



Europe in Discourse

2nd International Conference

Agendas of Reform

Book of Abstracts



2nd International Conference Europe in Discourse: Agendas of Reform

Book of Abstracts

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Published by: Hellenic American University
Nashua, New Hampshire/ Athens, Greece

Book cover by: Anna Razou

©2018, Hellenic American University
436 Amherst Street, Nashua, NH 03063, USA

ISBN: 978-0-9979971-2-5

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Introduction

Following our first highly successful Conference on Europe in Discourse: Identity, Diversity, Borders in September 2016, we were encouraged to organize a second, follow-up Europe in Discourse Conference in 2018. This conference: "Agendas of Reform" is of a more interdisciplinary nature, and it is dedicated to a discussion of solutions to the European crisis and its pressing problems. We believe that what is needed now is an interdisciplinary dialogue between historians, economists, political analysts and policy makers who will present their ideas and visions about the future of Europe. Discourse - and in particular "Discourse in Society" - will again play a major role in potential agendas of reform because all of the topics that touch upon Europe are, of course, based in some way or other on language as a receptacle of historically evolved cultural norms, narratives and presuppositions.

The Second Europe in Discourse Conference covers a broad range of thematic areas such as:

- Values-based Reform, from Enlargement to Legitimization
- Completing the EMU
- EU Security and Defense
- The Franco-German Relationship
- The Transatlantic Dimension
- The European Union and Islam
- Greece and the EU

As can be seen in this Book of Abstracts, contributions to the Conference cover the following Conference Themes, which provide continuity with the previous conference:

- The Refugee Crisis in EU discourses
- Anti-immigration and discourses of fear
- Historical, geo-cultural, geo-economic and geopolitical aspects of European identities
- Europe: Super-diverse and globlized
- Images of crisis and recovery in Europe
- Conceptual blending, discourse and metaphors about Europe
- Populist discourses and the EU
- Educational discourses in the EU
- European diversity through religion and culture
- Discursive construction of borders
- Political discourse in the European Union
- Media constructions of European identities

The Conference features individual oral communications and themed panels. The list of confirmed plenary and keynote speakers include internationally renowned scholars from many different countries, institutions and disciplines.

On behalf of the Steering, Scientific and Organizational committees we look forward to welcoming everybody to another exciting Conference in Athens.

Europe in Discourse
Steering Committee

Conference Committees

Scientific Committee

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Opening Remarks



Dimitris Avramopoulos

EU Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship

Dimitris Avramopoulos served as Greece's Minister of Defense (two terms), Minister of Health and Social Solidarity and Minister of Tourism Development and was elected Mayor of Athens (two terms). He was elected to Parliament with the party of New Democracy on numerous occasions (1993, 2004, 2007, 2009 and 2012). He served in various positions in the Diplomatic Corps from 1980 to 1993. He was Special Diplomatic Advisor to the late New Democracy President Konstantinos Mitsotakis, representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ministry and Greek Consul in Liège and Geneva.

Dimitris Avramopoulos studied Public Law and Political Science at Athens University Law School and pursued graduate studies at the Université libre de Bruxelles. He was awarded honorary doctorates by Adelphi University, Deree College, Drexel University and Kingston University and elected Honorary Professor of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Beijing University and the European College of Parma.

He has received numerous honors from various countries for his diplomatic and public and service: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium, Malta, Kazakhstan, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Vatican, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Lebanon.

Keynote Speakers



Michał Krzyżanowski

Örebro University, Sweden and University of Liverpool, UK

Michał Krzyżanowski holds a Chair in Communication and Media at the University of Liverpool, UK as well as a Chair in Media and Communication Studies at Örebro University, Sweden. His widely-acclaimed interdisciplinary research focuses on the discourse of media, politics and institutions incl. in the context of Europe's political crises, right-wing populism and the politics of exclusion.

He is the Editor-in-Chief of Journal of Language and Politics and co-editor of book series Bloomsbury Advances in Critical Discourse Studies. He is the author and editor of several major monographs, anthologies and journal special issues as well as numerous articles in critical discourse research of European media, political, policy and organizational communication.



George Prevelakis

Panthéon-Sorbonne University, former Greek Ambassador at the OECD

George Prevelakis is Professor of Geopolitics at the Sorbonne (Paris 1) and an Associate Fellow at the SciencesPo Center of International Research (CERI) in Paris. He specializes in European, Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean Geopolitics, in Diasporas and in Physical Planning. After leaving Greece in 1984, he has occupied teaching and research positions in Paris, Baltimore, Boston and London. During the academic years 2003-2005 he served as the Constantine Karamanlis Chair in Hellenic and Southeastern European Studies at the Fletcher School and during the period 2013-2015 as the Greek Ambassador at the OECD. He co-directs the academic journal Anatoli (Paris, CNRS Editions).

Among his books are: Qui sont les Grecs ? Une identité en crise, CNRS Editions, Paris, 2017, Who are we ? The Geopolitics of Greek identity, Economica, Athens, 2017, « Géopolitique des civilisations. Huntington, 20 ans après », Anatoli n°4, CNRS Editions, 2013, « Pour une nouvelle Entente balkanique », Anatoli n°1, CNRS Editions, 2010, Géopolitique de la Grèce, Complexe, Brussels, 2005.

Thematic Panels



Panel 1: Framing the Crisis: Public Discourses and Attitudes on EU and Germany in Greece during the Crisis

Convener: Dimitrios Katsikas

The crisis in Greece has had a deep and lasting effect on society. Beyond its obvious economic impact, this deep and prolonged crisis has greatly upset the Greek political system and its institutions, but also, at a more profound level, it has also affected the public discourses and attitudes of Greeks regarding both the country itself and its place in the EU. The picture that emerges is a complex one. On the one hand, different shades of Euroscepticism and anti-German sentiments (given Germany's role in the handling of the crisis) have been on the rise. However, such attitudes are often mediated by the reluctant acknowledgement of practical necessities (e.g. the need to stay in the Eurozone), but also by a re-examination of the image of Greece itself and in particular of the accountability of the domestic political system for the country's woes. The result is a society fragmented along different "frames", or ways of thinking about the crisis.

The proposed panel comprises a set of papers which present the findings of original research from a two-year research project regarding these shifts in public discourses and attitudes in Greek society. The papers present a wide array of new and original data, based on a variety of methodological approaches designed and implemented during the research project, and updated afterwards to provide the most up-to-date available evidence. The papers included in this panel provide a comprehensive analysis of public discourses about the crisis. More specifically, the papers deal with political discourse in the form of parliamentary debates but also political statements and campaign programmes, the discourse of the general public in the form of online comments to articles published on popular sites on the occasion of significant events and the discourse of the media through an analysis of the reporting and visual representation in the cover-pages of mainstream Greek newspapers during the crisis. The papers on public discourse are complemented by a paper on the attitudes of Greek elites based on more than 100 interviews with representatives of political, economic and media elites. The idea is to provide a comprehensive account of how Greeks thought and talked about the crisis and most importantly to examine whether and to what degree Greeks have understood the crisis in very different ways –a finding which could go some way towards explaining the failure of Greek society and the Greek political system to reach a consensus during the crisis.

In order to achieve this objective, the proposed papers employ the theoretical construct of "framing" (Goffman 1974; Kahneman and Tversky 1984; Entman 1993, 2004; Chong and Druckman 2007). Framing refers to the tendency of people to use wider perspectives or conceptualizations through which they understand particular events and issues and form opinions and attitudes about them. Accordingly, policy makers, politicians and other elite stakeholders (e.g. trade unions, business and professional associations, international organizations, or the media) in a given issue (such as how to deal with an economic crisis),

have an interest and potentially the ability to influence opinions and attitudes on this issue by shaping the wider frame through which the issue is presented in the public discourse.

For an issue as significant and controversial as a major economic crisis, both the motivation of political entrepreneurs and other stakeholders to shape the frame of thinking about the crisis, and the susceptibility of the public to such influence (due to the shock in its perceived certainties and established attitudes, and the increased uncertainty about the future) is very high. Considerations of responsibility attribution feature heavily in both political incumbents and challengers minds, as the latter aim to “exploit” the crisis (see Boin et al. 2009 for the concept of crisis exploitation), while the former engage in blame-avoidance strategies (Weaver 1986; Hood 2014). In this context, the intensity and comparability of responsibility attribution by the public (that is, the degree of responsibility of some actors and its relative weight compared to that of other actors) can become prime targets for political manipulation by political entrepreneurs, through the use and promotion of different frames for understanding the crisis (Rudolph 2016). Such communication/political frames are likely to be more successful when they are in sync with wider cognitive or normative frames that are prevalent in society before the crisis, while the pre-existing institutional configurations can also exert a significant “filtering” role concerning the emergence of new frames, particularly when these “threaten” a paradigmatic shift of previously dominant frames (Surel 2000).

Beyond Greece, such an analysis is significant for a number of wider debates related to the European integration project, such as the EU as an elite-driven project, Euroscepticism, and the search for the elusive European identity. These debates are particularly topical at a time when dissatisfaction with the EU is growing in a number of other member states and the entire EU project is being questioned from many quarters. The way these debates are framed is important for their potential and consequences and the implications of the Greek case’s findings for these debates are of particular interest.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Cissy Theodosiou, Maria Zafiropoulou

Readers’ online comments during Chancellor Merkel’s visits to Greece

This chapter attempts to go beyond the figure of the “angry Greek” so often espoused by the international media and delve into the ambivalent experience of the current economic crisis through paying more attention to the responsibility-charged rhetoric and its striking ambivalence, as it is expressed and enacted by news readers in their online postings. Taking into account the scarcity of studies focusing on readers’ comments, this chapter draws on a critical discourse

analysis of approximately 2500 readers' postings retrieved from the online sites of three influential Greek news portals/newspapers –Vima, Prwto Thema and Tvxs. The postings constitute readers' comments on a particular kind of event, to use Badiou's term, that is the way two key moments in Greece's recent political history, Merkel's official visits to Athens (in October 2012 and April 2014 respectively) were perceived by the readers. Against the background of a rising concern, mainly among social scientists, about the cultural politics and national stereotypes articulated in and through the crisis, and the rise of nationalisms and Euroscepticism in Europe, this chapter aims to better understand the cultural dynamics of the economic crisis. It tackles the issue of the cultural politics of the crisis by unravelling the discourse strategies the Greek readers use in their online postings, in order to make sense of the crisis and attribute or resist blame. How is crisis then framed through variable discourses of responsibility – ascriptions of blame and accountability? What are the representations of Germany and the Germans employed by local actors and how do they touch upon the symbolic divisions that have appeared in the EU and have been activated by what can be called 'the politics of blaming'? Finally, what processes of identity construction are under way during the economic recession?

