



Europe in Discourse

Identity • Diversity • Borders

1st International Conference

Book of Abstracts



**1st International Conference
Europe in Discourse: Identity, Diversity, Borders**

Book of Abstracts

Compiled by:

Stefanos Basigkal
Antonia Chouvarda
Themis Kaniklidou
Gerasimos Kontaxis
Aggeliki Tzigkou

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

Book cover by: Anna Razou

© 2016, Hellenic American University
52 Concord St., Manchester, NH 03101, USA

ISBN 978-0-9979971-0-1

Contents

Introduction	17
Conference Committees	
Scientific Committee	18
Steering Committee	18
Organizing Committee	19
Plenary Speakers	20
Thematic Panels	
Panel 1: Talking Europe: A Comparative Approach to Broadcast	
Political Discourse in the European Union	29
News interviews and the construction of political discourses and identities	30
Fragmentation and Multi-disruption: Citizen Talk in the Audience	
Discussion Genre	31
The Vox Pop: citizens' entitlements and identities in the news discourse	31
The performance of mainstream politicians	32
Insiders vs outsiders: The discursive identities and strategies of populist parties	33
Panel 2: Securitisation and language learning in contemporary Europe.....	34
Troubled-heritage language education in a conflict-affected context	35
Arabic in Marseille's Public Schools: Summoning Second-Generation Muslim Youth to French Subjecthood	35
'The very sensitive question': Insecurity, mobility and pedagogical challenges in the heritage language classroom	36
Turas: Learning the Irish language in Protestant East Belfast	37
Panel 3: Expanding Europe's Borders Eastward?	
The impact of the Ukraine conflict on political discourse in Eastern Europe and the cross-European dialogue.....	38
The Russian point of view	39
Ukraine between Russian and the EU: an inner and outer conflict.....	40
Poland and the European Union – outside or within.....	41
Legitimizing the EU/Czech identity in the Ukraine discourse in the Czech Parliament	42

Cross-European dialogue on the crisis in Ukraine: Converging and diverging discourses	42
Panel 4: Discourses of Europe and identity at times of 'Brexit'	43
Splendid isolation again? Brexit and the role of the press and online media in re-narrating Europe's discourse	44
The politics of 'Brexit': how neoliberal discourses drive the debate of Britain's membership of the EU	45
Europe – a geographical space or an economic area but never a political union. How British political parties construct the sovereignty of the UK when referring to Europe	46
"We have an ally in London": catching step by step a media construction of an (non) European identity	47
Panel 5: European and national identity in the discourses and rhetoric of national parliaments	47
Old Europe, new Europeans? Re-conceptualizing, re-contextualizing, and re-constructing European identities in national parliamentary discourses in Sweden and the UK	48
National Identity Construction and Discursive Constructions of "Europe" in Polish Parliamentary Debate, From EU Accession to Nationalist Resurgence	49
Of Small States and Big Neighbors – The Construction of National Identity in Austria and Switzerland	50
'Speaking with one voice': Debating European and national identity in the German and British Parliaments	51
Part of democratic Europe or not? An examination of European identity in British value-related political debates, 1948-1949	51
Identity constructions in EUs policy documents on cultural heritage	52
Panel 6: European Civil Society as Norm, Construction and Performance	53
Social contract as discourse and ethics of the self:	
The Case of European governance	53
Europeanization of Political Discourses on Discrimination	53
Epistemic Community of Austerity Experts and the Democratic Deficit of the European Union	54

Common Health Policy? Unify you must!	54
Panel 7: Europe in Religious Discourses, Religion in European Discourses	54
After Paris 2015: Building European Identity Through Social Integration	56
Migration and Integration – Are Religious Symbols a Taboo Theme on Campus?	57
Is religious diversity presented (or even not) in museums today?.....	57
The politics of ritualization of transnational Islam in the news: circulating discourses of threat and vulnerability in society.....	58
Journalism, terrorism and responsibility.....	59
Russian Orthodox Church and European Values: Analyzing Media Discourse.....	60
Europe in Religious Discourses, Religion in European Discourses.....	61

Abstracts of Oral Presentations

Negative framing of European values and identities in the Russian social media: catchphrases, narratives and visuals	63
Reserving a discourse of Euro-identification: Euro-realism	64
Press discourses about the Spanish bailout (June 2012): strategic biases and silences	64
Integration as the way to recover from decline, crisis and nihilism: 1920-1948	65
The European Institutions and the European Identity	66
National and post-national discourses and the construction of linguistic identities by students of Albanian origin in Greece	67
European diversities and conflicts as presented in the film Code Unknown.....	68
The Chicken Game Strategy in the European Discourse: The Case of the Euro-group negotiations for Greece	68
Competing constructions of groupings in the European Parliament.....	69
Refugee crisis, media coverage and ideological positioning in France and Cyprus	70
Specified and excluded? Transnational experiences of Roma children and their struggles of self-identification in the European context ..	71
Visual Representations of Crisis on the “Debating Europe” Platform Theme: Images of crisis and recovery in Europe	72
Ethnicity and Pan-Europeanism in European Discourse	73

Problematizing them: Discourses of the far right in Southern Europe	74
Brussels via Athens:	
Reverse mobilization in Macedonian attitudes on EU after exposure to positive news frames on Greece	75
The discursive (de)construction of European identity:	
Analysing social media in times of "Greferendum"	76
European corporate values and practices: from CSR to "greenwash"	77
Using corpus-assisted discourse studies to explore the European Economic Crisis	78
Europe and the Other during the '30: Eurocentric and globalized perspectives in the League of Nations Conferences	78
Multilingual identities of Roma children from Eastern Europe in a globalised world	79
Still in fashion? Reconsidering conceptual elements of the Central European identity in the context of discourse on the idea of Europe	80
Metaphorical Representations of Europe in the Greek Press	81
The Haplogroup Identity: Political and Cultural Meanings. Can Today's Political Parties Be Identified as Modern Types of Haplogroups? ..	82
To have or not to have a common European identity? Insights into the e-citizens' discursive (de)legitimation	83
Plurilingualism in Europe: promoting language and cultural diversity	84
E-communicating with e-citizens through the "Debating Europe" Platform	85
Europe and anti-European sentiments through metaphorical conceptualizations: A Critical discourse analysis of Facebook political discussions over the Greek referendum of the 5th July 2015	86
Living the past: Balkan post-conflict youth narratives	87
Securing Europe or Helping Refugees? An Analysis of the Discourse of Those Working at the EU Borders	87
European Values and Virtues in Discourse: Political Sphere or Public Space?	88
EU expansion and Immigration Discourse in Britain:	
The Storm Surge that never was	90
Iberia and Europe: a conflict of images	91
Main Themes of the Turkish Foreign Policy Discourse Regarding R2P and Humanitarian Intervention: In Cases of Libya, Syria and Iraq	92
Human Rights and Gender in European Union:	

A Socio Legal Perspective of Constitutionalisation of European Union	93
Is the Treaty of Lisbon supportive of language minorities in the European Union?	94
Anarchy and Atrophy: Revising the EU's Symbolic Policy	94
Is the Greek Diaspora, a historic diaspora from a small country at the Southeastern tip of Europe, super-diverse and globalized?	95
Greece, nation, country, state, homeland: as used by ex-Prime Minister of Greece Antonis Samaras in interviews	96
Memory laws and the European constitutional identity: the normative construction historical identity in Europe.....	97
Place identity and social media: The Greek case of brain drain migration	98
Relationality in practice. Doing geographical categorisation at the German-Polish border	99
European diversity through religion and culture	100
Sharing leaks as viral stories online: vernacular spectacles of politics and the construction of European publics	101
European Cultural Integration: How the EU cultural policy is influencing the phenomenon of "European identity".....	102
Shaping European geographies: The museum of European and Mediterranean civilizations in Marseille and the making of identity	103
Ambivalent Spaces: Education, Consumerism and the Class of Intellectuals in Postmodernity.....	104
Is Ukraine a European Nation	104
Objects of Othering, Criminalization, Inferiorization, and Abjection: Immigrants and Refugees in the Italian Extreme Right's Political Discourse	106
Beware Greeks Bearing Metaphors: Classical Tropes and the Greek Debt Crisis	107
The relationship between the personal mastery of many European languages and historical-cultural aspects of European individual identity from a global perspective: languages as tools or keys, and countries or cultures as treasures between the continent and the world.....	108
Two Discourses Two Decades Apart: A comparative analysis of EU discourse in relation to Bosnian and Syrian refugee crises	109
Institutional Frameworks and Discourses of Inclusion: A Comparative Approach Among Migrants and Refugees	110

“Εδώ είναι Πειραιάς, εμείς θα σε νικάμε και εσύ θα προσκυνάς”-

Identitarian Aspects of Football Rivality Discourses in

Southern European Discourse Communities:

A Comparative Approach to Discourse Analysis	111
The Current European Discourse on the Notion of Bildung and its	
Metamorphosis in the Age of Globalization	112
European Identities: Centre and Periphery	112
Linguistic Diversity as a Component of European Identity	113
Being “European” in the Southern Caucasus – Greeks in Georgia	
between identification and alteration	114
The Representation of Europe in UK Election Manifestos	115
Islam et musulmans en Europe. Entre diversité religieuse séculaire	
et identités culturelles nouvelles.....	115
Paradoxes of a Cultural Divide: European Identities and	
the Appropriations of Byzantine Architecture in the 19-20th Century	116
The rise of the Technocracy as crisis management-emphasis	
on the case of Greece	118
Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union and the	
role of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa)	
in its development	118
How Far Is Romania of the European Union? Romanian Politicians’	
Discourse in the European Elections and the People’s Interest	
for the European Agenda	119
Discourse of Deception;	
A Crisis of False Identity in Nature of Debate Shows	120
Learning to be (come) a good European a critical analysis	
of the official European Union discourse on European identity	
and higher education.....	121
Questioning EU relations in the Finnish and Estonian refugee debates ..	122
One story-Different Schemas	122
Digital narrative identities and the construction of reality on	
social media during the European economic crisis	123
That’s not my democracy	124
Constructing “Europe” from the margins – the view of Soviet	
Greek immigrants to Greece	125
Narrativization of the Greek financial crisis by Greek	
TV news: The outbreak and Greece’s return to bond markets	125

“EU-topia or dystopia?” The EU image at the crossroads	126
Discursive and Visual Construction of Internal Borders. Analysis of advertisement samples from Italy, Greece and the UK in the framework of the EU Project RADAR.....	127
“Integration of Migrants” in Russian Media: Constructing Boundaries, Constituting Distance, Legitimizing Domination.....	128
Symbolic construction of Greek/Turkish borders via discursive performances in newsprint media of Greece and Turkey: Evidence through “Syrian Exodus”.....	129
Student discourses of civic engagement and global citizenship in a time of crisis in Athens, Greece	130
Europe, European Union and European Council: Unidentified identities.....	131
“The EU isn’t a country, is it?” - The EU on Wikipedia.....	132
The Role of Communicative Discourse in Governing Public Spaces.....	133
Hegemonies in times of crisis? Reflecting on narratives about Athens, Greece, and European crises through Said’s Orientalism.....	134
Youth in Transit.....	135
Teaching the Newcomer Student: Paths to Positive Integration.....	136
Documentation of the Spatial Identity of Native European Populations as Shaped through the Discourse of their Oral Histories and Traditions: a case study of the Arvanites.....	137
What’s Happening Elsewhere: Reasoning from a Middle Eastern Case to Europe	138
The European “Bermuda Triangle”: Refugees/migrants – Xenophobia/islamophobia and the rise of extreme right wing parties.....	139
The horizontal Europeanization of the metropolitan press in the EU borderlands	140
Online Discourses on EU Security within its Borders	142
“Fortress Europe” and displaced persons. The construction of space, borders and Europe.....	143
Hidden in plain sight - engaging in the visual construction of European identities and narratives through ancient European script.....	144
The Basques and the “Europe of Peoples”. Europeanism in the political discourse of Basque Nationalism and its precedents.....	145

The discursive negotiation of Greek national identity: Perceptions of self and otherness in the context the economic crisis, 2010-2015.....	146
European Security in trouble: The interplay of national strategic cultures and the search for a European one.....	147
Conflicting identities: How the Euro crisis challenges commonalities between member states.....	148
The Governing and Resistance of the Precarious Other: Migrant understandings of “now” as well as their future in a Swedish context.....	149
The rhetorical foundations of the intercultural citizen: assessing the performativity of the EU discourse on diversity.....	149
Migrants as a threat: Current Framing Strategies of Right-wing Populists in Europe.....	150
An Evil Empire? The EU as Dystopian Monster in the Discourses of Four European Populist Parties (The Front National, Podemos, Syriza and UKIP).....	151
Power and critique in Europe. On the discursive logic of austerity discourses within a “new Weberian universe”.....	152
Political discourses on the European Identity in the light of ongoing Refugee crisis.....	153
Europe and its Cities:	
Looking back at the making of the EU Urban Agenda.....	153
Ethnographic engagements at international frontiers:	
The politics and poetics of bordering in SE Europe.....	154
“Migrant” or “Refugee”? How translation and terminology affect news discourse in European media.....	155
Mechanisms of power and the celebration of otherness in European migration policies.....	156
Our common terminology:	
the linguistic passport for a united Europe	157
Europe’s etymology in Greek means ευρύς eurys “wide” and ὤψ ops “eye(s), its culture and political existence has an historical and geopolitical relation with Greece, the Greeks and the Hellenic culture all over the world.....	157
Causes Of Economic Divergence in EU and the Steps Forward for a Progressive European Integration.....	158

“Voting for which Europe?” Narratives of Europe during the European Parliament elections of 1979 in the Netherlands.....	160
Cultural Analysis of the National Stereotypes in German-British Relations during the Berlin Wall Crisis (1958 - 1962). A Critical Discourse Analysis of National Print Media	161
Entangled Refractions: Global Perspectives on Europeanism and Asianism.....	162
Emotions and deliberation in European online media in a crisis situation	162
From civilizing mission to soft power?	
European powers and the politics of attraction	163
In the midst of the economic crisis: Representations of Greece and Europe in international and local media	164
Non-Metropolitan, Outermost and Overseas. Making Sense of Europe in Les Outre-mer Français	164
European Union and the securitization of migration in the Mediterranean - Topic modeling on official speeches and security documents	165
Being between and betwixt. Discursive constructions of “authentic” and “hybrid” identities of Greekness in the narratives of “return” migration	166
Memory and identity in Epirus: ethno-cultural affiliations and relationships under reconstruction on the Greek/Albanian border	167
Fictitiously oriental travel novels of Enlightenment: a paradigmatic example for European discourse of identity	168
Immigration in Germany and the role of the communities	169
Italian media discourse on the European economic crisis.....	170
Transformation of modern European identity in the framework of the EU integration processes: social and cultural dimensions	171
Notions of “homeland”, “borders” and “Greekness”: students’ perceptions in Northern Greece	172
Greece through Spiegel: discussing the political-economic situation from 2009 to the present	173
Turkey: The Inveterate Candidate	174
The role of ancient Olympia in a period of crisis for Greece, Europe and the world	175

