. Corker, chairman of the foreign affairs committee. Irandeal. Courteous exchange of views.
International System	<i>How do these actors position themselves in relation to the rest of the world?</i>	21.07.15	GerardAraud	With my UK, German and EU colleagues, ready to meet members of the Congress to explain the reasons of our support to the #IranDeal.
International System	<i>How do these actors position themselves in relation to the rest of the world?</i>	09.09.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. No credible alternative to its robust and fair implementation. France will be vigilant in this regard.
International System	<i>How do these actors position themselves in relation to the rest of the world?</i>	09.09.15	GerardAraud	#Irandeal. Tomorrow, with my P5 colleagues, meeting the Dem. House rep. Explaining and reaffirming our support of the deal.
International System	<i>How does this actor understand the system?</i>	20.07.15	FranceintheUS	Min. @LaurentFabius on #IranDeal: #UNSC's adoption of Res. 2231— important step toward implementation of Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action.
International System	<i>How does this actor understand the system?</i>	12.07.15	GerardAraud	The consequence of the destruction of Iraq is the ascendancy of Iran. Whatever the regime in Teheran, a problem for its neighbors. Balancing
International System	<i>How does this actor understand the system?</i>	14.07.15	Gerard Araud	#IranDeal. Now time to make a assessment of its geopolitical consequences without wishful thinking from the new balance of power.
International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order?</i>	09.09.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal . The P5+1 have been united for the last 9y. Same goals. No reason they break ranks once the agreement is ratified.
International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order?</i>	28.07.15	GerardAraud	#Iran.France, Germany and UK don't need any encouragement, any advice, any pressure to campaign for an agreement they negotiated and signed.

International System	<i>Who are the major players in world order?</i>	21.07.15	GerardAraud	#Irandeal. On Monday, the EU FM have extended the snap back procedure to the EU sanctions.
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France: Identity Narratives				
Concept	Question	Date	Account	Tweet
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions? In other words, is there an element of nationalism?</i>	14.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. Everything started in 2003 with the letter to Iran signed by the three European ministers on the basis of a French draft.
Identity	<i>Does the actor promote its contribution above other contributions? In other words, is there an element of nationalism?</i>	09.09.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. No credible alternative to its robust and fair implementation. France will be vigilant in this regard.
Identity	<i>How is this actor in a unique position to understand the JCPOA? Do they identify a historical link?</i>	14.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. 2003/2005 : negotiations conducted by the 3 Europeans. Iranian program frozen but no final agreement.
Identity	<i>How is this actor in a unique position to understand the JCPOA? Do they identify a historical link?</i>	14.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. 2006 : US, China and Russia join the negotiation. 2006/2009 : sanctions UNSCR 1737, 1747, 1803, 1835 and 1929. Stalemate.
Identity	<i>How is this actor in a unique position to understand the JCPOA? Do they identify a historical link?</i>	14.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. Between 2005 and 2013, scores of useless meetings. Iran doesn't engage in a negotiation and doesn't answer to several proposals.
Identity	<i>How is this actor in a unique position to understand the JCPOA? Do they identify a historical link?</i>	14.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. It is only in 2013 that Iran has decided to engage into substantial negotiations. First time since 2005.
Identity	<i>How is this actor in a unique position to understand the JCPOA? Do they identify a historical link?</i>	16.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. The EU3 launched the negotiation. All the P5+1 had an input into it while recognizing the critical role of the US
Identity	<i>How is this actor in a unique position to understand the JCPOA? Do they identify a historical link?</i>	21.07.15	GerardAraud	We (P3) have been able so far to detect the nuclear activities of Iran by our own means. The inspections will improve our capabilities.
Identity	<i>What values and ideals are promoted by these actors?</i>	25.08.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. Foreign policy has hardly anything to do with trust. We need and have strong verification mechanisms.
Identity	<i>What values and ideals are promoted by these actors?</i>	21.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. After 10/15 ans, Iran will not be able to do whatever it wants. Its enrichment will have to be justified by a civilian program.

France: Issue Narratives				
Concept	Question	Date	Account	Tweet
Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>	27.08.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal . "We have shown a constructive and legitimate firmness till the very end of the negotiations". French FM Fabius.
Issue	<i>Under what conditions did these negotiations take place? Is this a story of consensus or resolved conflict?</i>	10.07.15	GerardAraud	#Iran. People ask me : agreement or not? I don't have a clue and I suspect nobody knows. Hard points identified needing political decisions.
Issue	<i>What is the ideal outcome to the JCPOA?</i>	09.09.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. In a sense, once the deal ratified, starts the most difficult part of the process, the implementation. Vigilance and fairness.
Issue	<i>What is the tone? (Optimistic, Pessimistic, Neutral)</i>	09.09.15	GerardAraud	The message of the P5+1 : the Iran deal is compromise. Both sides would want it different but it is globally a good result for us.
Issue	<i>What is the tone? (Optimistic, Pessimistic, Neutral)</i>	21.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. If Iran cheats, we have the means to reimpose sanctions which will bring us back where we are today.
Issue	<i>What is the tone? (Optimistic, Pessimistic, Neutral)</i>	14.07.15	GerardAraud	#Iran deal. Any agreement is by definition a compromise. This deal, respects our red lines and gives us the necessary guarantees.
Issue	<i>What is the tone? (Optimistic, Pessimistic, Neutral)</i>	12.07.15	GerardAraud	The consequence of the destruction of Iraq is the ascendancy of Iran. Whatever the regime in Teheran, a problem for its neighbors. Balancing
Issue	<i>What is the tone? (Optimistic, Pessimistic, Neutral)</i>	21.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. Not everything we wanted but a solid and unprecedented limitation of a nuclear program while keeping all options on the table.
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	21.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. Not everything we wanted but a solid and unprecedented limitation of a nuclear program while keeping all options on the table.
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	09.09.15	GerardAraud	The message of the P5+1 : the Iran deal is compromise. Both sides would want it different but it is globally a good result for us.
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	15.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. It has to be judged on its own merits. It copes with and only with nuclear issues. In this context, it is basically a good deal.
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	14.07.15	GerardAraud	#Iran deal. Any agreement is by definition a compromise. This deal, respects our red lines and gives us the necessary guarantees.
Issue	<i>What words are used to describe the deal?</i>	14.07.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. The agreement is 159 pages long. And, in some parts, very,

				very technical. Good luck for the analysts.
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	14.09.15	FranceintheUS	Don't miss last week's #oped by Pdt @fhollande, Chllr A. Merkel, & PM @David_Cameron: "Why we support the Iran deal" http://www.franceintheus.org/spip.php?article7028 ...
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	20.07.15	FranceintheUS	Min. @LaurentFabius on #IranDeal: #EU Foreign Affairs Council applauded E3 powers & coordinator @FedericaMog for this historic agreement.
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	09.09.15	GerardAraud	#IranDeal. No credible alternative to its robust and fair implementation. France will be vigilant in this regard.
Issue	<i>Which actors are identified as part of the JCPOA negotiations and what are their roles?</i>	21.07. 15	GerardAraud	We (P3) have been able so far to detect the nuclear activities of Iran by our own means. The inspections will improve our capabilities.