Maria Zafiropoulou, Mary Xenou

The parliamentary discourse of political elites

Attending to the ways discourses are articulated beyond the level of individual feeling and expression means paying heed to those patterns of social perception and understanding that ultimately sustain individual ideas. In this context, this paper analyses political discourse, a powerful linguistic mechanism, which shapes social perceptions and understandings, particularly in politically charged periods such as during a severe economic crisis. The analysis draws on official statements and papers of Greek political parties; on speeches of MPs during specific Plenary Sessions; statements of political leaders before Merkel's visiting Athens in 2012 and 2014; as well as the minutes of the Parliamentary Inter-Party Committee on the German Reparations Claim. Regarding the official statements and papers of political parties, our focus lies on the electoral campaigns of political parties in 2012 and 2015 and the announcements of political parties regarding the economic crisis. Our research aims to point out the ways in which Greek political elites: a) attribute responsibility for the crisis (to domestic actors, the EU and/or Germany), b) articulate self and others' representations, c) change their argumentative strategies in different time periods and depending on their position in the political system (e.g. in government or in opposition), d) express their perceptions in a certain context -during the crisis. This examination of the discourse of the main Greek political parties and of their positioning in the public sphere will be conducted through the identification of linguistic and discursive argumentation patterns (for example, how are Greeks and their significant "others" named and referred to linguistically and what traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?).

George Tzogopoulos

Framing Germany: the role of the Media

This chapter attempts to analyse the representation of Germany in the Greek press during the ongoing economic crisis. The role of the media is very important in the construction and functioning of the public sphere in modern liberal democracies. Claims to objectivity and professional integrity notwithstanding, it is clear that the media exert significant influence on public discourse and through it on peoples' attitudes. This happens through two main mechanisms: "agenda-setting" and "framing". Both of these mechanisms are evident in the analysis undertaken in this chapter, which reveals a negative approach to reporting the crisis, concerning the role of Germany in particular, by the Greek media. The chapter relies on qualitative techniques to offer insights on how Greek journalists have interpreted the policy of Berlin during the crisis. The empirical analysis concerns the main Greek newspapers, covering the entire political spectrum, and in particular their cover-pages and headline reporting from the beginning of the crisis until and including 2015. Along with these principal sources, some other noteworthy examples of the coverage of Germany in Greece are also explored, in order to facilitate a broader discussion. In that regard, a case study on the visit of Chancellor Merkel to Greece in 2012 and 2014 is included. Moreover, reference is also made to the German media and their coverage of the Greek crisis, as Greek and German journalists have often tended to reproduce its other's content.

Dimitris Katsikas

The attitudes of elites towards Greece, Germany, and the EU

This chapter examines the attitudes of Greek elites towards the crisis. The analysis of elites' attitudes is particularly important because it reveals perceptions about the crisis of groups of people, which influence and shape public policy and/ or public opinion. The objective of this chapter is to understand and contextualise how the crisis is framed and what are the elites' perceptions of the crisis and its management by the EU institutions and the EU member-states, Germany in particular. The chapter uses the method of qualitative content analysis of semi-structured interviews. Altogether, more than a 100 interviews were conducted including members of the government, the national parliament and political parties; technocrats or policy advisors; representatives of trade unions, professional associations and associations of employers; and journalists and editors.

Panel 2: “For better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health: Europe, its citizens and non-citizens in times of crises

Convener: Berna Numan

The Acquis Communautaire is a major force binding the European Union and its citizens together. However, it would be unfair to expect the EU laws, rules and regulations to create a European citizenry on its own especially in the turbulence of contemporary global politics. This panel seeks to highlight how it has been possible for certain policy areas to create a political sphere for European citizens and show how other policy domains could follow suite. The panel uncovers insights from four studies to show ways in which even the least likely ‘European Citizens’ and ‘Non-citizens’ could adhere to values created by the policy domains. The panel is composed of four papers of which the first looks at integration of political refugees, economic migrants and asylum seekers. The second paper reveals political activism of the European Union’s ‘non-citizens’ as a form of observance of democratic values. The third paper looks at how Patients’ Rights may have altered Patients’ expectations across the EU. The fourth paper shows how a change in foreign policy of a candidate country has shifted relations with the European Union and has led to a departure from European values.

Keywords: European values, European citizenship, rights, immigration, integration

CONTRIBUTIONS

Alina Muhabbat Rozmamedova

Securitization of multiculturalism or departure from democratic principles in Europe?

The rise of populist parties and the call for assimilationist policies have spread across Europe. This has been motivated by an already existing negative public opinion triggered by the recent political events including the inflow of immigrants and terrorist attacks. This was complemented by the statements of officials that alienated minorities as the ‘other’ that did not have the will to properly assimilate in the host society. This depicts the longstanding debate between advocates of multiculturalism and those who criticized the application of multicultural policies and demanded retreat from such policies. Rather than a premature claim regarding the beginning of a post-multicultural era it would be more relevant to focus on the degree to which multicultural policies have been retreated from. To answer this question this research studies the cases of Ireland and the UK in a comparative manner. The results of this study fill in the gaps that remain in the body of literature regarding multiculturalism. The research relies on a critical analysis of elite discourse in Ireland and the UK. This is done in the context of securitization theory to identify how multicultural policies were securitized through

the discourse of the political elite. The paper argues that the rise of populist parties and the negative public perceptions regarding multiculturalism have been caused by the frames used by the political elite in their securitizing discourse regarding multiculturalism and multicultural policies. This has led to the European countries losing their tolerance towards minorities.

Keywords: Securitization, immigration, integration, minorities, refugee crises

Berna Numan

Transnational Citizenship? The European Union and political participation of its non-citizens

This paper has the objective of understanding factors affecting the political participation of non-citizens living in the European Union (EU). Two groups of non-citizens, Third Country Nationals (TCNs) and stateless minorities were chosen for the research. Firstly, a thorough literature review was done to identify why the EU and its member states choose to extend rights and liberties to non-citizens. The empirical part of the research, through the two case studies of Cyprus and Estonia, aimed at identifying antecedent conditions which might have affected the level of participation of non-citizens. Also the level of participation, status and the protection of the two groups of non-citizens were researched. Sixteen semi-structured, in-depth interviews were carried out with key players. The research findings indicate a representation rather than direct participation of groups researched and also several antecedent variables which might explain the comparatively disadvantaged situation of these groups. Furthermore, the research also identified some examples of how debates and policy issues concerning immigrants and minorities have found a place in the public spheres of the cases studied.

Keywords: Political participation, European Citizenship, Minority rights, non-citizens, public sphere

Mevhibe Hodjaoglou

What patients' expectations in the European Union tell policy makers

The European Union has a cross-border healthcare law in place since 2011. Directive 2011/24/EU on patients' rights enables EU citizens' access to healthcare provided in different EU member states. The effectiveness of this directive has already been measured in a multi-disciplinary study. Similarly, effectiveness of patient pressure groups is an empirically evident national reality. Despite the availability of good quality research, it remains to be detected how patients' expectations have shifted over time. This paper provides an analytical framework

for understanding how Patients' expectations have changed and what factors have affected them. The paper aims to provide further evidence to help alleviate barriers against the free movement of European citizens.

Keywords: Cross-border policy, health care, Patients' rights, active citizenship, effectiveness, efficiency

Dilek Kalayci

Turkish-EU relations in an era of mass movement of refugees

Turkey has always been in relation with the European Union and recently with a perspective of becoming a full member. The Justice and Development Party's rise to power in 2002 brought a new vision to the Turkish foreign policy, making the commitment to European values. However, 2009 has become a turning point for Turkey after a change in Justice and Development Party's foreign policy. The rise in Kurdish problem and the conflicting nature of the Middle East has pushed Turkey beyond the EU line and Justice and Development Party government has decided to postpone the EU membership negotiations and leaned to become a regional power. This paper will therefore seek to highlight how these forces were and are still at play.

Keywords: AKP, European Neighbourhood Policy, enlargement, Syrian conflict

Abstracts of Oral Presentations



Roxana Andrei

From politicisation to securitisation: Fluidity of the energy discourse in Europe

The discourse of the past two decades around the natural gas and oil exports from the Caspian Sea to the EU has witnessed an increased politicisation, being linked to the protracted conflicts in the Caucasus and around the Black Sea, to the gas transit disputes between Russia and Ukraine, to the previous years' tensions between Russia and Turkey, as well as to the more recent clash between London and Moscow. To this more common discourse around the need for a homogenous EU energy reform that would end the perceived dependence on Russia, a new pessimistic, conflict-related discourse seems to have emerged lately around the gas reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean, this time in connection with the occupied territory in Northern Cyprus and Turkey. As a consequence, the natural resources and the energy projects in the region have been increasingly placed in a geopolitical, material-power based understanding, as new threats and risk to the energy security of the consumer states. How did these conflict-oriented, rather pessimistic changes in the energy discourse impacted on the EU energy approach and how are they reflected in the EU Energy Union? Is the EU at institutional level still driven by a liberal, economic understanding of energy relations, or is it shifting towards a more realist, geopolitical approach? The presentation will emphasise the fluidity of the energy understanding, looking at the way it has been politicised and instrumentalised in the past two decades, with a specific focus on the energy discourse. For this goal, I will explore the various trends in the alteration of the European energy discourse and I look deeper into what lies behind the EU's politicisation of the discourse, by bringing face-to-face the narratives around gas imports from Russia and the evolution of the EU's policy, to find out if they reflect each other's evolution.

Keywords: Discourse, energy, EU, gas, politicisation, reform

Marinos Argyriadis

Islam in Europe: Reform or (mis)inform?

Islam has had a long history of turbulent contacts and a solid varying presence in Europe since the early 8th century. Indeed Islamic civilization in its heyday enriched Europe in both art and science. Today, significant Muslim communities may be found throughout Europe, mainly as a result of conversions and population movements in the period of the Ottoman Empire and later as a result of internal migration between colonial Europe and its dominions and in more recent times economic and political immigration, among a variety of multiple reasons. In our days, the refugee crisis, radical polemical Islam, international terrorism, and a modern political self-conscious and in a way self-fulfilling Islam has resulted in an

increasing perception, presentation and argumentation against Islam in Europe as a monolithic regressive and incipiently threatening entity than needs to be somehow checked and controlled. Yet Islam, depending on local conditions and traditions is multi-faceted with doctrinal, sectarian, national, and international variations and interpretations that cannot be easily merged into a coherent single unequivocal entity. Yet this is precisely what tends to be rhetorically presented in most discourses concerning Islam in Europe, as if there exists a single representative and definite version, a facile generalization that can serve as a tangible 'other' a well-defined opponent ill-suited for the modern European way of life and democratic humanistic values cherished therein. Such a politically expedient view of Islam, based on stereotyping and misinformation poses the question of whether there is any grain of true in the various rhetorically presented 'negative' aspects of Islam, that might be amenable to reform or if in fact correct perceptions lie with correct information and whether acceptance of Islam in Europe has more to do with socio-economic considerations than with some immutable negative essence per se.

Keywords: Islam, Europe, stereotypes, integration, rhetoric

Aspriadis Neofytos, Giasemi Georgaliou, Athanasios N. Samaras

British referendum and the decision to leave the EU (Brexit): British politicians interviewed by world media: An examination of apologetic rhetoric

On June 23 2016, 51.9% of the British population voted to leave the EU. Perceived as a crisis, Brexit raises questions on British and European identity, the relations of the UK with other EU members, economic and political reorientation and reforms for both sides. Deconstructing the image of the UK, it determined the campaign for the national elections on June 8 2017. Brexit functions as a form of *Kategoria* which initiates: (a) management of blame, and (b) image restoration strategies. This study uses Benoit's (1995) image repair strategies to analyze the discourse of British politicians from different political parties from May 2016 (one month before) until July 2017 (one month after). Two different *modus operandi*, two competing sets of strategic considerations govern the employment of image restoration discourse: (a) the rationale of international political communication with an underlying cause of repairing UK's nation image for an international audience, and (b) the rationale of British domestic party communication with an underlying cause of repairing the politicians' either personal or party image for domestic audiences. Which of the two campaigns is applied in each occasion? How does the use of a campaign affect the choice of image restoration strategies and what is the final effect it has upon the (re)formulation of the nation image of the UK? The interviews have been arranged on a question-answer basis. Indicatively, the analysis includes the different kinds of strategies implemented, the frequency of use and their combinations. Finally, it investigates image repair on various levels,

(individual, party, country-level), the tendency of politicians to prefer the use of specific strategies in specific media based on related or opposite ideology or the relations of the politician and the UK with the medium's country of origin and finally the image of the UK that emerges from the interviews.