Constructing of the Ukrainian identity within the European context	176
Discursive Construction of European Industrial Heritage	177
Images of crisis in the Greek-Cypriot television: Ethnographic approaches to European identity-making in the case of the Greek crisis of 2015.....	177
European Identity: a Multimodal Perspective	178
Discursive structures of the EU: introduction to the European language and the tendency towards borders' reification	179
Strategies of Designing the European Identity in the Romanian Diplomatic Discourse	180
Jean Monnet and European Studies:	
European Identity Projects in Scholarly Discourses	181
The political discourse within the on line media discourse.	
Legitimation or signification of the European project	182
Citizens and Citizenship – the Rhetoric of Dutch Immigrant Integration Policies	183
Regionalization in Portugal: “uma conversa de surdos? (a deaf conversation?)”	184
National identity in Contemporary Europe - Why devolution is not enough? (Regional identity vs. state political parties and disintegration of contemporary Europe)	185
Identity in diversity: etymology and multilingualism in education	185
Recovering European identity in educational discourse or what do we mean when we discuss European identity as a language course subject?	187
The importance of interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings: Directive 2010/64/EU and Greek status.....	187
Teaching English to unaccompanied minors.....	188
Construction of Identities through the use of the first person pronouns (I/We) in the Greek Prime Minister's statements before and after the summits	189
The images of the refugees and the immigrants in the Greek press	190
This is seductive Europa.....	191
European Frame and Nation Images in the Greek Press During the January 2015 Election Campaign: Assessing the Effects of Greek Financial Crisis on European Integration.....	191

Immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Greece:	
a critical corpus-driven analysis of journalistic discourse.....	192
Powers of interpretation	193
Discourse about Europe during the Greek Enlightenment	
and Revolution.....	194
Geopolitical affinities through mediation.....	194
Europe through journalists' eyes:	
the EU seen by Brussels correspondents from New Member States.....	195
Diversity in a European context: the challenge of creating a common	
critical vocabulary.....	196
Political Discourse in the European Union.....	196
European Multilingualism as Discursive and Social Practice:	
A Language Policy Analysis of Multilingualism	
in the European Parliament.....	197
Linguistic markers of contemporary hate speech in Polish.....	198
The "OXI" (NO) of the Greek people in the European Media.....	199
Rhetorical construction of the EU image by the Greek parties:	
The case of parliamentary discussion on the 2015 referendum.....	200
Politicizing EU: change and appropriation of EU discourse in Macedonia	
in times of political crisis	201
Governance and political discourse in Europe Union:	
the topic of Corporate Social Responsibility.....	202
Media Construction of Eastern European Identities on the BBC website.....	203
Symbolic approach to the analysis of the European identity	203
The Culturalization of Citizenship Practices across the EU:	
The German Case.....	204
Images of the financial crisis in Greek crisis jokes.....	204
EU-Turkey relations: Scissors keep opening	205
The "right to the city" as a contemporary stake. A view from Athens	
in the crisis-ridden European South	206
Clean coal vs. nuclear power. A contrastive analysis of France's	
and Germany's national discourses on climate change	
and energy production.....	206
Towards a European Public Sphere: the case of Talk Real.....	207
Europe during the era of terrorism and immigration:	
A political discourse analysis. Shifts, challenges and new correlations	209

Humanitarian Discourse in the Web: For or Against Democracy?	
The Case of Greece and the EU	210
The dominant political narrative for Europe through Greek political speeches (1975-2015):	
The hope-despair vision of the European Union	210
Twilight of Europe: Reconciling Dreams of "Paneuropa"	
with the Heady Attempt at Balkan Union, 1923-1934	211
"You're (not) one of us!"	
Active and reflexive ideas of regional identification.....	212
Media, Refugees and EU Borders: Ethic Principles Abandoned	213
Grexit statements, predictions and projections of mass media:	
a discourse analysis of greek online newspapers' scaremongering strategies	214
Illiberal Discourse in the European Union	216
"You are speaking Greek but acting like an Albanian": discursive construction of national sameness and difference in every day talk among the Greek speakers of Southern Albania (Northern Epirus)	216
The web construction of European identities among young people:	
The EU Teachers' Corner	217
 Poster Presentations	
Hyperborean variété of identities in Neo-latin texts of Riga Humanists	220
Preservation of European Identity on the Edge of Europe: Casus of Germans-"Orenburger" (the End of XIX – the Beginning of XX cent.)	220
Language schools as outposts of EU border control	220
Migrant Crisis or Europe Crisis?	221
Europe under threat? Fears and prejudices in BG-MAMMA forums	221
What do we have in common?	221

Introduction

Europe is going through an ‘existential’ crisis; a crisis of identity that extends beyond the financial and political crises of the past years. An unprecedented refugee crisis is renegotiating the continent’s humanitarian credentials, while right-wing populism is challenging its political and ideological make up. The combination of financial challenges, grassroots political pressure, terrorism and the refugee question are shaping Europe’s present and future.

Two opposing narratives are emerging: that of an “open Europe” of extroversion and open borders among its member states, and that of a “closed Europe”, which is challenging its ideological past and future. These narratives, however, are not merely conceptual. They are reflected in the stark absence of a shared sense of belonging—the lack of a European *demos*—and accentuated by the elusiveness of the values of citizenship, democracy and solidarity.

However, all may not be lost. Democracy still remains the cornerstone of European unity and Europe can take control over its destiny if it looks back at its roots and rethinks what brings it together. Europe may still be able to find unity in its cultural and intellectual past. Religious and linguistic diversity may also form part of a shared inheritance.

The 1st International Conference Europe in Discourse: Identity, Diversity, Borders is an effort to ask anew what being European means. It does so through the prism of discourse, text and language and, as a look at the abstracts in this book will confirm, over a broad range of thematic areas, including:

- European identity in parliamentary discourses
- The European integration project and EU enlargement
- Religious discourses, diversity and social integration
- Media discourses about Europe and European identity
- Right-wing populist parties and European identity
- Linguistic diversity and European identity
- Citizenship and Identity reflected in national practices
- Borders, refugee crisis and discourses of othering
- Historical perspectives in constructing the EU identity
- Geopolitical perspectives in EU identity formation

Plenary sessions, panel sessions, individual paper presentations and posters offer a unique opportunity to understand how European identity is being shaped. On behalf of the Steering, Organizing and Scientific committees we look forward to welcoming you to the Conference.

Europe in Discourse
Steering Committee

Conference Committees

Scientific Committee

Argiris Archakis, University of Patras

Vijay Kumar Bhatia, City University of Hong Kong, Macquarie University, Hellenic American University

David Block, ICREA/University of Lleida

Christopher Candlin †, Macquarie University, Hellenic American University

Guus Extra, Tilburg University

Juliane House, Hamburg University, Hellenic American University

Cornelia Ilie, Zayed University

Claire Kramsch, University of Berkeley, Hellenic American University

Rosina Marquez Reiter, University of Surrey, Hellenic American University

Anssi Paasi, University of Oulu

Theodosia Pavlidou, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Ben Rampton, King's College London

Shaul Shenhav, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Maria Sidiropoulou, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

Adrian Smith, Queen Mary University of London

Philippe Van Parijs, University of Louvain

Ingrid Piller, Macquarie University

Piia Varis, Tilburg University

Glyn Williams, University Ramon Llull

Jan Zielonka, University of Oxford, St Antony's College

Steering Committee

Triant Flouris, Provost, Hellenic American University

Juliane House, Hamburg University, Hellenic American University

Themis Kaniklidou, Hellenic American University

Organizing Committee

Leonidas-Phoebus Koskos, Esq., President, Hellenic American University

Stefanos Basigkal, Hellenic American Union

Vicky Branika, Hellenic American Union

Antonia Chouvarda, Hellenic American Union

Evdokia Filippou, Hellenic American University

Juliane House, Hamburg University, Hellenic American University

Themis Kaniklidou, Hellenic American University

Gerasimos Kontaxis, Hellenic American University

Glykeria Manioti, Hellenic American Union

Anna Razou, Hellenic American Union

Petros Romaïos, Hellenic American College

Roxanna Theodorou, Hellenic American University

Aggeliki Tziggkou, Hellenic American College

Leonidas Tzonis, Hellenic American University

Vasiliki Zafiri, Hellenic American Union

Plenary Speakers

Jan Blommaert, Tilburg University, Hellenic American University

to talk on: *The House committee on un-european activities: Islam versus the European essence*

Michał Krzyżanowski, Örebro University

to talk on: *European Identity and (Non-) Belonging: Politicisation and Mediatization in Discourses of Exclusion*

Andreas Musolff, University of East Anglia

to talk on: *Europe's body politic as a projection of collective identity/ies?*

George Prevelakis, Panthéon-Sorbonne University, former Ambassador of Greece to OECD

to talk on: *Europe: the revenge of Geography*

Erik Swyngedouw, Manchester University

to talk on: *Insurgent Citizens: Post-Politicization and the Spectral Re-emergence of Political Space*

Ruth Wodak, Lancaster University, Hellenic American University

to talk on: *"Protecting Fortress Europe?!" The negotiation of "borders" and "benchmarks" in national and EU arenas*

Jan Blommaert

The House committee on un-european activities: Islam versus the European essence

In the wake of the so-called refugee crisis of 2015 and its confluence with the so-called “terror crisis”, an already existing discursive frame has gained currency in. In this frame, Muslim “radicalization” is put in opposition to “European values”, thus lifting individual instances of “radical” behavior to a level in which a fundamental identitarian incompatibility can be sketched between Muslims and “Europe”. This fundamental incompatibility enables - and goes hand in hand with - a denial of the political-ideological character of the conflict, turning it into a matter-of-factist pragmatic issue for which efficient and swift managerial action is mandated, even at the price of values that are, strangely, simultaneously invoked as core European features. I will illustrate and discuss this frame drawing on social media data from Belgium, where the de-ideologization of “radicalization” allows an alignment of traditionally left-wing parties with traditionally right-wing ones, shaping a zone of political action which is explicitly presented as consensus-bearing and thus “apolitical”. Invoking fundamental identity features, I shall argue, is an incredibly powerful ingredient of political discourse. And while few notions are as unclear and contested as that of “European identity”, this identity appears unproblematic in specific political domains.

Michał Krzyżanowski

European Identity and (Non-)Belonging: Politicisation and Mediatization in Discourses of Exclusion

My plenary lecture at the *‘Europe in Discourse’* conference will focus on the concept of *belonging*. I will point to ways in which it has been viewed in social research incl. as both a top-down description of politics of membership and identity, and as a bottom-up signifier of various forms of articulation of migrant identifications. In line with my previous work on the discursive construction of European identities (esp. Krzyżanowski 2010), I will argue that a particular challenge in using belonging as an analytical concept resides in the ever-present asymmetry between the huge power of top-down public discourses that carry politically driven *politics of identity*, and the relatively limited influence and political impact of identification narratives of migrants and minority groups. This process, I will argue, has been particularly augmented by the radicalized discourses and frames of talking about ethnic and religious *other* as part of *multiculturalism backlash* (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2009) recently well documented across many European public spheres.

In my presentation, I will examine the variety of new European discourses of (non) belonging by scrutinizing simultaneous politicisation and mediatisation of debates about the 2015-16 Europe-wide Refugee Crisis. I will first look closely at the case of Poland and its right-wing populist politics to show how, despite the so-far often emphasised low politicization of immigration in Polish post-1989 politics and the media (Krzyzanowski 2014), recent months have brought an eruption of racist discourses of hate, marginalization and exclusion towards the incoming refugees and asylum seekers. On the other hand, I will also look at the mediatisation of mainstream political discourse in Sweden where recent months have brought many calls and actions aimed to tighten Sweden's once very generous migration and especially refugee regime.

In my analysis, I will look for various instances of *discursive shifts* (Krzyzanowski 2013a) in discourses of (non) belonging and identity politics in the studied countries. My analysis will draw on critical, discourse-historical studies of right-wing populism (Krzyzanowski 2012, 2013b; Krzyzanowski & Wodak 2009; Wodak 2015) and point to the recontextualisation of topics and arguments across various genres carrying political discourse esp. in online and social media. I will point to, inter alia, the presence of discursive patterns of securitisation of discourse as well as – especially in the Polish case – of Islamophobia. I will also show how the new discourses about the 'other' are set against recontextualised elements of traditional 'national' carrier discourses of (non)belonging (such as the Polish post-1989 right-wing discourses of Euro-scepticism or the Sweden's long-term discourses about the country's international and humanitarian responsibility). I will show how these are combined to argue against incoming migrants – or in favour of limitations of the free flow of migrants and refugees – incl. on the basis of their cultural and otherwise understood non-belonging in contemporary Europe.

Andreas Musolff

Europe's body politic as a projection of collective identity/ies?

Europe has been conceptualised and visualised as a unitary political 'body' and/ or 'person' since the Renaissance. Today, its 'imagined identity' (Anderson) is mainly that of the European Union (EU); however, in this incarnation Europe is currently undergoing a deep crisis as regards defining both its 'core' identity and its 'extremities' and boundaries. The British perspective on the EU provides a test case in this respect: on the one hand, parts of the British public still express a wish to be 'at the *heart* of Europe'; on the other hand, however, the prospect of a self-engineered *amputation* ('Brexit') looms large in the political debate. The interdependence as well as the contradictions between the 'corporeal' conceptualisations of European and national identities demonstrate the dialectical nature of political discourse and its critical analysis.

George Prevelakis

Europe: the revenge of Geography

Before the Cold War, the European continent has been overpowered by issues of Cultural and Political Geography. Borders, cultural diversity in its spatial forms, regional and national identities and territorial disputes conditioned its history, especially in its central and eastern parts. As a consequence, during the stability of the Cold War, European thought turned away from Geography and focused on the Economy. However, since 1989, the challenges of Geography became more and more serious. The intellectual unpreparedness of the European institutions and societies to cope with space, both in its static and its dynamic forms, explains various difficulties, including the Yugoslav conflicts, the failure to understand the Greek economic behavior, the surprise in front of the migratory pressures and of the Russian geopolitical challenges. Last but not least, the absence of geographical sophistication explains to a large degree the inability of Europe to define itself as a clear entity, with borders, marches and a strong identity. Taken between the need to adapt to the global trend towards macro-regionalization and its essence as a crossroads, Europe finds it hard to cope with its own « End of the Frontier », the frontier of prosperity. Unable to guarantee a rising standard of living and without a strong geographical personality, Europe is threatened by the return of its old geographical demons.