Keywords: Brexit, discourse analysis, crisis management, image restoration

Michaela-Elena Balis

The Franco-German relationship: Has the “tree of life” blossomed in the media sector?

A short historical retrospection of the Franco-German Partnership will light up the “raison d’ être”. Some important steps, moments and milestones of the Franco-German cooperation will bring us to nowadays. How can this alliance be more at the service of their EU-partners? How can this collaboration be put in a European context in the media sector? Is there a successful case study, where the EU can learn from and lean on? Is the Franco-German TV channel ARTE, which broadcasts in both languages and complements the language and cultural offerings in the media sector such an example? Who is the audience of ARTE? Who are the followers and readers of ARTE in social media? How is the structure of the program? Is the goal accomplished? Is a European TV-Channel with a presence in social media a roadmap to the future? Tributes to European countries (concerts, documentaries, film) can bring people and societies in Europe closer together by showing and understanding the differences of mentality and by concentrating on the things that brings Europeans together. By concentrating also on other countries outside of the European Union will a German, French or a Greek understand, that European culture and history is something that they have in common? Through sharing, learning and understanding, the European Union can do a step further toward deeper and essential integration and solidarity.

Keywords: Franco-German cooperation, media sector, ARTE, European TV-channel, integration

Samuel Bennett

Values and ideals as tools of legitimization in EU and UK Brexit discourses

The preamble of the Treaty of Paris (1951) stated that the European Coal and Steel Community would create an economic community as ‘the foundation of a broad and independent community among the people long divided by bloody conflicts’ and ‘lay the basis of institutions capable of giving direction to their future common destiny’. Since then, the EU's scope has both widened and deepened and over time the ideals and principles of the EU forming part of the ideology underlying its

operations have also changed. With the results of the Brexit referendum and the preceding campaign it can be argued that these values and ideals have come to be questioned, challenged and, in a very real sense, rejected. This paper investigates the discursive uses of values in the speeches and statements of key 'Brexit' actors in the UK and in EU institutions. To achieve this, I look at which values are deployed, by whom, to what ends, and linguistically, how these are manifested within wider strategies of legitimisation (van Leeuwen, 2008). A key part of the analysis looks at how EU values are discursively constructed at an institutional level and how they are recontextualised by various political actors within the public discussion over Britain's membership of the EU. Data is taken from EU leaders' statements on the Brexit and from a televised Brexit debate on BBC1.

Keywords: Legitimation, recontextualisation, values, European Union, Brexit

Ilona Biernacka-Ligieza

Digitalised communities – Comparative analyses of contemporary local communication structure

The paper contributes to our understanding of online public spaces, culture and integration in the context of local communities, an important but under-researched subject area. It provides a comparative analysis of how online platforms and new communication technologies could and do already strengthen citizens' trust and participation in local matters and enhance local public dialogue, integration and civic engagement. The main goal of proposed paper is to examine the ways in which digital local spaces could counteract fragmentation and division. The issue is directly linked to the concept of the public sphere. This article explores how the quality of democratic process can be augmented by digital media uses on the local level. It is discussed the contemporary structure of contemporary civil society structure in selected regions. Secondly the paper focuses on the development of local community e-participation (bottom-up process). Using both quantitative and qualitative aspects of research the author of the paper is trying to analyse how the power of digital media is used by local communities. The aim of this paper is to conduct a comparative study of digital local public spaces in different countries (Poland; USA; Italy) and explore the ways in which these public spaces could contribute to greater community and civic engagement, as well as social cohesion and integration. The paper is discussing the potentials and limitations of local public sphere digitalization process in terms of democratic participation and governance; learned about strategies (adjusted/not adjusted to community expectations) for information society creation and making local politics more intelligible for the citizen; influenced the communication policy of different regions. The paper applies a mixed method approach, which includes content analysis, interviews and focus groups, and social media network analysis.

Keywords: Local public sphere, local media, community, social media, digitalization

Cinzia Colaiuda

Transforming Europe starting from the 'bottom': peripheries as new semantic spaces

This paper is based on an ethnographic study of European urban spaces considered as complex eco-systems (Morin, 1988). They are characterized by constant changes due to the interaction between the complexity of multicultural societies and migration processes that are rapidly transforming the reality in which we live in. Moreover, it investigates the intrinsic connections between linguistic diversity and creativity and how human creativity manifests itself in multilingual societies. It has a twofold aim: on the one hand, it shows the impact of language policies on the urban architecture of two European countries, i.e. Italy and the Republic of Ireland, through to the analysis of street signs. It underlines that in the so called hypermodern era, characterized by linguistic pyramids and the globalization of language education (Piller, 2016), national and regional (or local) language policies still have a strong influence on the linguistic construction of urban areas that can often hide extended situations of 'superdiversity' (Blommaert, J., Collins, J., Slembrouck, S., 2005). On the other hand, this paper reflects on the role that suburban districts of big cities like Rome can play in starting a revolution from the 'bottom' through the requalification of peripheries. They can be considered today as new semantic spaces in which a new idea of Europe can be built up thanks to the use of bottom – up approaches to public policies and the direct involvement of citizens. The premise of this devolution process is the concrete application of the principle of subsidiarity as well as the revaluation of the world 'culture' and its different manifestations in multilingual societies (urban subcultures, street art, etc.).

Keywords: Superdiversity, urban eco-systems, peripheries, creativity

Despina Symeon

Greece and the European Union: Border issues from the standpoint of the European and international press

Discourse Analysis is currently considered a basic approach to European Studies since its multidimensional nature connecting language to other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and public diplomacy renders it both a basic tool for interpreting and throwing light on various political, ethnical and social issues and an independent area of Linguistics exploiting the findings of other social and anthropological sciences. In this presentation, we will focus on crucial problems which have occurred lately in connection to the borders of Greece, in our effort to study how the European and international press treats them from a language perspective and how the selection of specific linguistic items presents explicitly or implicitly the general views concerning these issues. The first situation to be

considered is related to the influx of immigrants into the Greek territory, which has become a common phenomenon, since in our days a considerable number of immigrants have been crossing the Greek borders aiming at starting a new life either in Greece or in any other European country. The second situation, which remains an insoluble national problem for Greece, concerns the two Greek Army Officers who have been imprisoned in the high security prisons of Adrianoupolis and their efforts to prove their innocence and be set free. Finally, we hope that the results of this study will shed light upon the way various types of discourse including the language of press can influence public beliefs on major ethnical, political and social problems.

Keywords: European Union, press, borders, immigrants, imprisonment

Nicole Dewandre

Rethinking through redescribing EU policies with Hannah Arendt

This paper aims at unveiling the implicit assumptions underlying the language of EU policy-making, drawing on Hannah Arendt's critique of modernity. Based on a critical metaphor analysis of EU policy documents spanning a 30-year period from 1985 to 2014 (submitted in parallel by Orsolya Gulyas), it reveals the extent to which EU policy-making, by relentlessly focusing on the 'competitiveness, growth, and jobs' narrative, relies on a modern –i.e. outdated– conceptual framework. Characterized by a transposition of a Newtonian worldview in the realm of politics and human affairs, the modern conceptual framework entails conceptualizing agents as rational subjects, on the one hand, and relations as vertical or agonistic, on the other hand. With this modern conceptual framework, there is no room for purpose and meaning, and hardly any room for anything else than competition or deceptive utopias. This paper argues that an agenda for reform can spring from embracing an alternative conceptual framework, rooted in the work of Hannah Arendt. In the *Human Condition*, Arendt proposes an alternative to the Cartesian modernist characterization of humanness around doubt and rationality. By placing plurality at the core of what politics is about, she offers an alternative to the modern approach to politics based on sovereignty, power, and representation. The modern rational subject gives way to a relational self-aware of her plurality, and of the fact that she reveals and accesses her identity through acting with others. For Arendt, "power is actualized only where words are not empty and deeds not brutal". Her insistence on speech as inherently political places her work at the edge of political theory and linguistic analysis. It makes her work highly relevant for this conference. This paper connects with the following topics: (i) conceptual blending, discourse and metaphors about Europe and (ii) political discourse in the European Union.

Keywords: Political theory, critical discourse analysis, EU policies, Lisbon strategy, Hannah Arendt

Katerina Diamantaki, Dionysis Panos, Manos Takas

Socially-mediated right-wing populism: A study of Golden Dawn's political discourse on Twitter

Over the last years, social platforms have been widely employed by far-right populist and extremist political cultures, who had previously resided on the fringes of social and political life. With their inherent affordances for reach, immediacy, interactivity and personalization, digital media have proven to be the new rhetorical space for political discourse in the service of a variety of far-right formations and their ideologies, including neo-fascism, neo-Nazism, xenophobia, racism, anti-communism and opposition to immigration, in Europe and around the world. Socially-mediated environments have in effect materialized a “political opportunities” structure (Tarrow, 2011), one which far-right groups and parties have harnessed strategically as a discursive resource and a medium for public communication (Ernst et al. 2017). This study presents the findings of an ongoing research that examines Golden Dawn's political discourse and rhetorical repertoires based on historical data drawn from the party's official Twitter account, covering a period of 4 years (2014-2017). Drawing from existing typologies of rhetorical discourse, such as Van Leeuwen's legitimation categories (Van Leeuwen's, 2007), van Dijk's “ideological square” (van Dijk, 2006, 2011), and within a framework of rhetorical political analysis (Atkins & Finlayson, 2013; Finlayson, 2007; Martin, 2013), Golden Dawn's institutional texts on Twitter are analyzed within their interactive and socially-mediated context. Research findings illustrate how strategies of persuasion, polarization, legitimization, exclusion, enemization and out-group creation are used as interpretive frameworks to construct Golden Dawn's political identity and to discursively produce, reproduce and reify its ideology. The analysis of textual and visual Twitter data highlights the discursive construction of “identity” and “oppositional frames” (the “us” versus “them” dichotomy) and identifies indicators of ethnocentrism (Sumner, 1906) and populism (Mudde 2004; 2007, Jagers & Walgrave 2007; Rooduijn & Pauwels 2011; Schulz et. al 2018) frequently recurring in the discourse, thus revealing common rhetorical grounds with other European far-right discourses.

Keywords: Political discourse, Twitter, right wing populism, ethnocentrism, enemization

Vasiliki Christou

Representation, Brexit and the threat of populism

Questions about the meaning of representation emerge from time to time, especially in periods of crisis or of transition. I would like to point out that Brexit itself signifies such a crisis. To do that I shall first present a short history of representation in Britain - since the Great Reform Act of 1832, over the post war era and until today - to illustrate how old questions are set again (for example is

an MP a representative or a delegate?) on the one hand, and to emphasize the new challenges for representation on the other, related predominantly with the phenomenon of populism. Then I shall discuss Miller, the Opinion of the Supreme Court of the UK on the Brexit notice (of Article 50 TFEU). I argue that Miller must be read in the context of the gradual weakening of Parliament's authority in the British Constitution, and, to my mind, it should be understood as a defense of Parliament against its being replaced by the People themselves and of course by the Cabinet. What Miller signals is that there are essentials of the British Constitution that neither the Cabinet or the Crown, nor the People, at least not in the absence of Parliament, may undertake. To accept that it suffices for the People to directly mandate the Government to execute Brexit without deliberation in Parliament, would be equivalent to treating the world's oldest parliamentary democracy as a pure democracy. This is the constitutional implication the Supreme Court tried, to my mind, to prevent. Besides for the populists the Referendum over Brexit has been the win of the "pure", "ordinary" people against the elites (that either sit or are represented in Parliament), the bureaucrats, the multinationals, and, of course, the liberals. Choosing "small politics" instead of "big politics" and pure democracy instead of representative democracy is inevitably disintegration, a disintegration of the European Union but possibly also of the traditional state. Social policy and distribution of income in the past were thought to be governed by the same principles either in the UK, in Germany, in Greece or in the EU. It was an era of internationalism instead of an era of withdrawal.

Keywords: Brexit, representation, populism, referendum, Miller

Theodoros Fouskas

Return in the origin country via the Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) program: Informing third-country nationals not in contact with the authorities

The Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) program is a core activity of IOM and has provided vital assistance to tens of thousands of migrants returning home every year, for the last four decades. During the last decade, IOM has helped more than 400.000 people to return back home with safety and dignity (IOM, 2018). Since 2010, the Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) program implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Greece has provided various forms of support to individuals wishing to return to their origin country including social and labor reintegration in their country. The IOM (2018) emphasizes that the programs are addressed to third-country nationals who do not have the appropriate documentation to stay in Greece, or they do not desire to stay in Greece, to asylum seekers who have resigned from their request for international protection and to asylum seekers whom their application has been rejected. Focusing on results of in-depth interviews with third-country nationals not in contact with the authorities, implications emerging

from the repercussions of their employment in precarious, low-status/low wage jobs and how these affect their decision to return to their origin countries via the AVRR program are examined. Regardless of their legal and socioeconomic conditions in their origin country, migrant workers' decision is negatively affected due to extended stay, entrapment and isolation in precarious, low-status/low wage jobs.

Keywords: Third-country nationals, voluntary return, decision, precarious employment, Greece

Zoe Gardner

The case for sustainable, values-based reform of the EU's approach to external migration management

This paper suggests a long-term solution to successive crises that have characterized management of undocumented mixed migration flows into Europe. It problematizes the EU's emphasis on deterrence, and overwhelming focus on border control, where it leverages its power to conclude migration management accords with third countries. Short-term, initiatives such as the 2016 EU-Turkey Agreement and others aimed at establishing readmission agreements, joint border control forces, and surveillance and detention infrastructure reduce undocumented flows through particular channels. But the overall effectiveness of this approach is highly questionable and, it is argued, ultimately unsustainable. Far from providing viable solutions for refugees, EU initiatives contribute to the long-term exacerbation of the very problems it seeks to solve. By creating a market for smugglers, and legitimizing and financing repressive regimes, it perpetuates conditions for forced migrations. It is urgent to discuss serious alternative models if the EU is to achieve a migration model in-line with its values. From Hungary to the United States, rhetorical momentum appears squarely focused on the escalation of harsh border controls, with progressive alternative framings seemingly paralyzed. This paper proposes realistic channels for positive change. Taking the relationship between the EU and ECOWAS as a case study, it advocates reform of European influence on global migration management towards the development of rights-based regional free movement regimes around the world. By revisiting migration compacts in West Africa and elsewhere, the EU can support more flexible migration regimes between regions, and the advancement of transnational citizenship within regions. Paradoxically, through widening opportunities for mobility, these can reduce the need for mass movements from the Global South to North. Moving from a bilateral approach to the promotion of rights-based, regional governance for migration can create a "triple win", benefiting migrants, receiving, and sending countries. It also envisions innovative, sustainable solutions for refugee populations.

Keywords: Undocumented migration, smugglers, migration, refugees, values, regional governance, transnational citizenship, development, borders

Constructing identities in social media: Refugee Facebook posts in Europe

Social media represent a crucial source of communication for refugees. Beyond the exchange of practical information (border-closing, contacts at destination), migrants use the Internet to maintain social relations, culture and language (Amant & Kelsey, 2012; Gardner-Chloros et al. 2016; Mitra and Watts, 2002; Sheyholislami, 2011; Tagg, 2015). Additionally, social media support the emergence of multilingual networks and hybrid identities (McEntee-Atalianis, 2018). Social media such as Facebook groups facilitate unbounded spaces for interaction amongst diasporic groups. Research shows how multilingual practices in social media function to construct diasporic experience and identities (Androutsopoulos, 2006; Tsiplakou, 2009). Code choice and switching are used strategically to mark, redraw or erase boundaries between in- and out-groups and to negotiate the subjects' experience and rhetorical positions. We attempt here to move beyond CDA-based analyses of constructions of migrants in the media. Taking an emic approach, we analyse Facebook (FB) posts written by ten Syrian refugees over their first year in Europe. We explore the dynamic linguistic (and semiotic) practices of individuals as they integrate into life in Europe and the (un)-bounded affordances of social media as a platform of communication amongst refugees. Our analysis shows how this community employs code-switching (the most tangible aspect of translanguaging) for recurring functions: (1) the inclusion of interlocutors from home, refugee and diasporic communities with different linguistic abilities; (2) interactional goals and rhetorical aims influenced by the subjects' experience and the medium of interaction; (3) the online creation and indexing of refugee or trans-national/ethnic identity. The paper contributes to the theme 'Agendas of Reform' in that such agendas can be most effective if they are based on an up-to-date understanding of the evolving identity of the refugee cohort, as expressed in their own voice and across traditional frontiers.

Keywords: Refugees, social media, identity, code-switching, multilingualism

Orsolya Gulyas, Nicole Dewandre

Critical metaphor analysis of EU policy documents between 1985 and 2014

This study unveils the implicit assumptions underlying the language of EU policy-making. It draws on a conceptual framework inspired by Hannah Arendt's critique of modernity (paper submitted in parallel by Nicole Dewandre), claiming that the implicit assumptions underlying policy-making are inherently modern, leading to the disconnection of policy-making with reality and meaning. It conducts a critical metaphor analysis of EU policy documents spanning a 30-year period

from 1985 to 2014, and reveals the extent to which EU policy-making relies on modern conceptual frameworks by focusing on the 'competitiveness, growth, and jobs' narrative. This is revealed through the validation of a set of four metaphorical keys, along the concepts of agents, relations and worldview. These are: i) SENSITIVE INVERSION, where economic agents have needs while humans are treated as functional; ii) SIZE MATTERS, where horizontal relations among equal agents is overlooked; iii) DEFICIT FRAMING, which leads to a devaluation of the present and an overvaluation of the future; and iv) SPEED IS OF THE ESSENCE, where change is fast and we must hurry up to keep up and avoid falling behind. Metaphorical expressions mapping into these conceptual metaphors and keys have been traced in six strategic policy texts, such as Europe 2020 and the Lisbon Agenda. Building on this qualitative analysis, we used computational methods to analyse a larger corpus of policy texts, containing 6512 documents. The paper shows that the metaphors used in EU policy discourse allow holding together a fragile and ambiguous state of affairs and argues that the EU's crisis is due to the fact that these metaphors no longer work. The results are also contrasted with the analysis of post-2014 EU policy texts, focusing on the emergence of new concepts, i.e. 'fairness' and 'resilience', asking if these can provide the basis for a more meaningful policy discourse.

Keywords: Metaphor, critical discourse analysis, EU policy, Lisbon strategy, Hannah Arendt

Konrad Gunesch

The European Union and Islam: An intercultural agenda of reform inspired by Romantic literary and linguistic passion, Goethe's educational efforts, contemporary cultural cosmopolitanism, and mindful multilingual mastery

This research aims at assisting the European Union's engagement with Islam by linking a modern version of the Classical Greek concept of cosmopolitanism firstly with a major representative of European literary Romanticism, and secondly with modern considerations of multilingualism in European education. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) was one of the few writers of not only European but Western Romanticism who focused their cultural and linguistic attention on the Arabic area. He saw this area of studies and efforts as an example for the meeting of East and West. This paper analyses this part of Goethe's work, life and world-view from the conceptual viewpoint of cosmopolitanism as contemporary cultural identity form of world citizenship. It is based on a literature matrix of what constitutes a cosmopolitan person, for instance engagement with local cultural diversity. A focus will be on relating this concept to the literary activities and positions expressed by Goethe himself. This seems especially relevant since Goethe is considered to have coined the term "world literature" in the sense of modern comparative literature studies. Empirically, the research links up with a previous study of the author on a group of

multilingual students, each mastering three or more foreign languages, which had establish three new types of cosmopolitans, called “advanced tourists”, “transitional cosmopolitans”, and “interactive cosmopolitans”. On that basis, this paper reveals how Goethe’s personal, linguistic and literary engagement with Arabic language and literature fulfills a range of the requirements even of contemporary cosmopolitanism and multilingualism. However, it also reveals the limits of Goethe’s cosmopolitan engagement. The goal is to evaluate the extent and limitations of Goethe’s world citizenship, to render his achievements less intimidating, but inspiring for the personal efforts of today’s social and political stakeholders, including European Union citizens, politicians, educators, and students of literature, languages and cultures.

Keywords: Islam, Goethe, romanticism, cosmopolitanism, multilingualism

Häkkinen Teemu, Miina Kaarkoski

Common defence policy and concepts of public spirit

Since the British referendum on the membership in the European Union, the common foreign and security policy has once again become an elementary part of the broader process to deepen the co-operation between member states. Member states have expressed wider readiness than earlier to take concrete steps and in November 2017 permanent structures for defence were established. Establishment of these structures is a challenge for the European Union. It requires changes in political argumentation on common defence policy in order to bring different national contexts together. “Defence will” acts as a key concept in the Finnish political debates on national defence policy. The concept expresses and indicates broad popular readiness to defend the state in a country having a military conscription system in place. The popular attitudes towards defence have been relevant also in other small non-aligned European countries like Switzerland or Sweden that have a history of utilizing military conscription. On the other hand, majority of current members of the European Union are members of NATO. Those countries have different views on security threats and they are often relying on volunteer-based military service that creates a potential for wider gap between society and the military compared to states having a military conscription system. So far, current research field lacks this highly relevant topic interested in popular participation in common defence. By analyzing political language of the European Union’s documents on common defence in 2009-2014, we ask if concepts relating to public spirit have been raised to create common European identity in defence issues. It is our purpose to discuss the importance of political language on public spirit in connection to common defence policy.