Erik Swyngedouw

Insurgent Architects and the Spectral Return of the Political in the Post-Democratic European City

Since the magical year 2011, a seemingly unending proliferation of urban rebellions have choreographed urban life in European cities and beyond. Sparked off by a variety of crisis conditions and unfolding against the backdrop of very different historical and geographical contexts profoundly, they disturbed the apparently cosy neoliberal status quo and disquieted various economic and political elites. There is indeed an uncanny choreographic affinity between the eruptions of discontent in cities as heterogeneous as Athens, Madrid, Lyon, Lisbon, Rome, London, Berlin, Thessaloniki, Paris, Bucharest, and Barcelona, among many others. The *end of history* proved to be remarkably short-lived as incipient political movements staged, albeit in often contradictory and confusing manners, a profound discontent with the state of the situation and choreographed new urban modes of being-in-common.

A wave of deeply political protest is rolling through Europe's cities, whereby those who do not count demand a new constituent process for producing space politically. The era of urban social movements as the horizon of progressive urban struggles, celebrated ever since Manuel Castells' seminal 1980s book *The City*

and the Grassroots (Castells 1993), seems to be over. A much more politicized if not radical mobilization, animated by insurgent urban architects, is increasingly choreographing the contemporary theatre of European urban politicized struggle and conflict. In some cases, these rebellions coincided with the rise to prominence of radical political movements, most notably Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain.

It is precisely the aftermath of such urban insurrections that provides the starting point for the arguments developed in this presentation. From a critical political perspective, the central question that has opened up, after the wave of insurgencies of the past few years petered out, revolves centrally around what to do and what to think next. Is there further thought and practice possible after the squares are cleared, the tents broken up, the energies dissipated, and everyday urban life resumes its routine practices?

This figure of the Post-Democratic City will be leitmotiv of this contribution. Taking our cue from Jacques Rancière, Slavoj Žižek, Chantal Mouffe, Mustafa Dikeç, Alain Badiou and assorted other critics of the cynical radicalism that has rendered critical theory and radical political praxis impotent and infertile in the face of the rapidly de-politicising gestures that pass for urban policy and politics in the contemporary neo-liberalising police order, we shall attempt to re-centre the political in contemporary debates on the urban. While taking the city as our point of entry, we shall develop the argument in four steps. The first part recovers the notion of the political and of the political polis from the debris of contemporary obsessions with governing, management, and urban polic(y)ing. A theoretical, yet eminently practical, position of what constitutes an urban political space will be enunciated. In the second section, the depoliticised condition of the late capitalist urban will be explored, arguing that the urban frame has been thoroughly, and perhaps fatally, infested by an ordering that is thoroughly post-political and post-democratic. This evacuation of the political from the plane of immanence that defines the very possibility of the polis and the concomitant consolidation of an urban post-political arrangement runs, so we argue, parallel to the rise of a neo-liberal governmentality that has replaced debate, disagreement and dissensus with a series of technologies of governing that fuse around consensus, agreement, and technocratic neoliberal management. However, the incoherencies of the contemporary urban ordering, the excess and the gaps that are left in the interstices of the post-democratic urban order permits thinking through if not materially widening and occupying genuine political urban spaces. This will be the theme of the final section. While the city as polis may be dead, spaces of political engagement occur within the cracks, in-between the meshes and the strange inter-locations that shape places that contest the police order. It is here that utopias as concrete political interventions germinate.

Ruth Wodak

“Protecting Fortress Europe?!” The negotiation of “borders” and “benchmarks” in national and EU arenas

It is obvious that major tensions are governing the debates about refugees on the European stage and in the 28 EU nation states. The debates are mainly focused on questions such as ‘How *many* refugees can a nation state cope with?’; ‘Which *kind* of refugees/*who* should be allowed in?’; ‘How will *we* integrate *them*?’ and ‘how to *protect Europe/Schengen* from illegal migrants/terrorists, etc.’ Europe’s “peace-keeping mission” and humanitarian factors have been back-grounded, refugees have been transformed in to quasi-packages being moved from one place to the other. Other discourses, however, foreground the various European and UN treaties (such as the Geneva Convention), signed by all EU member states, the Human Rights Charter, and draw historical analogies between crises of the past (Second World War, 1956, 1968, 1981, 1995) and the present (Triandafyllidou et al. 2009; Carter & Lawn 2015). Current deals with Turkey are viewed skeptically, on the one hand; on the other, as the only possible strategy.

Various scape –goats have emerged in these debates: the EU institutions, Greece and Italy (not “doing enough” to protect the borders), young male (Muslim) refugees, the so-called ‘good people’ (*Gutmenschen*) who are too naïve, and so forth. *Nationalistic and chauvinistic/nativist border- and body politics* have become part and parcel not only of the radical right rhetoric but of the political mainstream (Vollmer 2014; Wodak 2014, 2015a). These debates imply struggles about how to label and justify/legitimize the various measures needed to *protect* Europe from refugees.

In the political arena, this struggle often involves privileged access to (the production conditions of) discourse via the media, legislation etc. and the strategic use of language in the form of, e.g., vagueness, neologisms/coining new terms and the reinterpretation, reformulation or recontextualisation of existing terminology (Rheindorf & Wodak 2016; Wodak 2011, 2015a, 2015b). Mediatized politics makes the struggle over meanings/terminology a public spectacle (Kellner 2003).

Recent developments in the so-called refugee crisis have reinforced this trend in Austria (and Germany), leading – or forcing – prominent political actors in government to publicly and explicitly discuss key terminology regarding “migration- and refugee-management” and how to “regulate/discipline the chaos” (*Ordnung machen*). Specifically, pressure from the right-wing populist parties such as the Austrian Freedom Party FPÖ or the German AfD (Aktion für Deutschland) have successfully shifted a generally welcoming climate to a climate of fear (*Die Presse* 20.12.2015; Wodak 2015a). Calls to limit the number of refugees or even to build a fence surrounding the entire country in order to let nobody in are becoming louder every day.

Working within the framework of the Discourse-Historical Approach, I trace the genealogy of these debates both on the European as well national (mainly Austrian) stage while analyzing a corpus of television, radio and newspaper interviews, news items, panel discussions and news agency reports defined by a common topic, an originating event (discursive or otherwise), a discrete set of social actors, and strong intertextual links/referencing (Reisigl & Wodak 2015). Moreover, interviews with politicians and experts have been conducted who attempt legitimizing the various measures and positionings.

The terminology observed within this discourse strand metonymically condenses and communicates an evaluation of past, current and future scenarios, and in doing so reflects and signals the respective political party's position, program, and a projected course of action. I analyze one "terminological conflict" in detail as it unfolded between the two governing parties, the Austrian Social-Democratic Party headed by Chancellor Faymann and the Christian-Social Party led by Vice-Chancellor Mitterlehner. The debate centers on the supposedly adequate term to denote the building of a *fence* or *wall* on the border to Slovenia, oscillating between terms such as "border-fence" and "picket-fence with a small door [*Türl*]" Debates about words (Laclau 2005) expose ideological cleavages not only between but within the two involved parties as proponents of various positions contributed to them first and foremost in and through the media.

Thematic Panels



Panel 1: Talking Europe: A Comparative Approach to Broadcast Political Discourse in the European Union

Convener: Mats Ekstrom

This panel presents results from a cross national comparative study of how European politics is performed and discursively constructed in the media during the EU election campaigns of May 2014. The project has applied an interdisciplinary discourse approach to analyze the significance of different journalistic practices and political cultures in five countries: France, Greece, Italy, Sweden and the UK. More specifically, the papers analyse mediated discourses of European politics in relation to the three actors that constitute the classical political communication triangle discussed in previous theory:

- (1) Journalistic practices: What are the genres, styles of reporting, and representations of politics characterizing journalism in different countries? How do journalists construct discourse about the EU, European identities and crisis?
- (2) Citizens' identities and voices: Through what discursive means and in which identities are citizens represented, talked about, talked to, and invited to participate with their own voices in the media?
- (3) Political identities and performances: What constitutes the language, styles, appearances and representations of mediated political leadership?

The papers in the panel focus on mediated political discourses at a moment of European politics, characterized by challenging tensions and disruptions. The Eurozone crisis (political legitimacy and economic recession) has affected countries in different ways. Mistrust in mainstream politics and euroscepticism is reflected in the success of populist and EU-critical parties in several countries. The ongoing Eurozone crisis has increased tensions both among and within member states. Popular scepticism was invoked in various ways in the mediated election campaigns in different countries. This raises important questions about how the crisis and the related tensions are discursively constructed and negotiated in the media in the different member states; how political leaders meet communicative challenges and claim to represent and talk to the public; how citizens are represented, positioned, entitled to participate and have a voice in different media genres; and what role journalists and media formats play in these constructions.

The study is unique in that it is designed as a comparative qualitative study of empirical data from television journalism in the aforementioned countries in the three weeks leading up to the election day. Comprising of five papers, the panel presents a detailed discourse analysis of various practices and themes in different national contexts which addresses at least five of the conference themes: Images of crisis and recovery in Europe; Political discourse in the European Union; Construction of European narratives; Extreme right populist discourses in EU; Mediated constructions of European identities.

Andrew Tolson

News interviews and the construction of political discourses and identities

This paper focuses on how politics is performed, discursively negotiated and constructed in different practices and styles of interviewing in news programmes during the election campaign. Interviews are among the most significant practices of news production and constitute central contexts for political performances in the media. The paper relates to extensive research in which the classic category of 'the news interview', as well as different subgenres and hybrid forms, have been analyzed in detail (Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Lauerbach, 2004; Hutchby 2006; Montgomery, 2007; Clayman et al 2010; Ekström, 2015; Ekström and Patrona 2011). Although there has been some previous work on interviewing in different national political contexts (Baym 2013, Patrona 2013) comparative cross-cultural analyses of the role of interviews in political discourse and communication are, however, mainly lacking.

The comparative analyses examine how various types of interviews were conducted with different categories of politicians (mainstream party leaders, representatives of Eurosceptic parties, etc.), and how these relate to the tensions, disruptions and narratives in play in the EU election. The analysis for example shows how the forms of questioning (i.e. 'the clarifying of promises', see Clayman and Romaniuk 2011) typically associated with the election campaign as an event in which policy alternatives are examined and presented for the voters, are given high priority in some countries, while interviews in other countries are oriented to a general popular scepticism. The analysis also shows how the political mainstream is discursively constructed and renegotiated in news interviewing. Finally, the paper explores how problems of political legitimacy and distrust are constructed in hybrid styles of interviewing which can involve journalists taking on the role of interpreter (rather than a formal neutral interrogator) and adopting personal, argumentative and tendentious views (Hutchby 2011, Baym 2013). The detailed analyses of different practices and styles of interviewing are based on data from news and current affairs programmes in UK and Sweden. A broader comparative analysis also includes France, Greece and Italy and shows how practices of political interviewing are related to different political cultures, media systems and journalistic traditions.

Marianna Patrona

Fragmentation and Multi-disruption: Citizen Talk in the Audience Discussion Genre

This paper explores citizens' participation in a Greek political audience discussion programme broadcast during the three weeks before the EU Parliament elections of May 2014 and the day after the elections. The study adopts a discursive perspective by applying discourse analysis and conversation analysis of citizen contributions in sequences of TV talk. Furthermore, it applies a comparative, cross-national approach by comparing the Greek programme with audience discussion programmes from France and the UK. The overall aim is to locate citizen contributions in the countries at hand on the 'broadcast spectrum' of interactional positions from which ordinary citizens have a voice in media talk across Europe; and to shed light on the differences in the communicative entitlements of ordinary people between the Greek programme and similar programmes from the UK and France, as well as on the implications of these differences for the processes of public dialogue, democratic participation, and (de)legitimation of citizen voices (see Coleman and Ross 2010; Lewis, Inthorn and Wahl-Jorgensen 2005). Previous studies have identified a broad array of TV formats and genres structured around the participation of 'ordinary' people (Livingstone and Lunt 1994; Lorenzo-Dus 2011; Montgomery 2007; Thornborrow 2015). The research questions to be explored concern a. the identities and communicative entitlements of citizens in terms of turn-taking rights and interactional positions, b. the evidential devices and forms of knowledge projected in citizen talk, c. citizen roles, and the types of interactional alignments constructed between citizens and different institutional elites (journalists, politicians), and, finally, d. the general patterns of citizen participation and the differences thereof in the respective countries. It will be shown that the citizens' role in holding politicians to account is substantially strengthened in the Greek audience discussion programme compared to similar programmes from France and the UK. In this respect, the Greek programme occupies the highest end on the broadcast spectrum of citizen participation, and can be said to constitute a fresh and promising example of how media can shift the focus to more active forms of citizen representation in broadcast political debate.

Mats Ekström

The Vox Pop: citizens' entitlements and identities in the news discourse

This paper analyses the vox pop as a dominant genre and position from which ordinary citizens are entitled to have a voice in news media talk. In this context 'vox pops' are interview fragments with ordinary people used as 'direct quotations' in news reports (Montgomery, 2007). It is one of the few genres in broadcast news

in which lay people are invited and entitled to “express opinions in their own words” (Lewis, Inthorn and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2005:70). People are interviewed, most often in public places, and their voices are used to illustrate different and opposing views on a particular issue, assumed to represent widely held public opinion (Thornborrow, 2015: 90). As Myers (2004: 209) argues a vox pop “is not ‘what you say’ but ‘what does someone like you say’”.

The paper focuses on how citizens’ entitlement to speak in public is constructed in different forms of vox pops; i.e. who is invited to speak, about what and in what capacity, in the context of the news reports. The analysis shows how this is related to three aspects. First, in the election news people are represented in different roles or identities; as the ‘men/women in the street’, as consumers, voters, concerned citizens etc. Second, different actions are performed (and asked for). Although the vox pop is mainly associated with public opinion, it is not restricted to evaluative statements. It also extends to whether people are entitled to express feelings; describe their own actions and motives; express matters of fact and explanation (Myers, 2004). Third, in discourse, actors perform and treat themselves and others as more or less knowledge-able within what Heritage (2012) describes as ‘epistemic territories’. A key distinction is the one between first-hand knowledge about the subjects’ own territory, what they know on their own behalf, and second-hand knowledge about matters that the speaker might know indirectly through various sources (Pomerantz, 1980; Roth, 2002: 357).

Based on these analytical dimensions, the paper compares vox pops in television news in different countries and discusses how these differences relate to the practices of journalism and the election narratives constructed in different political cultures. An important aspect concerns how such ‘ordinary people’ are contextualised (for instance where they are filmed) and what they are seen to represent. Traditionally in political elections ordinary people are seen as concerned citizens/voters with an interest in the democratic process; however an alternative narrative developed in the European elections in 2014 (in some countries more than in others). In UK, for example, interviews with self-identifying UKIP supporters sometimes broadened out to a general articulation of social discontent (particularly around the issue of immigration) and disillusionment with mainstream politics. Some vox pops illustrate a shift from the voice of the concerned and informed citizen/voter to expressions of populist apathy and to an implicitly patronising portrayal of political ignorance.

Stephen Coleman & Julie Firmstone

The performance of mainstream politicians

In this paper we consider how mainstream politicians seek to establish serious and authoritative personae, while attempting to realise qualities of authenticity and public representativeness. By ‘mainstream’, we refer to leaders of established political parties with a record of being in government and contrast these to

'alternative' politicians who seek to disrupt mainstream politics, particularly in relation to the order of the European Union. Our analysis points to a tension within contemporary political performances between the need to appear both as leaders and one of the people. The paper analyses a selection of television appearances (live, recorded and reported) by mainstream politicians from across the five countries in the study. We consider how mainstream political campaigning and leadership are performed within different national cultures. In addition to exploring the verbal/rhetorical performances of politicians, the analysis in the paper focuses upon three key aspects of political performance: the sound of politicians' voices (building on research by Cameron, 1996; Hart et al, 2013; Gunn, 2008) politicians' visual displays (building on work by Parry and Richardson, 2011; Frosh, 2011; Prior, 2014; Parry, 2015) and politicians' uses of metaphors (building on work by Garton et al, 1991; Charteris-Black, 2005; Lakoff and Johnson, 2008). The final part of the paper identifies a number of references and tropes that politicians employ in order to establish themselves as credible, authoritative and mainstream.

Andrew Morton & Mats Ekström

Insiders vs outsiders: The discursive identities and strategies of populist parties

The 2014 European Parliament elections capture a key moment in European politics and political communication where many of the roles and rules that governed mediatized politics became notably threatened. The sharp rise of populist parties across Europe in particular, in their different forms and guises, has delivered a serious and on-going challenge to the strategic discursive positions of both 'mainstream', or 'elite', politicians and media actors (cf. Wodak, Khosravinik and Mral, 2013). Although the rise of discursive themes concerning the European Union, migration, racial politics and different narratives of 'crisis' have been important, it was perhaps the populist construction of an 'insider-outsider' theme that threatened the positions of mainstream political and media 'elites' the most.

This paper investigates two overall questions. (1) What constitutes the visions, language and discursive strategies of the populist parties, articulated in media performances in different countries? Examples of the strategies are saying the unsayable; doing the unexpected; performing anti-austerity; claiming to represent ordinary people ('us') in contrast to the elite ('them'); and also claiming to be mainstream and professional (cf. Forchtner, Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2013). (2) How are these strategies represented, recontextualized and negotiated in television news and current affairs? The analysis explores how a news journalism whose standard repertoire of election campaign reporting is adjusted for mainstream parties, handles political parties that challenge established positions and notions of the legitimate controversies (Hallin, 1986). Are there indications of journalism developing particular framing devices, styles of reporting and interviewing? The

troubled territory this presents is where emerging insider-outsider narratives are developed. Populist politicians seek to redefine their given discursive territory and their place within it by casting journalists and political rivals in 'mainstream' parties as 'elite', as 'the establishment' or 'out of touch'. As mainstream journalists and mainstream politicians grapple to defend and redefine their own positions the form of mediatized politics these media actors have long relied on is seriously challenged. In examining these developments, the intention is to start from a dual comparative analytic view where the European Parliament elections in Britain and Sweden are examined together. This comparative lens is then broadened to examine the 2014 European elections from the other EU member states examined in this project. Together, these analyses present a comparative European picture of the emergence of populist politicians, populist discourses, and their potential consequences for mediatized politics in Europe.

Panel 2: Securitisation and language learning in contemporary Europe

Convener: Robert Moore

The four papers in this thematic panel register some recent shifts in the sociolinguistic study of 'super-diverse' cities in contemporary Europe (Blommaert & Rampton 2011), even as they direct attention to a particular kind of environment: the language classroom. Two papers focus on language learning in situations of (re-) securitisation: one looks at efforts to teach Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to a heterogeneous group of (mostly Maghrebi) teenagers in Marseille (Evers); the other examines after-school classes in Farsi in Copenhagen (Karrebaek & Ghandchi). In the Marseille case, a standardised form of language is being taught as an aid to the "integration" of ethnolinguistically "non-European" (migrant, minority) populations; in the Copenhagen case, emphasis is placed on putatively autonomous facts of grammar and vocabulary, and linkages between language and culture are de-emphasized because they are seen as potential sources of conflict within the group, and threats to the conviviality of the classroom. Two other papers address the micro- and macro-politics of learning the language of 'the [former] enemy' in post-conflict situations of de-securitisation: Greek Cypriots learning Turkish on Cyprus (Charalambous, Charalambous & Rampton), and Protestants learning Irish (Gaelic) in East Belfast (Moore). Recent research suggests that securitised environments generate distinctive sociolinguistic practices and effects (Charalambous, et al. 2015). In all of the cases discussed here, language learning becomes a way to re-negotiate borders, and in the process to create new forms of subjectivity—new ways of negotiating a world in which surveillance is both a fact of daily life, and a discourse that circulates within and across emerging social groups. These papers chart the emergence of new "disciplines" of speaking in social environments that have been transformed by a broader re-centering of European civil society to the posture of defense against future threats that regimes of securitisation both presuppose, and demand.

Constadina Charalambous, Panayiota Charalambous & Ben Rampton

Troubled-heritage language education in a conflict-affected context

In this paper we focus on a language classroom where the target language is associated with a long history of conflict, and we examine how language learning may lead (or not) to a discursive renegotiation of troubled memories, narratives and interethnic relations. Focusing on Greek-Cypriots learning Turkish, and keeping in view the intercommunal violence between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, the 1974 war with the Turkish invasion, and the current political problems that have let Cyprus de facto divided, we look at learners' life trajectories and narratives of dislocation and/or rapprochement as they invest time and effort to learn the language of the neighbouring community and at the same time traditional 'enemy'. To do so, we draw on data from two linguistic ethnographic projects (2006-2009 and 2012-2015) including in-depth interviews, classroom recordings of Turkish lessons and ethnographic fieldnotes. Using the term 'troubled-heritage' language we argue that this type of classes does not fit easily into mainstream theories of foreign language learning and intercultural communication, but can instead relate to processes observed in contexts where the target language is associated with discourses of existential threat that are deeply rooted in history and society (e.g. learning Arabic in Israel or Farsi in Copenhagen – see Uhlmann 2011; Karrebæk & Ghandchi, 2015). More specifically, our discussion highlights the ways in which concepts such as motivation, time, space, culture and travel become very different from current theoretical discussions of language learning as politics, ideologies and security become deeply interwoven with the language learning process.

Cécile Evers

Arabic in Marseille's Public Schools: Summoning Second-Generation Muslim Youth to French Subjecthood

Today, no fewer than four out of ten young people in France can claim a parent who is either an immigrant or an immigrant descendant. Considerable apprehension now accompanies the realization that France's future is tethered to how diasporic French youth imagine their futures with respect to France. How these youth come to view France, however, also depends upon their treatment by the French mainstream. Over the past twenty years of republican political debate over the French national identity, French State surveys, politicians, media pundits, and academics alike have contributed to the construction of such youth—born in France to parents from France's African ex-colonies—as un-French and essentially "Muslim." Perceiving a crisis with this demographic, the State has spearheaded initiatives aimed at their integration, including the High Council on

Integration (1989), the French Council for the Muslim Faith (2002), and the Stasi Commission (2003) on secularism and religious rights. The State has likewise created educational policies that seek to induct second-generation Muslim youth, especially, into French republican values. To this end, France has instituted programs and curricula to provide Muslim youth with public school instruction in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). A language recognized in the Muslim World to derive from the Classical language of the Koran and the pre-Islamic as well as early Islamic poetry of the Arabian Peninsula, MSA is now taught in French public schools as a secular, communicative language (*arabe langue communicative*), effectively vying with the MSA being taught in mosques and Muslim community associations. Discernible within this language policy is a longstanding State project to create a French national public through language standardization. But whereas the French revolutionary project invited all French citizens to join the Republic through the use of French, now it is Arabic that is serving as the vehicle of interpellation to French subjecthood, and second-generation Muslim youth are the State's specific target. The paper will discuss two public MSA-instructional initiatives and their link to municipal efforts to secularize as well as gentrify Marseille. Based on classroom observation and conversations with students and teachers involved in these classes, I demonstrate that the young targets of these language policies have rejected the State's retheorization of MSA as the secular ticket to upward socioeconomic mobility.

Martha Sif Karrebæk & Narges Ghandchi

'The very sensitive question': Insecurity, mobility and pedagogical challenges in the heritage language classroom

This paper engages with ideological difference, education, and expressions of insecurity on the basis of ethnographic fieldwork in two Farsi heritage language classrooms and among the group of Iranian immigrants organized around these classrooms in Copenhagen, Denmark. In this case, heritage language classes refer to non-obligatory afterschool classes for children of minority background. These classes usually include instruction in the particular language as well as in cultural themes somehow related to the children's families' understood country of origin. We show how the political situation in the country of origin may influence classroom instruction, and this is also the case for the families' and teachers' ideological positions and practical situation. In our study, the contemporary state of Iran and political and religious ideologies associated with this were subject to taboo in class, although not necessarily elsewhere. In the classroom cultural issues, in particular recent cultural developments, were suppressed, and language was treated as a decontextualized object. We argue that the teacher adopted this pedagogical strategy in order to create an ideologically neutral space for children whose parents' ideological understandings were (potentially) incompatible. This would secure the children a free space and liberate them from their parents' charged backgrounds and political anxieties. It also helped the teacher secure his job. Securitization in our study refers to the

treatment of the classes as threatened by larger political forces, and it is closely connected to the expressions of personal insecurity which were voiced, although extremely rarely, during the fieldwork. The paper illustrates how the classroom is far from being a secluded space. Rather it is embedded in different personal and sociohistorical trajectories and developments. The paper also challenges a commonly presupposed understanding of similarity in groups of immigrants and in particular in heritage language classrooms. Rather such a classroom constitutes a combinatorial space (Arnaut et al. *forthc.*), that is “a hub that is full of potential precisely because of the multiple trajectories it brings together” (Kleinman 2014: 290). This may be a starting point for creativity but it may also become explosive and threatening.

Robert Moore

Turas: Learning the Irish language in Protestant East Belfast

In November 2011, Linda Ervine, along with other members of the women's group at her Presbyterian church in East Belfast, organized a six-week “taster course” in Irish (Gaelic), Ulster-Scots, and Scots Gaelic. The response was enthusiastic, and in January of 2014, a dedicated Irish language centre called Turas (‘Journey’) opened in the East Belfast Mission on Newtownards Road, with Ms Ervine as Language Development Officer. Over ten weekly Irish language classes are now offered at the centre; 90% of the language learners are Protestant. These activities have generated considerable media attention, not surprisingly given the long association of the Irish language and Republicanism: as a prominent member of Sinn Féin famously said in the 1980s, “Every word of Irish spoken is like another bullet being fired in the struggle for Irish freedom” (O'Reilly 1997: 6). On her Facebook page (11 March 2015), Ms Ervine updates that slogan: “Every word spoken in Gaelic is a brick in the bridge that unites the people of the British Isles.” Her choice of words is apposite, for Ms Ervine clearly identifies herself as “a Presbyterian, a Christian, a Protestant and very proud of that. I’m British.” She rejects an identification as ‘loyalist’ because in her view the term has been used “to denigrate people” and “to separate the nasty working-class Protestants from the nice middle-class Protestants” (Belfast Telegraph, 9 March 2015). Ms Ervine, the sister-in-law of unionist politician David Ervine (1953–2007), has come under attack from within the Unionist/Loyalist community, but remains resolute: “The language doesn’t fly a flag, it doesn’t have a political outlook ... A language is just a language, and for me it’s the innocent in all of this” (Belfast Telegraph, 9 March 2015). My talk will assess the prospects for a future project of ethnographic research involving the Turas centre as a focal site. A preliminary assessment suggests the presence of themes identified in earlier research on learning the language of an out-group or former enemy in (post-) conflict situations (e.g., Bekerman 2009, Charalambous 2009, Charalambous & Rampton 2010)—but also some significant differences. I will identify a few of these, and sketch some possible directions for further research.

Panel 3: Expanding Europe's Borders Eastward? The impact of the Ukraine conflict on political discourse in Eastern Europe and the cross-European dialogue

Convener: Daniel Weiss

Our panel is mainly related to an ongoing research project on the Ukraine conflict as a clash of competing legitimisation discourses (for details, see <http://www.research-projects.uzh.ch/p21358.htm>). The diverging views of the main conflicting parties Ukraine and Russia are captured by means of the Proximation theory outlined in Chilton (2004) and elaborated in Cap (2013). This theory, which also provides the overarching theory for four of the following abstracts, unites elements of Cognitive linguistics and Critical discourse analysis and is based on the idea of "bringing conceptually closer" (P. Chilton) or of a "symbolic distance-crossing" (P. Cap) of processes conceived of as threatening the own position, interests, actions, etc. Our main goal consists of determining how the different descriptions of purported dangerous evolutions are used to justify pre-emptive strikes or legitimise the own military interventions *ex post*. The role of the multifarious historical reminiscences used to enhance the own argumentation will also be considered. Moreover, the language issue in Ukraine that fuelled the conflict in the beginning will be given due attention, since it provided Russia with a pretext for intervening to protect the allegedly threatened rights of Russian residents on Ukrainian territories.

Our project covers the period from November 21, 2013 up to today. It also includes the viewpoints of Poland and Czechia, which as former members of the Soviet system are by no means neutral bystanders: Poland actively supports the Ukrainian rapprochement to the EU, whereas Czechia's position is more nuanced. The following types of political discourse are explored in each country: governmental statements (presidential speeches, press releases, addresses to UN organs, etc.); parliamentary debates; televised interviews and talk-shows; a limited number of newspapers. Our objective is far more complex than that of previous applications of Proximation theory, which presented only one side of the conflict in question: it targets conflicting views on both the international and national levels. In particular, it also reflects the voice of oppositional parties. A significant role is assigned to the quantitative comparative analysis of key words, such as *pression*, *danger*, *threat*, *civil war*, *Junta*, *federalisation*, *independence* etc. and their relevant collocations. These word counts are realised by means of the lexicometric program AntConc. Another significant group of lexical markers is provided by not fully conventionalised metaphors (Musolff 2004). Implicit communication embodied in presuppositions, implicatures, irony, intertextual references etc. is likewise accounted for within a neo-Gricean methodological approach (Levinson 2000), partly combined with Relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1995).