Keywords: Defence policy, public spirit, European identity, political debates, the European Union

Mihaela Ivanescu, Luiza-Maria Filimon

And then there were twenty-seven... Analyzing the impact of Brexit on European attitudes towards the European Union

This paper attempts to create a “favorability profile” of the European Union (EU) in light of the British referendum on the EU membership status of the United Kingdom (UK). Two Pew Research Center polls from June 2016 and June 2017, conducted on ten Member States (MS), found that if prior to the vote, EU support was low or average in some of these countries, after Brexit, support started to increase, in some cases by almost 15-20 points. For example, in France, the 2016 poll showed that 61% of the population had an unfavorable view of the EU, while the 2017 poll found a significant rise in support (now, 56% had a favorable view of the EU). Similar ascending trends were witnessed to various degrees in Spain, Germany, and even in the UK. Where European attitudes are concerned, EU's perceived maladjusted response to the management of economic issues and its proposed solutions to the refugee crisis represent points of contention for European citizens in various regions of the EU, but they are not so critical as to be schismatic. The present study will examine the attitudes towards the EU in old MS and new MS prior and after Brexit based on the data collected by Eurobarometers between 2016 and 2018. In this sense, the first part of the analysis is not only interested in establishing whether European citizens in different MS have a favorable or unfavorable view of the EU, but also whether the Brexit influenced how Europeans regard the current division of powers in the EU. Based on the results of the statistical analysis, in the second part, we try to identify what trends in the post-Brexit period ranging from Euro-enthusiasm and Euroscepticism to Euro-incertitude and Euro-apathy better applies to a given Member State.

Keywords: Brexit, support for the EU, EU member states, euro-enthusiasm, Euroscepticism

Agnieszka Kampka

The European Union versus national independence - A discourse of the Polish right-wing press

The paper presents the results of the analysis of the media discourse on the subject of the European Union and national independence. The research material are articles from Polish opinion-making weeklies. The dispute between the Polish government and the European Commission on judicial reform is presented differently by the press supporting the government and the media associated with the opposition. The populist and nationalistic discourse presents the EU as an external social actor threatening the independence and sovereignty of the Polish state. The opposing image is the EU institutions as “our” institutions, because Poland is a member of the Union and co-creates the European community. The result of this discursive struggle are two kinds of borders: the border separating individual groups of Poles from each other (for example, “real Poles – patriots” from “Poles-Europeans”) and the border separating the Polish state from the rest of the Union.

Keywords: Populist discourse, media discourse, Poland, right-wing press, nationalism

Themis Kaniklidou

Framing left-wing politics in Greece: a communication perspective

The rising power of populist actors has been a pervasive phenomenon in the west, (Block & Negrine 2017) often upsetting the course of politics. In the meantime, populist political communication has remained a rather scattered territory, often paying attention to the structure of populist parties (Císař & Štětka 2017) or to ideology and programmatic addresses. Interestingly, the left-wing populism variety has remained a sidelined area with more attention being paid to populist communication associated with right-wing populist parties (Wodak 2015). In this paper, I try to diagnose and 'unpack' the discursive template of left-wing populist zeitgeist (Muddle 2004) in Greek newspapers. Methodologically, this paper adopts Critical Discourse Analysis as a theoretical approach. The toolbox, that I will use is in alignment with the CDA programme and employs a) framing and frames which can be understood as "schemata of interpretation" through which we "locate, perceive, identify and label" (Goffman 1974: 21) experience and b) metaphor analysis, which although has been largely eschewed by CDA (Chilton 2005) it has been acknowledged to hold a key position in linking the cognitive with the linguistic dimensions (Hart 2008). Preliminary findings suggest that discursive articulations of left-wing populism in Greece a) make increasing use of the key term 'The People' which is positioned in an antagonistic relationship with austerity-promoting centres, or 'Establishments' b) overt use of the key terms 'family' and 'household' which are meant to raise a sentiment of alignment of the people with austerity-promoting policies, and c) use of specific metaphors to activate the two prominent emotive scripts of fear or hope, that are kept in play in press discourse.

Keywords: Communication, discourse, populism, EU, left-wing populism

Sofia Kitsou

Revisiting and reviving European values to ensure a sustainable future for the EU:

The case of the Erasmus+ project "Europa: ti vedo e ti vivo"

The European Union is a unique economic and political union between 28 European countries that geographically may be found far from one another but altogether cover much of the continent. Its predecessor was created in the aftermath of the Second World War and the idea behind it was that countries which trade with one another become economically interdependent; thus, are more likely to avoid conflict. For centuries, war was part of the European landscape and as a result, at least 55 million people lost their lives in the Second World War and the old Europe broke apart. Today more than half a billion Europeans

live in peace, freedom and democracy and this can be attributed to the EU. Undoubtedly, the European integration project has gone far beyond its original purpose of ensuring peace in Europe. However, since its inception, its legitimacy has been questioned and for some, the EU is nothing but an elite project: citizens do not share a feeling of belonging that binds them together and provides the EU with integrative force. The rise of Eurosceptic parties, Brexit and referenda show that a prominent issue relating to legitimacy is people's consent and that a true European identity is needed. This paper presents an Erasmus+ project "Europa: ti vedo e ti vivo" which seeks to promote, through a strategic partnership between secondary schools and key organizations, European citizenship by adopting an innovative approach that focuses on the common cultural values but, at the same time, on the awareness of the cultural heritage that is particular to each EU member state. Can this values-based approach to EU citizenship become the key to the development of a community of people with a common cultural background so that Europeans overcome the many obstacles they are facing in the difficult process of integration?

Keywords: Values, legitimacy, Erasmus+, cultural citizenship, identity

**Barbara Kondilis, Anna Nikolaou, Theodora Kalapothaki,
Chrysoula Kakampakou**

Viewpoints of vandalistic style graffiti in crisis-ridden Athens: Implications for European reform

Linguistic Landscapes theory examines patterns of language as expressed through such mediums as posters, store signs, and graffiti. Graffiti in the form of tagging could be seen as an expression of group identity (De Fina, 2006; Noels, Yashihma, Yang, 2012), an "urban art" form (Brazenall, 2015; Delana, n.d.; Miller, 2015; Wolff, 2011) or simply an act of vandalism that has legal ramifications (Findlaw, n.d.; Karagiannis, n.d.), and in turn affecting communities either positively or negatively. The issue of types of graffiti within the physical borders of our globalized world continues to expand. Several studies have dealt with sociological phenomena of vandalism, as well as the responsibility of individuals as global citizens (Morais & Ogden, 2011) as expressed through past sociological work on the "Broken Windows Theory" (McKee, 2017). The authors of this paper further suggest that educating youth on the pros and cons of tagging and vandalistic style graffiti and related effects on communities is part of the larger health literacy issue (Sorensen, et al., 2015; Vardavas, Kondilis, Patelarou, Akrivos, & Falagas, 2009). This mixed methods study examined viewpoints about vandalistic style graffiti, in particular tagging, in data collected over the time period Fall 2017 - Summer 2018, as well as exploring aspects of the current laws related to this issue, with particular focus on Greece and the European Union. The study includes data from these sources: (1) Results from a student pilot study on graffiti art versus vandalism for an undergraduate course (Kalapothaki, Ntai,

Francisco, Udenchekwu – Graffiti: Vandalism or Art? paper for undergraduate course “Developing the Global Citizen”, Fall 2017, Hellenic American College/Hellenic American University); (2) Discourse from a social media public post asking for feedback on the issue of vandalistic style graffiti (May 2018, Kondilis) (3) Face-to-face interview of four business owners in the neighborhoods of Kolonaki and Exarchia in Athens, Greece. Lastly a key informant interview for specific feedback on legal ramifications will be conducted with a Greece-based lawyer knowledgeable in international law with specific focus on reporting and punitive action towards graffiti vandals (taggers). The research team proposes reform on the matter of dealing with vandalistic style graffiti with focus on reporting procedures and improved communication among municipalities and citizens for a local (and global) phenomenon.

Keywords: Vandalistic graffiti, mixed methods study, economic crisis, reform

Kyriaki Kondylopoulou

New Greek identity (cards). Implications for the Greek identity

The ID card is for the Greeks what the Social Security Number is for the Americans: a legal norm that confirms one's existence in the country. Each individual is assigned a unique number that states or enables access to information about their sex, date of birth, parents' names and a lot more, depending on the social security system. In Greece, people who do not have a national or police ID card, as it is called, forfeit the ability to carry out even the simplest monetary transactions at banks, following the internal bank regulations. By the same token, in random police ID checks should an individual fail to provide their ID card, the case is taken to the police station for further investigation; an ordeal to be avoided. In the aftermath of the 2000 Greek dispute for the removal of the religious affiliation from ID Cards that reached the European Court of Human Rights, the Greek State is today under tremendous pressure to adopt for the Greek citizens new ID cards, that will be allegedly difficult to forge and will include more biometric and non-sensitive personal data. The cost for the citizens of Greece, who have been suffering financial implosion since 2007, is estimated at around 80 million euros. In the same year, Molokotos-Liederman (2007) maintained that the continuous movement of non-Orthodox refugees to Greece, since 1990, has created for Greece the challenge to become a multicultural society and leave behind the clear Greek identity of the past. Given the diversity in the European Union ID cards and the lack of standardization in the information contained (European Commission, 2018) the present paper discusses the correlation between a Greek and a European identity, as this is reconstructed and reformed with the new biometric ID cards. The evolution from a concrete Greek identity to a European collective fluid identity does not come without questions and problematization. The scope of this paper is to discuss these emanating issues and their implications for the Greek identity.

Keywords: Greek identity cards, biometric sensitive personal data, European collective identity

Kleanthis Kyriakidis

Fighting Islamophobia, while maintaining EU “values”

The relation between EU and Islam should not be a strained one. The average European ignores the basic principles of this monotheistic religion and is driven by stereotypical demagoguery towards islamophobia. This oral presentation will act as a myth-buster of the main islamophobic propaganda (namely that Islam is violent and extremist by definition, that Muslims should wage Jihad against the non-believers, that Islam is not compatible with culture, civilization, democracy or human rights and that terrorism is a natural outcome of the faith). In order to achieve the aforementioned, theological, sociological and historical facts will be offered and analyzed. We will then move on to the European principles, namely the Christian values, the Roman legislation, the Ancient Greek philosophy and the Renaissance and French Revolution principles. We will explain how all these do not exclude – actually can include and embrace – diversity and how peaceful coexistence is guaranteed through mutual respect.

Keywords: EU, Islam, Islamophobia, fundamentalism, principles

Ojārs Lāms

Aesthetic and intercultural reflections on Islamic issues. A French novel on the stage of the Latvian theater

French writer Michel Houellebecq (1956) in the novel “Submission” (2015), has expanded thematic paradigm of dystopian literature with a vision of Islamic political victory in the near future in France. The novel “Submission” affects key issues of contemporary cultural and political agenda in Europe – the vulnerabilities of democratic election regimes, the lack of ideals and purpose of the education system, the paradoxical similarities with the sources of inspiration among jihadists and euro-nationalists, the history of Islamist and Christian wars. However, Houellebecq has been criticized as an outsider who does not have a more thorough knowledge to judge such ambitious issues. It is the vision of the future that is inspired by the literary phantasy, which Houellebecq himself plots abundantly with skepticism and irony of his own conclusions. Latvian director Alvis Hermanis (1965) has received the European Theater Award in 2007 in Thessaloniki and has made significant success in the German-speaking theater and in the opera. His co-operation with European theater troupes in recent years was embarrassed due to his political conservative and controversial, even eccentric political views. A vivid example of Hermanis’s controversial ideological views is his production of “Submission” in his Riga theater (New Riga Theater) in 2016, in which he purposefully reduces the novel’s ambiguity. The proposed paper will analyze the strategies used by the director to work on the novel text, as well as the special use of theater capabilities to create director own message to express his political conviction.

Keywords: Novel “Submission” by Michel Houellebecq, Latvian theatre director Alvis Hermanis, dystopia, ideology, production strategies

Raluca Levonian

Always a part of Europe?: interpretations of the past in the construction of Romania's collective identity

Research on identity construction points out that identity is a fluid and dynamic concept. This dynamism needs to be understood in a broader sense, as referring to the past, not only to the present. Various interpretations of the past may be advanced and employed in the discursive construction of collective identities; moreover, they may serve as an argument for future political decisions. This paper investigates how the national and the European collective identity are assumed in Romanian official discourse, in relation to past and present events. More precisely, it assesses how the speakers recollect and interpret Romania's past and, further, how these interpretations contribute to the assertion of Romania's current status and actions as an EU state. The corpus of 20,718 words comprises commemorative speeches and declarations delivered in the Chamber of Deputies between 2015 and 2018, in order to mark 9 May as the Day of Europe and commemorate the victory against Nazism. For Romanians, this day has another particular significance. On 9 May 1877, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mihail Kogălniceanu, announced the independence of the Romanian state and the end of the Ottoman domination. The methodology applied is based on the discourse-historical approach (e.g. Wodak 2011; Reisigl and Wodak 2008), by identifying the main themes addressed and the rhetorical means employed by the speakers. The findings show that the discursive construction of the national identity intertwines references to national and European history, glossing over the communist dictatorship and interpreting Romania's past as a permanent quest for freedom and independence. As speakers compare Ottoman domination to the Soviet influence, 9 May appears as a symbolic moment which signifies the choice of 'European' values over 'Eastern' domination and dictatorship.

Keywords: National, European, communism, history, Romania

Mikael Baaz, Mona Lilja

Xenophobic, right-wing, "anti-genderism" and manifold and messy forms gendered resistance: How do feminists "do" Europe

As the "anti-genderism" grows stronger in Europe, it is urgent to discuss current feminist politics and the effectiveness of different forms of feminist resistance. Xenophobic, often right-wing, political movements are on the rise and their "anti-genderism" reiterate, and build upon, binary notions of different social categories, while struggling against antidiscrimination policies, reproductive technologies, gender mainstreaming, sex education, transgender rights and "even to the notion of gender itself" (Kuhar and Paternotte 2017). In a complex situation, the

practices of anti-genderism must be analysed in relation to, as a reaction to and enmeshing with, manifold and messy forms feminist resistance. This paper will analyse current debates within European feminism in order to understand what perceptions of resistance are being harboured within these discussions. Overall, the paper discusses: For those feminists who “do” Europe, with what resistance do they the form the future of Europe? When are feminist resistance productive, constructive, circulating, hidden, radical or biopolitical in its character? And how does feminist resistance entangle in, give rise to or challenge anti-genderism? What agendas, and what politics, are likely to succeed to create a more equal Europe, without setting of new waves of xenophobic, often right-wing, “anti-genderism”?

Keywords: Europe, resistance, anti-genderism, politics, they future

Spiros Makris

Europeanization or European integration? Europe at a crossroads in the 21st century

In the last decades within the academia holds an interesting and vivid conversation concerning the thorny question of European identity, i.e. the specific route Europe must follow in the 21st century. As a matter of fact, this high-qualified academic discussion concerns either the values or the agendas that Europe could be select in the future in order to make the dream of a ‘common European house’ come true. The whole scholarly debate and research is articulated around two main diametrically opposed arguments that indicate not only two alternative perspectives on European institutional architecture but two totally different ontologies regarding Europe as an entire socio-political project. On the one hand, there is the so-called sociological argument of Europeanization, where Europe is seen as an open-ended, pluralistic, multi-faced and so contingent social procedure. When considered ontologically, this approach brings to light a kaleidoscopic Europe, full of identities, cultures and traditions. Europe looks like the mythical Proteus. So, it is better to speak about a multiple Europes. On the other hand, there is the argument of European integration, so famous in the disciplinary ranks of Political Science and International Relations. In accordance with this approach, Europe is perceived as a one-sided process. Ontologically and teleologically speaking, this means that Europe leads to a unique socio-political identity. To put it in a nutshell, Europe looks like a European demos which is chiefly illustrated by the value of constitutional patriotism and moreover by the principle of European citizenship. Without doubt, today, Europe is at a crucial crossroads. European giant seems like a Janus, a double-faced entity, who looks at towards two different directions. Metaphorically speaking, Europe seems like Hercules, who is at a critical point, when decisions with far-reaching consequences must be made.

Keywords: Europeanization, European integration, multiple Europes, European demos

When text mining meets discourse analysis: “Digging” in the European populism via automatic methods

Does Europe live in a populist zeitgeist? Why would mainstream European parties become more populist in recent years? Some scholars argue that the expansion of right-wing populism in Europe points to the global economic crisis which has left undeniable consequences on a European scale. Others believe that the reducing ideological distinctiveness of parties would cause a change in the content of their communication shifting the competition from policy to image and emotion. This study proposes a different and innovative way of studying and understanding populism as a key constitutive dimension of modern political communication centered on automatic textual data analysis. Most discursive approaches to populism follow manual content analysis based mainly on rubrics designed to assign grades to texts according to different indicators associated to populism. Empirical computer based analysis is an emerging field of discourse analysis that provides tremendous advantages. Having vast amounts of digital text in our disposal we can implement automatic methods and experiment with both dictionary and machine learning techniques in order to determine the benefits of each method to not only detect populism but also to outline its evolution. Furthermore we are able by altering the focus of research to highlight the particular physiognomy of populist discursive formations, determine the ideological arena it comes from and examine not only the presence but also the lack of specific features and topics such as gender which has been a major emerging topic in recent literature. Our twofold set of data, a political and a media corpus relates to two recent cases from the Greek political stage 1) the elections of 2015 which lead to the victory of left wing SYRIZA and 2) the referendum of 2015, an event that stirred serious Eurosceptic feelings and posed questions about Greece's future within the European Union.

Keywords: Populism, discourse, Europe, text analysis, machine learning

Dorothea Merk

Paris-Bonn axis in the triangle of Anglo-French-German relations? Representations of Franco-German relations in West German quality newspapers from 1958 to 1962

The beginning of 1963 represents a historic milestone in Franco-German relations. The signing of the Élysée Treaty between the Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and the French President Charles de Gaulle on 22 January 1963 is anticipated by a lengthy process of European reconciliation outlined comprehensively in the West German quality newspapers. This treaty is further accompanied by the French veto on British entry into the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) a

few days earlier. Thus cementing a “Paris-Bonn” axis on the European stage, the Franco-German alliance is to be interpreted within the triangular scope of British, French and West German relations. In the Federal Republic’s quality newspapers, a positive discursive construction of Franco-German relations emerges in 1958 as a consequence both of the swift progress of the E.E.C. and of a subsequent bilateral understanding in foreign policy strategy towards the Soviet Union; it is in sharp contrast to the parallelly simultaneous worsening of Anglo-German relations. Equally, British newspapers rely on the old Anglo-French “Entente Cordiale” and deny any axis between Paris and Bonn. A discursive dispute on “winning friendship with France” characterises the British and West German media discourse from 1959 on. Applying the “Critical Discourse Analysis” by Ruth Wodak, Norman Fairclough and Siegfried Jäger, this paper analyses the discursive construction of Franco-German relations in the West German and British print media in the setting of the European Integration and the Berlin Wall crisis (1958-1962). The results show that the closeness of the Franco-German alliance is directly linked to the positive or negative representation of Anglo-German relations. Furthermore, West German newspapers reflect Bonn’s foreign political priority both in quantity of press articles and in content regarding the French alliance. This might function as a promising reference to the present discursive representation of Franco-German relations as Britain is leaving the European Union.

Keywords: Franco-German rapprochement, critical discourse analysis, discursive mechanisms, political discourse, national stereotypes

Cristina Mihalteanu, Emanuel Plopeanu

Geography and Geopolitics: The history of the Old Europe/ New Europe concepts and their current significance

When, in 2003, U. S. Defense Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, spoke publicly about Old Europe and New Europe, he referred to the level of loyalty and support for the U.S. (and other allies) objectives in Iraq. According to him, states from Old Europe, such as Germany and France, opposed to a military solution, while states from New Europe, such as Poland, Hungary or Czech Republic openly supported a military action for the removal of Saddam Hussein regime, with or without U.N. approval. This paper will try to analyze the public career of the concepts, their practical impact and current situation, from various sources, such as written press articles, official political discourses and academic research papers. Based on the results of this analysis, we will try to explain the practical impact of the concepts and their current state, mainly after George W. H. Bush Administration and considering the new geopolitical context, marked by the Syrian and Ukrainian crises. We will also bring into discussion the European Union’s official position in this matter, taking into consideration that such a political cleavage between its Member States regarding their views or implication in these matters could have major long-term effects and impact its future development of the foreign and

security policy. This division mentioned by Donald Rumsfeld, even if we consider it juts at a rhetorical level, is utterly important to be remembered, being the first time when brought into discussion, after Winston Churchill's famous speech from Fulton (March 5, 1946), if we leave aside some U.S. Presidents speeches, about the division of Berlin and the separation between the "free world" and the "totalitarian world", delivered at various occasions.

Keywords: Old Europe, new Europe, NATO, American intervention in Iraq, EU, geopolitics, political crises

Kyriakos Mikelis

Ordoliberalism and European Governance

The paper examines the role of ordoliberal discourse and practices, within the context of the EU economic governance, with emphasis on the management of the crisis of the Eurozone and on its future prospects. At first, a conceptual history is offered, concerning the content of 'ordoliberalism', as well as its historical context and evolution or trajectory, followed by a discussion on how it has been perceived to affect or reflect or construct (whether in terms of a 'shadow' or even an 'iron cage') the current and future economic order as well as the relation of the free economy and rules/strong authority, within the EU. In the respect, the paper unfolds upon a multi-disciplinary and reflexive consideration of varied relevant issues or challenges (emerging in the respective literature) such as the influence of the German economic tradition, the hegemonic predicament, order construction, a possible connection to an authoritarian aspect of liberalism and the relation with neoliberalism.

Keywords: Ordoliberalism, governance, European Union, Eurozone, order construction

Mona Lilja, Eva Lilja

To handle the future

A difficult issue in terms of future is our relationship to time. How to take the leap between the present and the future in the discourse, and in the imagination? Of course, we do not know anything about the future, yet we must act as if we did. The future is a fact and at the same time an imagination. Factual time can be measured with the help of clocks but imagined time is experienced. We need both kinds of time to handle the future of Europe. Cognitive philosophy has distinguished two models for experiencing the future, 1/ moving time and 2/ moving observer. Future is imagined either as rushing against us, or as a goal at the end of a walk. Of course, the later model is to prefer conducting Europe, but how to direct instinctive imaginations? Three seconds is the size of the working memory, the amount of time possible to grasp in one instant. You can never get out of your own bubble of moment. Still, we need to build images that make the future tangible. The future is both actual and imagined. We have to create an imagined European future strong enough to influence the actions of states and

individuals. The past and the future are constructed as memories and images, pictures without neither timeline nor causal factors, things that you have to build yourself. Obviously, this will give the determiner a possibility to bring the future into the now. A pattern or a script may be constructed possible to project into the future. Any understanding has a base in present patterns, made by cultural codes or genetic mechanisms. From evolutionary reasons, man has an irresistible urge to find a cause that very often is home made.