Topic of the proposed themed panel

One of the main reasons of the Maidan events from November 2013 till February 2014 was the withdrawal of Ukraine's signature to the association treaty with the EU. This aggravated the ongoing domestic debate on Ukraine's position between Europe and Russia and ended in Russia's annexation of the Crimea and the separation of the Eastern Ukrainian Donbas region. Russian political discourse practically unanimously evaluates Ukraine's rapprochement to the European Union as a hostile act. The Ukrainian stance is still far from being homogenous, but the pro-European orientation prevails now due to Russia's aggressive policy, which presumably accelerates the still ongoing Ukrainian nation building process. Polish representatives all share the same attitude favourable to Ukraine's integration into Europe, including the right wing parties. On the contrary, in Czechia we find many skeptical voices that emphasise the risks of a possible Eastern enlargement of the EU. On the whole, one may conclude that all four countries involved reshape their concepts of national identity in terms of their status within or outside Europe as a result of the Ukrainian crisis.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Elena Kutos

The Russian point of view

Ukraine's rapprochement to the European Union is perceived as the next step within a long-term scenario undermining Russia's position in Eastern Europe by aiming at a change of the geopolitical balance in this area. Many voices also relate it to a clash of civilizations based on different systems of values, cf. derogatory labels, such as 'gayropean'. The own claims and interests are framed in such terms as 'Russian world' encompassing all Russian speaking people beyond the national borders of Russia, 'our historical territories' or 'Slavic world'. All these concepts are fuzzy, and their mutual relationship is far from being clear. The same holds no less for the term 'Eurasian' employed to characterise Russia's own identity. Ukraine as a whole is seen as an especially close and dear younger relative, which badly needs Russia's comprehensive protection. However, the Russian minority in Ukraine requires even more careful protection as its status is allegedly threatened by linguistic legislation.

The main adversary, the European Union (sometimes described as "Brussels' oligarchs"), is often perceived as the accomplice of the United States in its endeavour to build a 'unipolar world order'. Both are said to manipulate the Ukrainian public opinion and to have inspired, controlled and financed the Maidan uprising ("Euromaidan"). According to this view, Ukraine's future status as an associate of the EU will be that of a junior partner or even a simple appendix that has lost its political independence and its economical and legislative autonomy

as well as its natural outlet market Russia. All this will lead to disastrous results and millions of refugees. Russian deputies in the Ukrainian parliament even depicted the association treaty as an unconditional economical surrender. They were also the first to call the Maidan uprising a civil war, a key word which is only afterwards adopted by officials in the Russian Federation. The adversary's position in Ukraine is denigrated as "Euroschizophrenia", after the uprising we find a rich choice of abusive terms ('fashists', 'Euronazis', 'Kievan Junta', 'oligarchic dictators', 'hangmen', 'chasteners', etc.). This vocabulary disappears from governmental sources after the regular parliamentary elections in Ukraine. Drastic fresh and conventional metaphors, multifarious historical parallels and intertextual references boost the war-like scenario.

The goals of my paper consist of (i) a chronological ordering of the main key words occurring in said genres, (ii) situating them within the changing political context, and (iii) determining the relative weight of implicit communication (irony, fresh metaphors, quotations, etc.) within the overall picture. Moreover, the metaphors will be classified semantically, and quotations will be grouped by types of sources.

Larysa Zavgorodnia

Ukraine between Russian and the EU: an inner and outer conflict

"Russia(n)" and "Europe(an)" were the dominating key words in the political and social processes in Ukraine during the period from November 2013 to March 2014. They constantly recurred in speeches, interviews and parliamentary debates of Ukrainian politicians. They also dominated the Maidan uprising, which soon was metonymically renamed into "Euromaidan". Whereas supporters of the European orientation expected the association treaty to bring about an immediate and radical improvement of Ukraine's political and economical situation (the adjective "European" even came to function as a synonym of 'high-quality'), its adversaries denounced it as an unconditional surrender, involving the loss of autonomous legislation and resulting in an economical catastrophe with innumerable refugees. Other reasons of the general discontent, such as the corrupt practices of the ruling elite or the social injustice and economical abyss dividing the rich and the poor, played a comparably minor role. After the fall of Yanukovich's government, the "Euromaidan" was relabeled "Revolution of dignity". With the beginning of Russia's military intervention, the partisans of the European orientation reframed their view in terms of an opposition between Russia and the free world (the latter including Ukraine).

The analysis of key words, their most frequent collocations and pertinent metaphors will enable us to reveal (1) the intentions of the representatives of both sides (2) condensed in the following explicit as well as implicit communicative strategies most commonly used: (2.1) the presentation of a positive or negative past – historical background, experiences within and outside Europe, (2.2) the re-/construction of the present situation in the country, (2.3) positive or negative

predictions for the future resulting from Ukraine's rapprochement to the European Union or else its remaining outside. And finally, (3) it will allow us to explore the changing perception of the ongoing conflict as a struggle between government and people (as claimed by the Maidan activists) vs. the approaching danger of a civil war (the view of the pro-Russian opponents) up to the recognition of a real war with Russia.

Bartholomäus Nowak

Poland and the European Union – outside or within?

In 2004, post-socialist Poland joined the European Union, an entity which had already existed for a couple of decades before. Thus, Poland became a member of a club with rules that had been negotiated in its absence.

Depending on the expected benefit for Polish politics, the relationship between Poland and the EU is subject to continuous changes. According to the current societal mood, the own country is portrayed either as part of the EU, as a sovereign nation state, or as something in between in the Polish political discourse. However, from the beginning of the Ukrainian crisis Poland has been presenting itself as a stakeholder of European interests in Eastern Europe and co-occurring as the legitimate representative of Ukraine among all members of the EU. The Ukrainian issue has created a rarely observable consensus in domestic politics. Generally, in the Polish domestic area the oscillation along the opposition borderline between “us” and “them” is omnipresent since the communist era. Today, “we” can function inclusively (Poland and the EU) or exclusively (Poland outside the EU), but the respective reference is always unambiguous. During the peak of the crisis the inclusive “we” is boosted by reasons of national security due to the threat evolving from the Russian orbit. To illustrate the issue, a corpus of relevant political genres will be compiled, namely non media-related parliamentary debates and government statements as well as TV talkshows and print interviews covering the period from November 21, 2013 to Summer 2014. In analyzing the reformulation of the Polish European identity, approaches from (im)politeness theory (Bousfield; Culpeper; Locher/Watts) are taken into account to identify and evaluate (im)polite speech acts directed at the EU and Russia.

The goal of the analysis is threefold. First, a search for and ranking of the most salient key words and metaphors that capture Poland's place in the EU will be carried out. Second, lexical variation in time will be captured and related to the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. Third, I will formulate some general conclusions about the self-declared loyal or distanced stance of Polish politicians towards the EU on the basis of this data.

Martina Berrocal

Legitimizing the EU/Czech identity in the Ukraine discourse in the Czech Parliament

My paper examines all Czech parliamentary debates that deal with the crisis in Ukraine. On the one hand, the government uses these debates to legitimise its standpoint and the measures taken in line with the official EU policy, on the other hand, the opposition takes this as an opportunity to challenge the official Czech and EU position, mostly offering a pro-Russian interpretation of the events.

In line with Ilie (2010, 58), the discursive identity in the Parliament is perceived as “the ongoing process of parliamentarians’ [and the government] defining their positions and roles”.

The study is divided in two time periods. This makes possible to observe and compare any changes and development of the “Ukraine” discourse in the Czech Parliament as contrasted to the government’s position throughout a two-year period (2013-2015). The analysis takes place in two stages: the qualitative one scrutinises the legitimisation of the own position(s) and delegitimation of the position(s) of the political opponent in relation to the Ukrainian conflict as an interplay of explicit and implicit strategies; the quantitative one focuses on the keywords and collocations used while (de)legitimising the own/other discursive position. The quantitative analysis is carried out with the help of AntConc Tool.

Cornelia Ilie

Cross-European dialogue on the crisis in Ukraine: Converging and diverging discourses

The aim of this paper is to critically examine how converging and diverging European discourses concerning the crisis in Ukraine overlap, intersect and interact with each other, challenging, contradicting or reinforcing prevailing discourses, based on different perceptions of political processes and complementary or competing conceptualisations of values, models and norms (e.g. sovereignty vs. federalism, national identity vs. nationalistic propaganda). The crisis in Ukraine, which has been unfolding for over two years now, has triggered and has also been (re)shaped by a particularly dramatic and engaging polyphony of interconnected discourses, sometimes converging and sometimes confrontational and polarizing, that have engendered drastic changes in the dynamics of the European geopolitical landscape and its network of international relations.

A discourse-analytical (Chilton 2004, Wodak 2007, Wodak and Meyer 2001) and a pragma-rhetorical approach (Ilie 2010) are used to identify, on the one hand, the socio-cultural values and ideological assumptions underlying the form, structure and (explicit or implicit) message of different European politicians’ statements, questions or answers, and, on the other hand, the strategies used to convey

alignment with or dissociation from other politicians' or public figures' standpoints while striving to address the concerns of particularly targeted audiences. The corpus consists of news interviews (BBC's *HardTalk*), declarations, news reports (in the UK, France, Germany, Italy) and parliamentary debates (in the UK Parliament). Significant data will be analysed in the news reports and press releases regarding the 10th Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Summit (Milan, October 16-17, 2014), where leaders of four European countries (the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, the French President François Hollande, the Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi and the British Prime Minister David Cameron) met to discuss a solution to the crisis in Ukraine together with the Russian President Vladimir Putin and Ukraine's President Petro Poroshenko. The focus of the analysis will be on the commonalities and differences between recurring rhetorical topoi, key word conceptualisations and argumentation patterns (Ilie 2016a; Ilie 2016b) in the discourses of the European politicians and parliamentarians who participated, directly or indirectly, in debating the crisis in Ukraine.

Panel 4: Discourses of Europe and identity at times of 'Brexit'

Convener Franco Zappettini

The British Conservative Party has pledged to have a referendum by the end of 2017 whereby the 'British people' will decide on whether the UK should remain a member state of the EU (subject to 'repatriation of powers' from Brussels to London) or leave the Union (this latter scenario termed by the media as 'Brexit'). The proposed British referendum has unfolded a large debate in the European public sphere with the emergence of a number of national and transnational sites of production of discourses about the future of Europe and Britain. Whilst some of these discourses have resemiotized historical discourses of cultural, social, political, and identitarian borders between the UK and the 'continent', new hybrid discourses have also emerged in the wake of the ongoing migration and economic crises. This panel intends to examine the unfolding of such discourses from a range of theoretical and methodological standpoints including but not limited to:

- Argumentation and rhetoric analysis of discourses of political parties and other political actors involved in the in/out campaign;
- The role of traditional and online media in discursive constructions of Europe and Britain;
- Corpus analysis and corpus-driven analysis examining diachronic changes in the discursive construction of Britishness and Europeanness in political culture;
- British relations with the 'others': 'National' and 'Continental' productions of discourses of Britain and its exit

- Narratives analysis of European identities and memories
- Interdiscursivity of economic and political discourses of Europe surrounding the Brexit campaign

From these interdisciplinary stances, this panel aims to contribute new insights to the ongoing examination of the discursive construction of Europe and European identities and to suggest potential paths for future research.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Marzia Maccaferri

Splendid isolation again? Brexit and the role of the press and online media in re-narrating Europe's discourse

Responding to a growing interest in the potential withdrawal of Great Britain from European Union (EU), the British traditional press and on-line media have reacted increasing their coverage. Europe as an idea as well as a political and cultural project has been a vast subject in the British public debate, whose discourse on identity dates back to the Suez crisis and navigates the seasons of postWW2 UK. The relationship between Britain and Europe was mostly regarded as extremely cautious and parochially nationalist; however, whereas in the 1960s and 1970s opposition to the European Economic Community (ECC) was predominantly led by intelligentsias and maverick politicians (Enoch Powell, Douglas Jay, Michael Foot to name a few), present-day debate seems less intellectually-driven and academic in his language, and more in touch with the public opinion.

Brexit option has unfolded great discussions in the British (more correct would be to use 'English') public sphere. This paper will draw attention to the role of traditional and online media in re-narrating the European question. Sources will be British quality press, newspaper and magazines (Sun, Daily Mail, Daily Telegraph, Express, Times, Financial Times, Guardian, Independent, Spectator, New Statesmen, Economist, Prospect), and online media (BBC News, OpenEurope, The Huffington Post, OpenDemocracy, Channel4.com, Vice.com). Within this process, the re-semiotization of the role of Great Britain in the international scenario vis-à-vis the historical and cultural discourses of borders between the UK and the Continent have a pivotal function. Starting from here, I intend to consider, on the one hand, how the current re-narration of the European question is reproducing and reinterpreting historical arguments vis-à-vis old clichés. On the other, I will deal primarily with the response to the profound transition taking place in the political landscape. Does Brexit debate shape a new form of British Euroscepticism based on a new sense of economic confidence? Does the new discursive construction of Europe consist in a confrontation between this new sense of confidence in the nation's potentialities, and the pursue of a new

international role for Britain as a champion of freedom and as an example of democracy? How important is the discourse of historical categories as British 'splendid isolation' or 'special relationship', and 'British cultural peculiarity' or 'political traditions'?

These are some issues that this paper intends to tackle.

Franco Zappettini

The politics of 'Brexit': how neoliberal discourses drive the debate of Britain's membership of the EU

The proposed referendum on the UK's membership of the EU has spawned much political interest in the British and European public spheres in anticipation of what Prime Minister David Cameron has termed "perhaps the biggest decision in our lifetime". A vast array of discourses has thus emerged which have polarised around pro 'in' and 'out' campaigns. This paper focuses on discourses produced on the websites of four recently created organisations which are competing to be designated by the UK Electoral Commission as the official lead campaigns for the 'leave' and 'remain' vote: these are, respectively, 'Leave.EU' and 'Vote Leave' on one side, and 'British Influence' and 'Britain Stronger In Europe' on the other side. Both organisations are backed up by business interest groups and have cross-party political support (notably the 'leave' campaigners are supported by the United Kingdom Independence Party).

My analysis traces the discourses of these four organisations and is conducted at discourse-pragmatic, lexical-semantic, and semiotic levels. Using Corpus Linguistic and the Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak et al. 2009; Krzyzanowski, 2010) the analysis identifies which social actors are represented in discourse; which arguments are constructed and challenged; which discursive strategies are deployed and through which linguistic means and other systematic semiotic features they are realised.

Preliminary findings suggest that all four organisations' discourses emphasise the business case for either staying or leaving and that all discourses are articulated from a nation-centric stance which constructs and reasserts Britain's leadership in the world. Macro narratives of auto determination and control are prominent in 'Leave.EU' and 'Vote Leave' discourses which are conspicuously predicated on topoi of free trade, of spending cuts, and of retaining democratic control of the country. Similarly, 'Britain Stronger In Europe' and 'British Influence' campaigns are primarily articulated on the economic benefits of the EU membership and only marginally concerned with social and civic issues.