Natalia Emmanouil

Establishing common ground and raising cultural intelligence within the borders of Europe

Europe consists of many different ethnicities who have distinct cultural backgrounds and need to interact for business, political or cultural reasons. Moreover, migration of people either within or outside the borders of Europe who possess diverse knowledge, beliefs and suppositions brings together individuals who need to intermingle in the same surroundings. In order for communication among them to be successful and not cause problems or misunderstandings, they have to adjust to these varied cross-cultural environments. To overcome the problems created in intercultural contexts, the notions of “common ground” and “cultural intelligence” need to be examined. Individual characteristics differ as far as their cognitive ability, emotional intelligence, extraversion and international experience are concerned. Assumptions, presuppositions, norms and procedures are not the same in every culture that is why people have to develop a common ground for certain social skills, social roles and joint activities which will offer interlocutors the aid to act and communicate in a mutually recognized way. Establishing common ground needs culturally intelligent interlocutors because individuals tend not to be willing to cooperate with out-group members. Cultural intelligence (CQ) is defined as the ability to adapt effectively to situations of cultural diversity. It consists of three different components being the cognitive CQ, motivational CQ and behavioral CQ. Research has shown that individuals with higher CQ make more accurate cultural judgments, are integrated easier into multicultural environments and have higher epistemic motivation. This presentation first aims at presenting the notion of common ground and the concept of cultural intelligence and then it examines and explores why it is important to establish common ground and raise people's cultural intelligence in the diverse environment we live in. To my knowledge, common ground and cultural intelligence have been researched separately but combining them is a way of helping people lower their cultural barriers and enjoy intercultural interaction.

Keywords: Common ground, cultural intelligence, cognitive CQ, motivational CQ, behavioral CQ

The Greek state at a time of austerity

This paper will argue that due to the continuous negative effect of Structural Adjustment Programs from 2010 onwards, Greece has experienced rising levels of nationalism as well as an ever-growing anti-European outlook. This coincides with the implosion of the two-party system and the rise of populist parties from the extreme of the political spectrum. With an unceasingly contracting GDP, high levels of youth and total unemployment and disintegration of the welfare system, segments of the population alongside segments of the political system have been advocating for Greece-first, protectionist policies including exiting the European Union and the Eurozone. By applying the work of Karl Polanyi regarding the responsibility of institutions to curb the negative externalities of globalization and market-forces in order for important social foundations to be preserved as well as the work of Fritz Scharpf on negative and positive integration, a case can be made about the failure of the European political apparatus, to insulate European societies over financial markets by analysing the metamorphosis of the Greek state from 2009 until 2017.

Keywords: Austerity, Greece, Eurozone, structural adjustment programs

Georgia - Akrivi (Gina) Panagopoulou

From energy security to ‘Green’ energy security: Tools the EU could use to assure uninterrupted supply of energy resources

Energy security is a topic included in many discussions concerning the EU and it is not without good reason. Given that raw materials are vital to the EU's production and growth, energy is of utmost importance to the EU. However, the EU depends highly on other countries such as Russia, concerning energy supplies. ‘Green’ technology offers some kind of independence to the EU. However, this kind of technology is significantly based on the raw materials called ‘rare earths’ whose production is monopolized by China (almost 90% of the global production). For example, vehicles with environmentally friendly catalysts, wind turbines and solar panels all need rare earths in order to be produced. This leads to the conclusion that if the EU is Russia-dependent in terms of energy, it is also China-dependent in terms of ‘green’ energy. This poses a threat to the EU's security of supply once again and raises the crucial question ‘Can the EU become independent in terms of energy supplies be it ‘green’ or not ‘green’? What are the political and non-political means the EU could use in order to become independent concerning the supply of rare earths to its ‘green’ energy production? Could recycling of high-tech products be one of them?’ This research attempts to answer these questions and points out the importance of rare earths to the ‘green’ energy sector.

Keywords: Energy security, raw material security, security of supply, rare earths, ‘green’ energy

Theodora Papadopoulou

Hybrid war in 21st century: A security challenge for Europe

In the recent decades, states have to face a new type of threat, the so-called "hybrid war". This is the main cause of worry in the Western World because this war is hidden, unpredictable, multifaceted and rapidly evolving. It is difficult for researchers to define it, although it is not a new phenomenon but it is a long lasting issue throughout History. The use, however, of unorthodox means in a conflict is an ominous reality that, of course, also affects Europe. Hybrid threats target statehood, cause internal destabilization through the influence of religious ideas, economic activities and the collapse of political leadership. Propaganda is also used to ensure mass mobilization to undermine state systems. As the hybrid war is not confined to the physical battlefield but uses asymmetric threats and techniques, it targets the internet, aiming at political undermining through a series of attacks on state and private websites. In order to address this threat, collective action is needed by the relevant EU bodies, Civil-Military Cooperation or the Civil-Military Co-ordination. The foundations for the establishment of the Crisis Response System, which will deal with crises inside and outside the EU, were laid down in the 2007 Treaty of Lisbon. In general, Europe's goal is to be shielded against terrorist threats and all kinds of threats, but it is crucial to prevent, prepare and respond to crises. Pillars that have to be considered are the following: a) security of primary energy supply, b) transport safety and prevention of hybrid attacks on key infrastructures, c) facilitating the circulation and transit of the military personnel and material from the border in case of need, d) internet safety in order to avoid cyber-attacks against state mechanisms, which will also threaten world trade and e) avoid terrorist attacks and uncontrolled action of criminal organizations.

Keywords: Hybrid war, asymmetric threats, Civil-Military Coordination (CMCO), Crisis Response System (SRS), Treaty of Lisbon

Nora Peterman

Discursive heroes: Recontextualizing Greek folktales in a period of austerity

Beginning in late 2009, Greece experienced what is generally agreed to be its harshest period of economic, social and political unrest since 1974 (Xenakis, 2012). A critical moment within this crisis occurred in 2012, during which the Greek government engaged in tumultuous negotiations with Eurozone partners in order to fulfill austerity measures that were widely unpopular, and Greek elections resulted in the rise of extremist parties across the political spectrum. It is common for political leaders to draw upon national histories and myths during times of economic hardship and political discord in an effort solidify their support (Finnegan, 2011; Tsatsanis, 2011). Accordingly, this oral communication

examines ideological rhetoric employed by selected Greek, German and British politicians at the height of the Greek economic crisis in 2012. Using an intersectional feminist framework (Crenshaw, 1991) and methods derived from critical discourse analysis (Baumann & Briggs, 1991; Fairclough, 1992; 2001), I describe, analyze and compare the ways in which these stakeholders drew upon a range of folk tales of Greek Antiquity, examining in particular how various stakeholders discursively invoked Greek folklore as symbolic cultural resources and recontextualized these tales to achieve their respective political ends. I consider the restoring (Georgakopoulou, 2006) of heroic tales and interrogate the embedded social functions of Greek heroism and tragedy to discursively serve particular, context-specific purposes. The disciplinary and textual permeability reflected in this study is particularly salient to the 2018 Conference Theme in examining how recontextualizations of Greek folktales concomitantly shape and are shaped by strategies of selfhood (Bhabha, 2013) and national identities that discursively construct collective images of crisis and recovery in Europe.

Keywords: Discourse, recontextualization, folklore, identity, Greek economic crisis

Maria Agorastou, Sophia Protopappa, John Nikolaidis, Valentini Andreaoula, Joanne Malloy

Supporting vulnerable youth across Europe through Rehabilitation for Empowerment, Natural supports, Education, and Work (RENEW)

Mental disorders are one of the top public health challenges in the WHO European Region, affecting about 25% of the population every year. The European Mental Health Action Plan (2013-2020) is a comprehensive unified EU reforms that focuses on seven interlinked objectives and proposes effective actions to strengthen mental health and well-being of EU citizens. The objectives state that 1. Everyone has an equal opportunity to realize mental well-being throughout their lifespan, particularly those who are most vulnerable or at risk., 2. People with mental health problems are citizens whose human rights are fully valued, respected and promoted., 3. Mental health services are accessible, competent and affordable, available in the community according to need., 4. People are entitled to respectful, safe and effective treatment., 5. Health systems provide good physical and mental health care for all., 6. Mental health systems work in well-coordinated partnership with other sectors., and 7. Mental health governance and delivery are driven by good information and knowledge. In alignment with the EU Mental Health Plan, the current proposal describes RENEW, an evidence-based program developed in 1996 at the Institute on Disability, University of New Hampshire. It is a structured planning and individualized process designed to meet the needs of young people with emotional and behavioral challenges transitioning from school to adult life. RENEW engages each youth to design and plan this transition, guiding them through self-determination, individualized

school-to-career planning, strengths-based approach, building family and community supports and systemic support and consultation. It is in this context that this paper seeks to foreground how RENEW could potentially become an expanded intervention across Europe providing structured guidance to care leavers, as a bridge from institutional to community-based living, by empowering them for employability and independence, while creating a social support network engaging care professionals, staff and mentors.

Keywords: Deinstitutionalization, care leavers, EU guidelines, cultural reform, caretakers

Javier Ramos Dvaz, Juan Lomba, Javier Padilla

Democratic deficit, financialisation and European foreign policies

We analyse how the European Union's rather undefined institutional framework, the democratic deficit inherent in its institutions and the hegemony of neoliberal prescriptions expressed in the concept of "financialisation" are limiting EU's capacity of external action. These limitations are becoming the European foreign policy into a weak, uncoordinated and instrumental (WUI) policy instrument. This is particularly observable in the MENA region, especially during and after the so called "Arab Spring", which constitutes a powerful analytical framework to validate the WUI hypothesis. In order to understand the EU's democratic deficit and financialisation, which are key in explaining the WUI hypothesis, we look at the sources of direct and indirect legitimation. The source of legitimation of the EU's supremacy over national legal systems stems from the indirect legitimation of the Member States and the direct legitimation of the financial sector. This leaves European citizenship in a secondary and subordinate position that undermines the sources of democratic legitimacy in the EU, and that helps us to understand the EU's secondary role in world conflicts and solutions.

Keywords: European Foreign Policy, financialisation, democratic deficit, Arab Spring

Aikaterini Saich, Konstantinos Boutelis

The European Union as a "LoveMark"

"Lovemarks" is a marketing concept that was developed by Kevin Roberts (CEO of global advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi) in 2004, as the "Future of brands". In a few words Brands have to turn into Lovemarks by establishing emotional connections with its customers, in order to increase the latter's loyalty and achieve sustainable growth. The concept provides a simple explanatory scheme; companies can generate two emotions to their customers: respect and love. "Lovemarks" command both love and respect to their customers. In the framework of the present paper the European Union is perceived as a unique brand. It has its own distinctive characteristics e.g. flag, legislative and

institutional bodies etc. The European Union, as it was formally established with the Maastricht Treaty (1 November 1993), is an unprecedented political and economic entity; therefore, “a new brand”. As it is the case with all brands, people relate, or not, themselves with them based on their needs, beliefs, social, cultural, political and educational background. This paper attempts to apply the “Lovemarks” concept to the “European Union” brand. At first, it will assess the views of European citizens towards the European Union in the framework of Love and Respect axes by examining the Eurobarometer results. Having identified the exact place of the European Union within the “Lovemarks” scheme, the focus, then, turns to a “re-positioning” of the brand. In other words, several suggestions at the aim of EU becoming a “Lovemark” are apposed based on the experience of international brands and the best practices they followed.