I thus argue that, regardless of pro 'in' or 'out' stances, discourses of the organisations in question contribute to legitimise a particularised vision of British membership of EU-rope in the public opinion which reproduces national identities and symbolic borders and which marginalises civic and transnational discourses of Europe in favour of neoliberal logics.

Europe – a geographical space or an economic area but never a political union. How British political parties construct the sovereignty of the UK when referring to Europe

In this paper I shall be presenting some results of a study on British political culture with regards to the discursive construction of national sovereignty in the much feared “ever closer union”. Looking at election manifestos of national political parties for the elections to the European parliament I will focus on the question of how the political influence of the European Union or its predecessor the European Economic Communities was explained to the electorate. The paper looks especially at text sequences in which the relation between the United Kingdom towards Europe and the European Union is negotiated in some way. By contrasting these discursive constructions with results from a French and a German corpus we will be able to determine a characteristic attitude towards the European Union in each of the analysed political discourses. Thereby the question is how the notion Europe is constructed in the public discourse of each country. Furthermore, a comparative analysis of different political discourses shows, in how far the discursive construction of the notion Europe in different national discourses overlaps and what discursive particularities exist in each country. A German, French and British corpus were compiled containing election manifestos of all political parties that have been elected to the European Parliaments at least once since 1979. Each corpus has a volume of approximately 400.000 tokens and contains around 60 texts originating from national political parties ranging from right wing to left wing orientation. The study uses corpus linguistic methods which were developed in French discourse analysis since the 1970s under the label of lexicometrics (Lebart/Salem/Berry 1998; Tournier 1975, 1993).

The talk presents results of a larger project entitled “The discursive legitimization of the European Union” (Scholz 2010). The project aimed at a detailed investigation of the linguistic construction and discursive negotiation of the notion Europe. These negotiations are understood as having an impact on the belief in the legitimacy (Weber 1922) of the European political influence on each of the three investigated countries. Thereby legitimisation is considered as a communicative act in the public sphere in which the meaning of institutions and actors is critically assessed and thereby affirmed (Eder 2006; Eder/Hellmann/Trenz 1998; Eder/Trenz 2003). As this process is influenced by the power relations within a discourse we need to account for the whole discursive field with its different positions, actors and regularities (Münch 2010).

Marcel Burger

“We have an ally in London”: catching step by step a media construction of an (non) European identity

At Bloomberg, on the 23rd of January 2013, the British Prime Minister David Cameron made the very first announcement of his intention, if he was reelected, to hold an in-and-out referendum on Britain's membership of the EU before the end of 2017. At that time, Switzerland was negotiating hard with the European Union about the bilateral relations and the automatic exchange of information.

What was at stake for both sides, UK and Switzerland, was a « common pragmatic approach to the coexistence of the European states: first and foremost, free trade oriented and able to preserve sovereignty as much as possible ». This quote, taken from an editorial published in a Swiss Italian newspaper *Corriere del Ticino* on the 24th of January highlights the wide hermeneutic phenomenon that followed Cameron's announcement in the media. Not only was the Prime Minister addressing his folk, but the entire European and non-European media community, who was ready and waiting for a speech, that will threat for some and promise for other, to redefine the term of the EU membership in accordance with the diversity of its members. This single speech gave rise to a diversity of journalistic expectation, interpretation and positioning in the Swiss media landscape.

This paper addresses the phenomenon from an ethno-linguistic perspective and aims to understand how foreign (non-UK) newspaper's statement on Cameron's speech participate in the construction of the national (non-UK) identities with respect to Cameron's statement. We rely on a multi-method aimed at reconstructing contextual, interactional and cognitive aspects of the news making process (editorial meetings, writing processes, talk-at-work interactions, bio interviews).

Panel 5: European and national identity in the discourses and rhetoric of national parliaments

Convener: Cornelia Ilie

An essential notion of European identity traditionally derives from the idea of a common European historical narrative, where European and national identities are complementary, juxtaposed, and/or overlapping. We have considerable evidence that an identity's multiple facets are socially and culturally situated in that they become visible and can be understood only in the process of interaction with others (Goffman 1959). In times of constant change and increasing social paradigm shifts, parliamentary debates in national parliaments do not only reflect critically important identity-based political, social and cultural issues, but they also contribute to shaping these configurations discursively and rhetorically (Ilie 2016). Parliamentary interaction is not just about problem-solving, but also about constructing, challenging and co-constructing identities through language at micro and macro levels of discourse (Ilie 2010).

The role of parliaments in constantly (re-)interpreting, (re)defining and (re) contextualizing the multiple and diverse notions of identity cannot be overestimated (Holzhacker 2007). On examining plenary debates in several national parliaments in Europe, Wendler (2014) found different, but also comparable, types of argumentative justification, and patterns of political polarization between parliamentary speakers and parties, which he interpreted as evidence for a differential Europeanization of national parliaments. Recent research has shown that the discourse and rhetorical patterns of parliamentary debates can be seen to display ideological convergence/divergence, party-political affiliations/disaffiliations, as well as complementary, opposed or overlapping institutional position-takings and political agendas of the members of parliament as representatives of citizens in terms of their various social, professional, gender, and ethnic identity backgrounds (Ilie 2015).

This panel brings together an international group of established and junior scholars who represent several fields of research and are committed to interdisciplinarity. In their approaches they make use of a combination of analytical tools from discourse-analysis, rhetoric, pragmatics, history, political science and cultural studies. The aim of this panel is to reconsider the conceptual basis and theoretical premises of the articulation of European identity in parliamentary discourses by means of interdisciplinary approaches with a view to opening up new research and methodological perspectives. The panel participants address issues of a conceptual nature and theoretical problematisation, starting from empirical research findings about shifting European and national identity aspects in parliaments across time and national borders.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Cornelia Ilie

Old Europe, new Europeans? Re-conceptualizing, re-contextualizing, and re-constructing European identities in national parliamentary discourses in Sweden and the UK

The concept of identity (whether ethnic, cultural, political, national, regional etc.) is one of the recurrent rhetorical concepts in current political debates, although there is still no general agreement about the definition of its meaning. It is sometimes explained in terms of stereotypical dichotomies, such as individual vs. collective identity, inclusive vs. exclusive identity, homogeneous vs. heterogeneous identity. Such dichotomies are also used to describe the emergence, evolution and change of what we refer to as European identity. For example, identity is construed as something we have, or something we are, or ...? While some scholars take the view that European identity is something that individuals or communities have (Lustick and Miodownik, 2002), others, like Kavalski (2006), defines the European identity as something that the European Union is the carrier of. Based on evidence from recent research (e.g. Schunz 2012), I challenge in this paper

the stereotypical interpretation of European identity in terms of having or being, and argue instead that all kinds of identity, including European identity, are being constantly, co-constructed, re-constructed, and de-constructed in a wide range of ongoing, multi-level, interconnected discourses (Ilie 2010a).

As European identity is not a static, but a moving target, it assumes different forms, and develops varying strengths in different states across Europe, according to changing social, cultural and political environments that affect the discourse-shaped and discourse-shaping institutionalization of multiple identities. In order to show how institutionalized identities are being jointly enacted and displayed discursively, the aim of this paper is to critically scrutinize the processes of re-conceptualisation and re-contextualisation of European identities in the parliamentary discourses of the UK Parliament and the Swedish Riksdag (Ilie 2010b). The focus will be on the particular discursive and rhetorical strategies used in the two parliaments when debating identity-related national and European issues that shape the terrain of their political struggles. Of particular interest are the parliamentary debates regarding the confrontation of Euro-enthusiasts and Euro-skeptic standpoints on transnational integration, immigration, and national borders (Raunio 2009). A pragma-rhetorical and a discourse-analytical approach (Ilie 2010c) are used to identify, on the one hand, the metadiscursive devices (parentheticals, quotations, keywords) underlying the form, structure and message of different parliamentarians' statements, questions or answers, and, on the other hand, the argumentative strategies used to convey alignment with, or dissociation from, the opponents' standpoints in each of the two parliaments under scrutiny.

Cezar Ornatowski

National Identity Construction and Discursive Constructions of “Europe” in Polish Parliamentary Debate, From EU Accession to Nationalist Resurgence

Collective identities, including national and transnational identities, are largely “imaginary” (Anderson), rhetorically enacted constructions. They are also neither fixed nor unitary; rather, they are under constant negotiation and contestation, especially during political transition, where a sense of collective identity becomes unsettled. National identity is a political project, as is “Europe.” The project of reimagining Polish national identity has been on-going since the end of the Cold War. Ernesto Laclau has argued that identity is fundamentally “negative” because it presupposes a “gap,” a “lack” as its constitutive principle; rather than expressing purely positive content, identity needs a that-which-it-is-not, an “other” that helps to anchor the sense of the “self.” “Europe” has functioned since the transition of 1989 as Poland’s “constitutive other” that anchored Poland’s sense of geopolitical and cultural self. Since the early 2000s, Polish political scene has been polarized between a pro-European orientation and a nationalist orientation, with the latter in

power since November 2015. The proposed paper will examine the relationship between Polish national identity construction and discursive constructions of “Europe” in parliamentary debate, from debates on Poland’s accession to the European union (2004) to the current nationalist resurgence.

The analytic approach will combine anthropological approach to identity as coalescing around symbols (Cohen) with rhetorical analysis in terms “identification” and “division” (Burke), as well as topoi (commoplaces: generative spaces of argument within which collective identities are discursively constituted, articulated, and negotiated, and which address such implicit questions as “Who are ‘we’? Where are ‘we’ located? Where do ‘we’ come from and how did we get to be what we are? How do ‘we’ relate to each other and how do ‘we’ relate to others?”) (Ornatowski). At the linguistic level, the approach will involve analysis of relevant discursive features of parliamentary discourse (such as pronouns).

Maria Stopfner

Of Small States and Big Neighbors – The Construction of National Identity in Austria and Switzerland

Small states face a fundamental dilemma: On the one hand, they need to align with bigger and more powerful nation states to champion their interests within a globalized international community; on the other hand, they run the risk of being too dependent on their hegemon, thereby losing their autonomy and national identity. While Switzerland and Austria as two small neighbouring states in the heart of Europe share common features with regard to language and culture, both countries at the same time differ vehemently as far as international relations are concerned: Whereas Austria has always kept close to its next-door giant Germany and joined the European Union in 1995, Switzerland has always kept its distance, highlighting its national uniqueness and independence from Europe.

Within the social sciences, there exists a long-standing tradition in research on small states (a.o. Rapaport/Muteba/Therattil 1971; Reid 1974; Walt 1990; Hey 2003; Jarren/Oehmer/Wassmer 2010; Veenendaal/Corbett 2015). However, even though much work has been done on political strategies of small states in general, political scientists have failed to connect strategy and political identity with rhetoric. Adopting an interdisciplinary approach, I will try to complete this missing link by using traditional theories and findings on small states within (comparative) political science as basis for analysing parliamentary speeches in Austria and Switzerland from a discourse analytical perspective (a.o. Wodak et al. 1998, 2009; Ilie 2010). Within my analysis, special emphasis will be placed on the underlying argumentative structures and rhetorical ploys (a.o. Kienpointner 1992; Klein 2000; Wengeler 2003, 2013) with which Austrian and Swiss MPs relate to Germany and the European Union, as a means to support or attack political measures, thereby conveying fundamental parliamentary values in view of the construction of national identity of small states within Europe.

‘Speaking with one voice’: Debating European and national identity in the German and British Parliaments

Common EU foreign policy embodies the European identity for the rest of the world. The ideal of Europe being able to speak with one voice when dialoguing with the rest of the world in world affairs has been the driving force behind formulating common EC/EU foreign and security policy since the 1970s. By being able to speak and act as one in world affairs the EC/EU members carry far greater clout than they would have if each pursued its own national policies. Diverse national countries often preferred a strong European identity in world affairs instead of pursuing national interests, and the Lisbon Treaty (2009) eventually confirmed the rather idealistic target with the phrasing that EU would speak and act as one in world affairs.

The purpose of this paper is to study how the national parliaments in Germany and Great Britain constructed and conceptualized European identity in their discourses about formulating common EC/EU foreign and security policy; which conceptions and ideas motivated the ideal of ‘one voice’ of Europe in world affairs? Germany as a founding member of the EC has held a decisive role in promoting the integration process while Great Britain, member of the EC since 1973, has more critical viewpoint to integration from the outset. By analysing the debates of these two national parliaments with different national emphasis the task is to discuss the discursive process of constructing European identity in the field of common foreign policy. The paper contributes to interdisciplinary scholarly discussion by emphasising the role of methods of linguistically oriented analysis of parliamentary debates to historical research of European integration. Alongside studying conceptions constructing European identity, the analysis also reveals conflicting conceptions in the discourses of two different national traditions that have affected the possibilities of finding ‘one voice’ in actual policy questions.

Part of democratic Europe or not? An examination of European identity in British value-related political debates, 1948-1949

In the contemporary context, the membership in the Council of Europe appears to provide a mean for a state to institutionalize itself to a certain set of values before entering any more significant international organization, such as the European Union, and thus to converge to a certain identity. The historical origins of such an organization-bound identity, however, portray a more vivid picture. In the post-World War Two international context, the process to create co-operation in Western Europe featured co-operation on military, economic, politics and cultural issues. Similarly, it was a process of inclusion and exclusion of nations suitable

to form the part of Western civilization, as it was directly discussed in the British political leadership in 1948 portraying an early political view on what constitutes a European identity. Behind the British interpretation was the interest to create permanent models of co-operation between European countries under threat from the rising Communist ideology.

Britain was in many ways in the centre of the early phase of the European integration process, as the idea of European unity, promoted especially during and after the World War Two by individuals and associations, was able to manifest itself through structure and form after diplomatic negotiations between especially France and Britain during the 1948-1949 winter. The Council of Europe, established on 5 May 1949 as the result of the desire to strengthen the non-communist states, provided the means to defend and strengthen certain value sets, such as democracy and freedom. These were values that were linked to the understanding of Western civilization and thus portraying a contrasting ideological base compared to the Soviet bloc. The British domestic political debates on what constitutes a democratic Europe were also reflected at diplomatic level and thus provide an important insight.

This paper proceeds to reveal a historical case study of the political debates that took place in one national context, Britain in 1948-1949, regarding the definition of European identity through exclusion and inclusion of suitable states to the so called democratic Europe, performed by political examination of attitudes towards certain political values, such as democracy and the consideration of what constituted the values deemed suitable for European non-communist co-operation. Employing a variety of primary archival sources from the British legislative and executive levels, the paper analyzes the debates by and between the executive and parliamentary levels and portrays the historical narrative of an early phase of the European integration in political, cultural and societal issues as one of pragmatic and even strategic approach to international relations, but still being one interested in creating one, commonly accepted understanding of democracy and individual human rights, ideas that manifested themselves through the creation of the Council of Europe.