Keywords: Lovemarks, European Union, brand, repositioning, Eurobarometer

Athanassios N. Samaras, Aspriadis Neofytos, Giasemi Georgaliou

British referendum and the decision to leave the EU (Brexit): British politicians interviewed by world media:

An examination of apologetic rhetoric

On June 23 2016, 51.9% of the British population voted to leave the EU. Perceived as a crisis, Brexit raises questions on British and European identity, the relations of the UK with other EU members, economic and political reorientation and reforms for both sides. Deconstructing the image of the UK, it determined the campaign for the national elections on June 8 2017. Brexit functions as a form of *Kategoria* which initiates: (a) management of blame, and (b) image restoration strategies. This study uses Benoit's (1995) image repair strategies to analyze the discourse of British politicians from different political parties from May 2016 (one month before) until July 2017 (one month after). Two different *modus operandi*, two competing sets of strategic considerations govern the employment of image restoration discourse: (a) the rationale of international political communication with an underlying cause of repairing UK's nation image for an international audience, and (b) the rationale of British domestic party communication with an underlying cause of repairing the politicians' either personal or party image for domestic audiences. Which of the two campaigns is applied in each occasion? How does the use of a campaign affect the choice of image restoration strategies and what is the final effect it has upon the (re)formulation of the nation image of the UK? The interviews have been arranged on a question-answer basis. Indicatively, the analysis includes the different kinds of strategies implemented, the frequency of use and their combinations. Finally, it investigates image repair on various levels, (individual, party, country-level), the tendency of politicians to prefer the use of specific strategies in specific media based on related or opposite ideology or the relations of the politician and the UK with the medium's country of origin and finally the image of the UK that emerges from the interviews.

Keywords: Brexit, discourse analysis, crisis management, image restoration

Dimitrios Stavropoulos, Vasileios Stavropoulos

The Greek society's response towards the migration flows

Migration could be considered a phenomenon of our continuous changing world, where we have constant economic, social and policy transitions. Globalization affects the people who are experiencing it. Thus, we observe increased migration, which is the movement of people or groups of people from one area to another. States play a significant role in managing migrations, and again those alternations of population in the society can create social changes. The people can have specific reasons why they are trying to leave their country and go to a new one, with the most common ones to be social difficulties and security threats. \n\nIn this specific paper, I am examining the immigration issue in Greece, which has gained in importance in the past 15 years but has become especially salient in the last years due to the current humanitarian crisis in Syria. This inflow of migrants is occurring in a difficult domestic context, however. Greece has experienced severe financial shocks since 2009. Its current economic system has fallen to an extreme point and it has created huge social problems for its people. With that taken into consideration, the state has also to face thousands of migrants entering the country. Just in 2015, it has been estimated that more than 150,000 Syrian refugees passed the Greek-Turkish borders. All the refugees are in need of help and the state is required to respond. However, even there are not efficient enough necessary means to assist such a huge number of people causing important human rights issues, the majority of migrants are still welcomed to Greece. Through an extended literature review, it is examined the way that the Greek society responds to such a humanitarian crisis despite the current financial situation of the country.

Keywords: Syria, refugees, EU, Greece, Turkey, migration flows

Emmanouil Takas, Aspriadis Neofytos, Athanasios N. Samaras

“You should have known better”. German official narratives and perceptions regarding the Greek financial Crisis and Europe

Is Germany Europe's “reluctant hegemon” or is the country still practicing its ordoliberal tradition? How is the Greek crisis depicted and constructed in the official discourse of Germany's Finance Minister, Mr. Wolfgang Schäuble? In the post WWII era, Germany was portrayed as a “tamed tower” or “reflexive multilateralist” (Katzenstein, 1997; Paterson, 2011), while nowadays it is considered to be the dominant national player in the EU (Hillebrand, 2015). The ordoliberal tradition of Germany, also known as Freiburg School, or German neoliberalism) is the theoretical foundation identifying a strong mixture of strong state and free market (Zweig, 1990). The domination of the “no-debt” policy across the Eurozone still has strong effects on the periphery of EU and especially Greece. Therefore,

in times of crisis the ordoliberal tradition may function as a rhetorical construction that demonizes debt-countries and attributes responsibility of this debt-crisis to internal and stable factors of the countries in debt. Thus by exploring the ways that responsibility is attributed, the way that a political actor uses information to arrive at casual explanations can highlight processes of identity construction and exclusion (Weiner, 2008). By attributing responsibility to a country for being a “weak state” and thus not facilitating the free market, the ordoliberal tradition constructs the country as a victim of its own choices that now has to get aligned to financial and social reforms. Aim of this study is the exploration of the ways in which the Greek economy is depicted in the official public discourse of Wolfgang Schäuble and how this rhetoric may be derived from in-group favoritism and thus extracting Greece from the heart of Europe. Content analysis is deployed to examine to what extend the ordoliberal tradition is linked to attribution theory thus constructing “in” and “out” groups, in Schaubles official discourse regarding Greece in 2015-2017.

Keywords: Ordoliberalism, attribution theory, Greek crisis, Germany

Christiana-Ariola Vranistai

Refugee and migrant crisis in Europe: The EU-Turkey agreement

The European Union is currently being faced with a vast number of challenges, such as the protracted economic crisis, the UK's withdrawal from the European project and terrorism. However, it seems that one of the greatest problems is the unprecedented migration flows, created by a series of geopolitical and economic factors, which threaten the unity of the EU. In 2015, more than one million refugees entered Europe triggering according to the United Nations, “the greatest refugee crisis after World War II”, raising questions about the ability of EU and its member states to manage the mass arrival of refugees seeking asylum in European territories. The refugee crisis is gradually becoming a humanitarian issue, while the dilemmas that arise for the EU are significant. On the one hand, if EU had left its external borders open, it would have put at risk the Schengen acquis and the fundamental principle of free movement of people. On the other hand, by closing its doors to so many refugees, it was likely to destabilize countries such as Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon, which to date are home to millions of refugees. Moreover, such a stance on the part of Europe does not comply with the humanitarian principles that have been defending for decades, such as the fundamental human right to international protection. The massive and uncontrolled arrival of migrants and refugees has put pressure on the first countries of entry such as Greece and Italy, on the asylum systems of many Member States and the common European asylum system as well. Given the fact that the majority of immigrants and refugees arrive in Greece via Turkey so as to continue their journey to the rest of Europe, it became clear that the EU had to work with Turkey in order to address this major

problem. Thus, with the intent of deepening their relations and dealing with the immigration crisis, they reached a nine-point agreement with the aim of controlling migratory flows and halting the influx of illegal migrants.

Keywords: EU-Turkey agreement, migration crisis, refugees, European migration policy, Schengen acquis, humanitarian issues

Iouliani Vroutsi

“Europe” on National Greek television: Forging the agenda of reform for Europe through media discourse

This paper is focused on the discourse that is articulated for Europe on the Greek National Television in the era of Greek crisis mainly through two special programs under the title “Europe” and “28 times Europe” (“28 φορές Ευρώπη”). In their cadre a representation of Europe of the past and the present is constructed but simultaneously an agenda of future reform for the Greek and European crisis is implicitly forged. By means of semiotics and critical discourse analyze the whole concept of the above referred programs is revealed, their content, the selected guests, the thematic agenda and the prioritization of the subjects in the framework of the Greek public television and its programmatic principles in favor of the public good. Popularized media discourse for Europe or with academic character, popular or elitist, pluralist or one dimensional, pro-European domo or Eurosceptic, all these are subjects on which is based our analyze with a central question: could the media be the peaceful mediator, the basic mission of the real journalism according to the famous reporter, Ryszard Kapuściński, in the Europe of fateful conflicts and contribute to the restauration of the European Union constructing in parallel a new vital myth for the old Continent of European people.

Keywords: Reform, media discourse, public television, journalism, Europe

Dejana Vukasovic

The actorness of the EU and the Western Balkans: Towards permanent liminality?

In this article, the author deals with the identity of the EU in relation to the concept of external Other. It is argued that the identity formation of the EU represents a relational process shaped not only by the interaction with national identity, but also with significant others that are necessary in order to define/redefine and manifest EU's identity. Accordingly, the EU actorness is in this paper regarded as a discursive self-construction that establishes a particular identity of the EU vis-à-vis external others, which is reflected not only in the “normative power Europe” but also in its ability to change others through the spread of particular norms.

Among a variety of others that are significant in the process of constitution of the EU identity, the paper focuses on the “uses” of the Western Balkans as external other in the process of constructing and shaping the EU actorness. The article goes beyond the clear cut dichotomy in the self/other relation and introduces the concept of liminality as a useful analytical tool in order to explain the identity of these two actors. The author considers that both the EU and Western Balkans are “stuck” in liminal position, i.e. trapped in-between differing sets of expectations which could lead to the permanent liminality.

Keywords: EU, Western Balkans, liminality, actorness, identity

Tahtsidis Yorgos

Reforms in the news media

This paper examines the nature of traditional and contemporary news reporting. It compares traditional news reporting in Greek newspapers to that of other European newspapers and compares them with news reports as published on the internet. The paper identifies the reasons for the existing mistrust of the readers of both news sources, which are the extreme sensationalism and the “selective truth” of the traditional news media and the “Fake News” phenomenon in the “new media”. Furthermore, in this work, I show that the existing mistrust of the general public towards journalism and news writing harms public life in general, and hinders the development of a European identity.

Keywords: Fake news, crisis of journalism, printed media, trust in journalism, trust in newswriting, politics of the media, political power of news

Panagiotis Zervoudakis

European and global identity through the scope of Palaeolithic Archaeology

The rise of nationalist and populist rhetoric, the separatist movements, and the subsequent tensions within and between nations evidence an identity crisis in Europe. It is thus of paramount importance for social cohesion and future peace that we develop a sense of common belonging and a shared past. Educational systems and cultural institutions, such as museums or galleries, primarily focus on local history, mainly of the last 2-3 millennia. On the one hand, the Greco-Roman past is emphasized not only in the European South, but also in Central and Northern Europe through the art and architecture of the Renaissance, while on the other hand the Christian background of the majority of Europeans is considered to be the second point of reference for the different European nations. These two core themes, Classical Antiquity and Christianity, often serve as a

means to contrast European identity with Arabic, African or Asian cultures. On the contrary, Palaeolithic Archaeology can illustrate the fundamental values that define all humans, while at the same time emphasise the importance of mobility, interaction and admixture of cultures. Although it studies the earliest human past, Palaeolithic Archaeology embraces the latest developments in genetic science, oceanography and GIS mapping in order to reconstruct the environment in which our common ancestors lived, travelled, bred and eventually spread across the globe. It is proposed that three steps be taken at a European scale: a) Inclusion and expansion of Palaeolithic studies in the education curriculum, in order to construct a sense of common identity especially for younger students, b) Establishment of a European database of Palaeolithic artefacts, so as to facilitate scientists to compare different assemblages and produce a unified Pleistocene record, c) Public exhibitions of Palaeolithic art and material culture, especially in countries where there are no relevant collections.

Keywords: Palaeolithic archaeology, public archaeology, social identity, education, museums

ISBN 978-0-9979971-2-5