Katja Mäkinen

Identity constructions in EUs policy documents on cultural heritage

The paper takes a conceptual approach to cultural heritage and its uses in the identity politics of the European Union. The focus is on identity constructions and identity politics in EUs cultural heritage policy. Through a multidisciplinary textual analysis focusing on concepts, discourses and rhetoric, the paper examines what is conceptualized as cultural heritage in the policy documents and how are identities constructed and what elements are used in these identity constructions

by different actors. The aim is to explore what kind of meanings and representations of Europe are thereby produced. The questions of unity and diversity as well as inclusion and exclusion are discussed in the light of multidisciplinary theoretical background drawing from political science, cultural studies and political and cultural geography.

Panel 6: European Civil Society as Norm, Construction and Performance

Convener: Berna Numan

A multi-layered, multi-faceted reading of European Civil Society environment would provide an understanding of shortcomings of democracy in the European Union. This panel attempts to do that by looking at Europeanization of Anti-Discrimination legislature and its resonance, by dealing with how language games and signifiers explain European politics of civic engagement and by explicating what performative participation is.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Acar Kutay

Social contract as discourse and ethics of the self:

The Case of European governance

Social contract theories could only make sense in a discursive context. The form of the state has transformed in parallel to the extension of the governance goals, but each time, new practices were introduced by the state to secure the consent of the ruled by drawing upon a particular political thinking. The argument is this: if the identity of the self is always identification with the available political discourses, the form of the state and the ethics of the self is to be seen relational. Such relational ontology urges us to reconceptualise the nature and the extent of the political power within and beyond the nation-state, as the ethics of the self is always informed and shaped by the new forms of statehood. Regulation of European social policies by the EU is a particular case in point.

Berna Numan

Europeanization of Political Discourses on Discrimination

Community law prohibiting discrimination has existed since Treaty of Rome. In 1997, Article 13 of Treaty of Amsterdam bestowed upon the Council new competences to develop new provisions combating discrimination. As the Council Directives on Employment Equality and Racial Equality have been

transposed by member states, debates have been sparked on the application of these laws. Through a qualitative and quantitative content analysis, this paper identifies Europeanization of Political Discourses on the issues of Discrimination and Tolerance in the European Union and provides empirical evidence on ethical self-understanding of actors as Europeans.

Seniz Avcioglu

Epistemic Community of Austerity Experts and the Democratic Deficit of the European Union

This paper investigates the importance of epistemic communities in policy formulation and highlights how experts have shaped and also viewed policy choices of two member states, namely Cyprus and Ireland that have ended up using austerity measures. By using a process tracing methodology the paper identifies mechanisms through which non-state actors such as experts read and interpret their relationship with the European Union.

Mevhive Hodjaoglou & Mustapha Ibrahim

Common Health Policy? Unify you must!

The effectiveness of patient pressure groups is an empirically evident national reality. Transnational NGOs working on universal care form umbrella organizations across the world as well as Europe. However, emergence of an EU norm of a common health policy is far from near. This paper provides an analytical framework for the lack of emergence of such a norm among the EU member states and highlights how this could be a barrier against the free movement of European citizens as well as a sense of insecurity.

Panel 7: Europe in Religious Discourses, Religion in European Discourses

Convener: Mihai Coman

This panel is organized as a debate addressing religion, the construction of an/ the European identity and media culture - three fundamental concepts that have become important throughout recent debates on intercultural communication and media studies. How should these concepts be adapted from their original scientific disciplines and paradigms to our purposes and how, analyzing the way religion is enacted in media and popular culture one could see the contribution of different discourses in the construction of a European identity? Panelists will offer theoretical statements of position and case studies. The audience will be asked to join the debate rather than to judge it.

Panel Rationale

This panel is organized as a debate addressing three centrally important concepts that appear throughout contemporary media studies, religious studies, discourse analysis, political sciences and cultural studies: religion, media culture, European identity. Three of the presenters will address the issue of religious diversity in three types of discourses: media, students' discourse and museums. Despite the apparent heterogeneity, these analysis are stressing the processes of the exposition of religious symbols, in order to communicate a specific identity. How are these identities preserved and changed in the process of integration in a larger system of symbols that constitute the European identity? Are they really integrated or just and only juxtaposed? Two other panelist are addressing the issue of media coverage of Islamic issues. Using quantitative and qualitative methods, the two case studies are inquiring the frames that give meaning to Islam from a European perspective?

Moreover, other two panelist propose a look inside the strategies Vatican and Russian Orthodox Church are using when refereeing to Europe and European integration. Rather than presenting papers in a row, we will offer brief statements of position and case studies

We would like to invite media and communication scholars interested in religion to a closer dialogue with each other, to deepen the theoretical and empirical knowledge and understanding on "religious issues" as they relate to the media, particularly in the context of Europe. Such a vision, which proposes interpretation of religious phenomena in terms of the theories and concepts of media studies, cultural studies, cultural anthropology, shows that symbolism, far from being a residual element of journalistic communication, for example, is one of its fundamental factors. This perspective forces us to reconsider theories regarding the role of religion and media in the construction of the public space and in the creation of the modern European identity; it requires us to rethink the rapport between the secular and the religious discourse in the construction of mediated public space and symbolical ("imagined") European identity. The three concepts of this panel discussion are centrally important to this work and to the larger field of media studies, religious studies, political sciences.

By drawing on a number of case studies conducted in a variety of cultural and societal settings, we attempt to discuss the complex interplay between media, discourse and religion today. We wish to examine their durable and enduring features, as well as the changes of religion in these new media-related settings and their influences on the production of the European identity.

Description of Presenter's Qualifications

Each of the presenters is an active scholar with established reputation in academia. Each has intensive research experience and several articles on relevant topics. In addition to the intellectual diversity around which the panel is constructed,

each has been selected to represent European diversity (Finland, Germany, Greece, Italy, Romania, Russia) and disciplinary diversity (history, media studies, religious studies, sociology, anthropology). Each presenter also knows the other presenters' work well - we are currently collaborators on a thematic conferences and an edited book projects - and the debate-form presentation is designed to draw on that strength.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Anna Maria Cossiga & Marica Spalletta

After Paris 2015: Building European Identity Through Social Integration

Over the last fifty years, religion has played a leading role in the process through which the European identity was developed and built, even though often it has represented a reason of division, discord, isolation between the "traditional" UE citizens (mainly belonging to a Christian background), and the "new UE citizens", whose origins are mainly from Arab and Islamic countries. In fact, the creation of European identity should depend on how different cultural and religious backgrounds interact starting from mutual knowledge and recognition, and aiming to create a real integration. The leading role played by religion in respect of these topics appears even more meaningful after what happened in Paris in 2015 (from the «Charlie Hebdo» shooting on 7 January to the terroristic attacks on 13 November), also due to the way in which news media covered these events, the several demonstrations organized by citizens and associations, finally the debate which took shape in social media.

Based on these premises, the paper aims to analyse if and how social integration between people with different religious creeds (which is the premise of European identity building and development) depends on a media coverage able to distinguish Islamic terrorism from Islamic religion. To these purpose, the research focuses on a very emblematic case, which is represented by the #NotInMyName media campaign, which has started after Paris terroristic attacks and involved several Muslim European communities. From a methodological point of view, we carry out two different researches:

1. A qualitative media content analysis focused on newspapers and social media coverage of the #NotInMyName media campaign;
2. A social approach to religious diasporas in their relationship with the culture of the host countries.

The research shows that building European identity needs a real integration between all the European citizens, which could take shape only when coexistence is based on knowledge.

Barbara Laemmlein

Migration and Integration – Are Religious Symbols a Taboo Theme on Campus?

Globalization, internalization, migration and integration are major key words of our times. Throughout the last decades it seems that the world grows together, and focused on economy, national and international operating companies have to build strong brands to succeed in business. In order to be visible at the market, and easily distinguishable from their competitors, companies also create signs and symbols to define and communicate their corporate identity. In a similar way, this concept of identity and image plays a role, when it comes to the topics of migration and integration. Usually immigrants get to a different country where a different language and another cultural background with all its facets is status quo. From the first moment in the new country, intercultural communication on all levels is their daily business. One level includes, for example, outer appearance and the exposition of religious symbols. Often, this is a new experience for both, the locals and the immigrants.

Presently, countries in Europe are confronted with a high rate of immigrants, and so are European Universities. Most University campus become a kind of melting pot, and represent a cutout of what is going on in Europe. Here, international and national students have to deal with each other on several levels. Not only within classes, but also throughout life on campus, students are part of the University's community. They join together classes, and challenge projects as a team. But does this mean that all students feel or appear to be integrated in this "society"? Are symbols of their heritage or religion exposed in a sense of "doing diversity" or are they taboo themes on campus?

The case study explores these questions by using a research design that is based on mixed methods. In a first step, this project focuses on the method of social text analysis, in order to understand meanings, describe and understand experiences, ideas and values. In a second step, an inquiry will be used to find out about the specific perceptions and ideas of students, when it comes to migration, integration, diversity, nationality, and the use of religious symbols on campus. As a last step, the findings are put together which opens-up an analysis from a variety of angles in order to gain distinct perspectives on the multiple levels of this topic.

Agni Apostolidou

Is religious diversity presented (or even not) in museums today?

Nobody could ever refuse the assumption that the history of religion and faith is strictly related to the history of humanity and its evolution. In addition to that, religion could not be detached from other principals and theories related to politics,

sociology, and culture. Sometimes religion and generally religious contexts are not easily understood and interpreted. In fact sometimes misunderstanding happens intentionally by “external factors” in order to have predetermined conclusions.

In reality a considerable “chapter” in the history of religion is dedicated especially to the arts, particularly the religious art. In every part of the world and during every époque, from prehistory to contemporary time, religion inspired artists and craftsman. In other words religion had affected each human being in spiritual, cultural and even social terms of life. Such a phenomenon is also very often identified in today’s world as the recently violent attacks of religious objects, in the name of religion, proves. How this “products” of religious culture are being communicated to the visitors today?

An enormous amount of sacred objects of different religious cultures is part of a museum collection usually exhibited among others in the biggest museums of the world, pole of thousands visitors, of different age, education, status, background, race and beliefs. However, even if it seems that things have started to change lately, there is still a big gap to fill and we believe that museums, by means of exhibition and interpretation methods adopted each time when dealing with religion (religious culture, sacred objects and artifacts etc.) are capable of determining, formatting and influencing consciousness, as the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment (ICOM 2007).

The basic aim of the study is to survey and evaluate the processes and the issues involved when museum exhibition and interpretation methods evoke religious identity. A major challenge for us is to trace whether museums can affect the way we understand religion and faith and to outline whether religious diversity presented (or even not) in museums today.

Johanna Sumiala & Katja Valaskivi

The politics of ritualization of transnational Islam in the news: circulating discourses of threat and vulnerability in society

Our presentation looks into the politics of ritualization of Islam in the news. The presentation draws on a large quantitative study on religious news in the Finnish newspapers. In this presentation we add to the quantitative study by qualitative close reading of a new case – that is, media representation of the refugee crisis in the largest national daily, Helsingin Sanomat published in Finland and discuss that against the earlier findings in the project on two different frames for representing Islam in the news.

Our quantitative study demonstrated that there are two very different frames to Islam and Muslims in the Finnish newspapers. Firstly, there is the national frame, which appears on the domestic and political sections of the newspaper and secondly, the international frame, represented in the foreign news section. In the

domestic frame Islam is discussed through the framework of multiculturalism. Muslims appear threatening, but not in terrorist terms or as violent enemies within the nation, but rather as a cultural threat. This cultural threat is used in national discussions about traditional values or habits (such as singing certain songs in school events). Muslims rarely gain voice in this discussions, where atheist Finn often use the loudest voice claiming that religious symbols and rituals need to be disposed of because of multicultural reasons.

Secondly, in the international frame, Islam was associated with violence, terrorism and conflicts. In the foreign news section repetition of the combination of Islam, violence and terrorism takes a ritualized form in which 1) Muslim actors are usually violent actors such as 'Muslim guerillas', 'separatist Muslims', 'Islamists' or 'Islamist rebels' 2) Islam and Muslims are associated with conflicts, terrorism and political turmoil and 3) Islam appears as monolithic and universally violent irrespective of the geographical or political location of the events.

The simplistic, ritual repetition of terrorism and problems in relation to Islam creates a politics of repetition, which naturalizes the relationship of conflict and Islam. Through the politics of repetition violence in relation to Islam is no longer shocking, quite the contrary, it has become a naturalized part of worldview in the West. Repetition of certain names and concepts, such as Muhammed, Taleban, al-Quaida of ISIS associates Islam with a sense of threat, even in cases when Islam is not explicitly mentioned. The politics of repetition is at its strongest in the headlines often browsed through in a ritualistic manner.

Lorenzo Ugolini & Dario Fanara

Journalism, terrorism and responsibility

The terrorist attacks occurred in Paris in January and in November 2015 have shocked the European public opinion. As a consequence, the relationship between Islam and Europe has hit the headlines, giving birth to a wide range of political and social positions within the public debate, going from those who accused Islam as a whole to those who considered Islamic terrorism as the total opposite of real Islamic values.

In this context, journalists have been called to a difficult task, which nonetheless appears to be particularly central for the solidity and the fairness of the European democratic society. In fact, their duty to inform citizens cannot leave aside the reports of the attacks, and the related result of emotion, shock, anger and fear. At the same time, they should avoid any form of trivialisation or generalisation, in order to reject any stereotype, to prevent any instigation to racism and any thoughtless acts within public opinion.

Our research aims to understand how European news media have covered the issues related to Islam as a religion, and in particular the relationship between the Islamic values and the European ones, after the two terrorist attacks occurred in Paris in the last year. From a methodological point of view, we carried out a

qualitative media content analysis focused on the articles related to these issues, published in two Italian newspapers (Corriere della Sera and La Repubblica) and two French newspapers (Le Monde and Le Figaro), during the first week following the two attacks (from 8 to 15 of January for the Charlie Hebdo attack and from 14 to 21 of November for the Bataclan attack).

In particular, we highlighted two specific issues:

-newsworthiness: how the relationship between the Islamic values and the European ones became newsworthy, and in what kind of contexts (report of the attacks, dedicated analysis, in-depth articles, etc.);

-attitude: how journalists managed the double need emerging from this kind of news: on the one hand the report of shock, sorrow and fear; on the other hand, the respect of accuracy and fairness, avoiding trivialization, stereotypes and instigation to rage and racism, as stated in the journalistic professional ethics.

The research shows that European and Islamic values are central not only in the in-depth analysis in the days following the attacks, but also in the reports of the events. However, some significant differences emerge in respect of the journalists' attitude between Italian and French press, but also between newspapers of the same country and within the single newspaper.

Galina Lukianova

Russian Orthodox Church and European Values: Analyzing Media Discourse

Media scholars agree that much of what the public knows about news, politics and even religion in their own country or in another is obtained through mediated sources. When media choose the topic, structure of the text using definite lexical and syntactic techniques they explicitly and implicitly affect audience comprehension thus executing the most important function of the media, which is to form definite attitude to certain event and required communicator evaluation.

Today Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) is the significant non-governmental entity of the public sphere with privileged status. Since Orthodoxy is the leading religion in Russia, the media regularly cover the activities and statements of the Church on a wide range of issues, including the issue of Europe and European values.

Thus, the paper focuses, on the one hand, on media coverage of Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) in news programs of two federal TV channels "Pervii kanal" and "Rossia" (2014-2015). On the other, it examines how the concept of European values is represented in media discourse and explores the implications of the use of language in media from critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective. Therefore, the aim of this study is to investigate the interpretation of European values by Russian Orthodox Church and its position towards Europe: is it the discourse of integration or the discourse of hate?

Europe in Religious Discourses, Religion in European Discourses

Starting from the '50s, building European identity has represented one of main recurrent topics in political agenda of the countries involved in the European integration process: from the "Inner Six" to the new member states which have participated to the process of expanding the European Union, not to say about the UE official candidates.

The political debate focused on European identity has concerned several and different issues, among which a leading role is played by the religious ones, especially in respect of topics as the Europe's Jewish-Christian roots and if/how they should be quoted in the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe.

Among the political and institutional actors who have participated to the public debate, taking different stance in respect of the relationship between the Europe identity and the way in which religion contributes or affects negatively its building, a very meaningful role has been played by the Holy See, due to its being certainly a religious institution, but also a political one.

Based on these premises, the paper aims to understand the way in which the topics related to the Europe identity building and to the role of religion in this process take shape in the official discourses of the last three Popes: John Paul II, Benedict XVI and Francis. From a methodological point of view, we carry out two different researches: a qualitative media content analysis and a socio-political analysis, which focus on the main Popes' statements concerning Europe.

The research shows a meaningful evolution in the Popes' stands in respect of the analysed topic, but also a real continuity in the way in which they endlessly state the positive role played by religion in the Europe identity building.

Abstracts of Oral Presentations



Negative framing of European values and identities in the Russian social media: catchphrases, narratives and visuals

Ukraine's determination to become a member of the European community sparked hostile comments from Russian citizens who view themselves as being "brothers-protectors" of neighbouring nations (A'Beckett, 2012). To dissuade Ukrainians from their goal to join the European Union, Russian bloggers have come up with different framing devices constructing unflattering images of European life style and social values. "To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described". (Entman, 1993: 52). This paper seeks to overview the following framing devices adopted for the defaming the EU in the virtual communication between Russians and Ukrainians: catchphrases, exemplars and visual images. Catchphrases are theme statements or slogans that capture the general meaning of the frame. There are special neologisms which describe the credo of the European community, e.g. —"Gayropa" (a compound of the words "gay" and "Europe" which refers to the alleged infestation of homosexuals in Europe) and several others. The catchphrases introduce "rotten principles" of social organisation which relies on the power of rich people, perverts and self-promotion. The catchphrases have been amplified by narratives about experiences of living in the West—the liberty of being a pervert at the expense of "moral people", state power which protects only rich people or decadents, the thriving of consumerist aspirations, the low position of Slavs among the dominating Germans who cherish the Nazis' legacy. The narratives have been strengthened by the selection of memes—cartoon-like pictures with captions. Strongly-coded visuals (Bonegrou and Forceville, 2011) include various symbolic actions under national flags and organisational symbols (e.g. burning flags, removing tomb stones, Nazi uniforms etc.). Images of the singers Conchita Wurst and Verka Serduchka serve as the pointers to the organisations of meanings entitled as "Gayropa" and "liberasts"; rubbish and rubbish bins as the representation of "shitocracy" (a modification of the word "democracy") and many others. All strongly-coded visuals sustain narratives and re-inforce catchphrases which underscore the exemplar stories. Hence different framing devices in discourse (verbal signals, textual patterns as well as iconic images) have been used to construct negative experiences and to alert others that their interests and possibly identities are at stake

Keywords: frames, catchphrases, narratives, iconic images, negative identity, social media

Reserving a discourse of Euro-identification: Euro-realism

Starting with the post-Maastricht era, there is a general dissatisfaction with the EU and the way the integration is proceeding. It is this dissatisfaction leading to the death of the permissive consensus, opening up the domestic political space to a Europe-wide contestation. The emerging Eurosceptic phenomenon remains many in one of these views, whether it is mass or elite driven, soft or hard, mainstream or isolated, the importance stems from its contribution to a European wide public sphere which definitely requires harboring criticism, protest and questioning of the EU alongside different views, one of them recently known as Euro-realism. In the light of this debate, the study concentrates firstly on how to locate Euro-realism within this political spectrum and the way political parties embrace this phenomenon within a framing of Euro-identification. This identification is nested in a questioning – critically as well as constructively – and approaching the integration in the name of focusing on ‘change’, ‘reform’ or ‘new directions’ for Europe. It is the party politics making Euro-realism visible and more importantly distancing themselves from what is known as Euroscepticism, which this study aims to discuss. This argument is supported by a case study of two right wing political parties, namely the Law and Justice Party (Poland) and Civic Democrat Party (Czech Republic). The study comes to an evaluation of these parties harbouring attempts – positively and constructively – in defining what is non-European and in fact what should not become European.

Keywords: Euro-realism, Euroscepticism, European Identity, Discourse, Party Politics

Miguel Álvarez-Peralta

Press discourses about the Spanish bailout (June 2012): strategic biases and silences

This paper analyzes the press coverage of the banking bailout for Spain with European funds at the beginning of President Rajoy's legislature, in June 2012. We apply a combination of analytical techniques including corpus linguistics and discourse analysis specifically adapted to the morphology, density and content of large corpora. We combine computer assisted text-analysis software with narrative semiotics, or metaphoric frames deconstruction to describe the way Spanish media constructed this issue differently and how it evolved along the years. The research questions that served as a starting point include interrogation about which subjects and actions were framed as relevant/irrelevant in each case, which metaphors have been used to model the situations and what kind of bias they may produce, and what lexicon and semantic structures were selected for the representation. We register biases in the information process, and the skewing or concealing of positions that opposed the bailout process

within the hegemonic representations of the corresponding controversies. The focus is on the description of the discursive constructions, their interpretation as a strategic relationship between social actors immersed into a determined political and economic context, and in the theoretical reflection on the bias introduced and the construction of news frames favorable to the neoliberal positions. The main hypothesis postulated the construction in Spanish mainstream press of a symbolical framework for crisis phenomena guided towards the justification of bailout politics which favour the interests of the financial sector, thus confirming the importance of the role that this lobby plays out through its growing integration with media groups. In different moments, Spanish press has constructed a widely shared opinion frame which tries to condition the social response about the neoliberal policies, thus fomenting for example the social acceptance of the urgent reform of the Spanish Constitution, or the Spanish bailout. Both newspapers share the neoliberal cosmovision, which is evidenced for example in the adoption of a metaphorical frame that naturalises free market and presents the crisis as a natural disaster (storm, earthquake), which encourages to deem it an unpredictable phenomenon without any culprits. Thus, the crisis policies are narrated from a mythological outline, a fight against the blind forces of nature to save the world from chaos. We find evidence for the defence or financial sector's interests as an editorial position, for example, in the construction of an omnipresent and uncriticised problem-solution logical structure embodied in the categories crisis-bank bailout, as well as the recurrent usage of the biomedical metaphor (the crisis as an epidemics, bleeding, affixation). Another indicator of the adoption of the point of view of the financial sector to narrate the crisis is the construction of a global We of inaccurate boundaries, as the subject who would benefit from the bailout: we-the-banks, we-the-readers, we-the-nation; thus identifying without criticism the interest of the banking sector with those of the population as a whole. What is good for the banks is immediately considered good for the citizens, because they are the engine of the economy.

Keywords: bank bailout, economic journalism, financial crisis, discourse analysis

Mats Andrén

Integration as the way to recover from decline, crisis and nihilism: 1920-1948

Crisis, decline and nihilism remained salient themes in the political and cultural language of Europe's destiny in the interwar period. The themes were presented with several characteristics and most often with an appeal for taking action in order to come out of the crisis. Europe was pictured in an epical drama with an unknown ending. It had risen to might and glory, it had achieved technological revolutions, freed the mind and rationally organized society. But its position could not anymore be taken for granted. The frame of this presentation is the ideas of the European crisis, decline, nihilism and their place in the pleadings for European integration

after the Second World War. It is well known that decline and crisis were concepts repeatedly emphasised when discussing Europe's strengths/weaknesses and place in the world through the inter war period and that they were still in the European mind in the first post war years. In research it is less known that nihilism was also one of these concepts that travelled from the interbellum to be re-used at the beginning of the integration debate after 1945. It has further not been charted how the history of the concept of integration is related to the concepts of decline, crisis and nihilism through this period. Working within conceptual history and focusing on the discursive, controversial and contextual character of the concepts, this paper will focus on examples of how integration is depicted as the way to recovery from decline, crisis and nihilism from 1920 to 1948. Borders and diversities were over and over declared as being the roots of these threats; integration thus was the method to manage them. Focus of the presentation is on the concepts; when they are introduced and placed at the centre of the debate, their connotations, when and how and by whom they are related to the concept of integration. A contribution will thereby be made to the history of the construction of a European narrative. Moreover, in this period decline, crisis and nihilism are often emphasising threats that are basically regarding culture and spirit while integration is about economy or politics. Hence, this case study illustrates the inter connectedness of on the one hand cultural aspects and on the other hand economic/political dimensions in European identity.

Keywords: decline, crisis, nihilism, integration, 1920-1948

Milena Apostolovska-Stepanoska & Hristina Runcheva Tasev

The European Institutions and the European Identity

The author in this article divides the research in two parts. The first part of the article is devoted on the European identity issue and here the author claims that the European identity can be build and that the European institutions have very important role in this process. Namely, the European institutions affect the European identity when they are developing politics working regarding their competencies. The theoretical frame and the main hypothesis of this article is given by the theory of social constructivism whose developer Thomas Risse says that the European political identity can be create and changed and that the politics brought by the institutions are one of the mechanisms for that purpose. In that direction the author of this article says that the European citizenship that was introduced with the Treaty of Maastricht is one of the attempts of the institutions of the European Union to crate feeling of belonging to the supranational organization to th e citizens of the member states. In order to proof its claim the author of the article make short analyse of the development of the rights that were introduced with the Treaty of Maastricht and compare how they evolve in every other next Treaty. Furthermore the author make preview of the most important decisions, regulations, directives, reports, declarations and proposals that were brought

by the European Parliament, the European Commission, the Council and the European Council regarding the rights and obligations that the European citizens obtain with the European citizenship and in that manner influence on the creating the European identity. In the second part of the article the author deals with the problem of the democratic deficit in the European Union. Here it is made short analyse of this issue that ends with explanation why creating the European identity is solution for the shortage of democracy in the Union.

Keywords: European identity, european citizenship, democratic deficit

Argiris Archakis

National and post-national discourses and the construction of linguistic identities by students of Albanian origin in Greece

Drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis and, more specifically, on the relationship between the macro-level of dominant discourses and the micro-level of individual positionings (van Dijk 2008), we explore the ways linguistic identities are constructed by immigrant students of Albanian origin in Greece. To this end, we elaborate on two 'competitive' discourses: the national, homogenizing one and the post-national, deconstructing one. We discuss views supporting the aim of national linguistic homogenization as well as those promoting the maintenance and exploitation of immigrants' linguistic resources, so as to show how these two discourses influence the construction of immigrant students' linguistic identities (Blommaert and Rampton 2011). For an in-depth investigation of immigrant students' linguistic identities we employ the membership categorization device (Sacks 1992) living populations in Greece which includes the categories immigrant people and majority people as a standardized relational pair. We focus on the category-bound predicates of the category immigrant people and particularly on those related to the knowledge of the majority language. The data examined come from Lyceum immigrant students' essays which are analyzed in order to trace students' positionings (Bamberg 1997) towards the two 'competitive' discourses, and in particular, towards the linguistic dimension of these discourses. In this context, we pay particular attention to the migration experiences of Lyceum students of Albanian origin, as emerging in their school essays (Archakis 2014). Our main findings point to the fact that immigrant students employ four bound predicates to the category immigrant people in juxtaposition to the category majority population and, more specifically, to its bound predicate majority language awareness. According to these four bound predicates, most immigrant students of Albanian origin position themselves positively in relation to the national homogenizing discourse and, more specifically, to the Greek monolingualism looking forward to the social benefits of speaking Greek. These findings confirm the dominance of the national, homogenizing discourse and the absence of a post-national, deconstructing discourse that would allow some space and *raison d'être* to the Albanian language.

Keywords: national discourse, post-national discourse, linguistic identities, membership categorization device, category-bound predicates

European diversities and conflicts as presented in the film *Code Unknown*

Europe as a constitution was created with the ideal to unify several countries in one space promoting financial, political, social and cultural benefits to the citizens. It declared its openness to diversity, its acceptance for the “other” and its transparency regarding borders. In reality, however, the co-existing of different people stemming from diverse national, cultural and social backgrounds proves to be not so easy, and causes tensions and conflicts, in which the foreigners find usually themselves in the most insecure position. Although produced fifteen years ago, the French film *Code Unknown: Incomplete Tales of Several Journeys* (2000) by the Austrian Michael Haneke, as a product of cinematic art, reflects very well the above mentioned situation in Europe. The film's title is indicative of the main issues explored, like the one of miscommunication and exclusion (code unknown), fragmentation (incomplete tales) and mobility and migration (several journeys). Despite the unified space of Europe, countries are positioned to a kind of hierarchy according to their power and wealth with the stronger ones taking the actual decisions and leading the others; an analogous situation is explored in the film *Code Unknown* in a micro-level. Although the streets of Paris constitute a common space for everyone, power relations become more than evident even in daily “insignificant” incidents. When the teenager Jean who just moved from a village to Paris throws a used bag to the lap of the street begging illegal Romanian immigrant Irina, a set of actions revealing the existing hierarchies is witnessed. The African Amadou having seen the incident asks from Jean to apologize to the beggar and when he refuses, they start a fight. The event ends with the police resolving the issue; Irina gets deported, Amadou is ordered to follow the officers to the police station, while Jean is immediately free to leave. Starting from such an incident, the film explores in various stories the daily life of people from different national, cultural and social backgrounds living in a big European multicultural city like Paris. *Code Unknown*, by consisting of interconnected stories and by being a multi-protagonist narrative, functions as a canvas where concepts such as globalization, trans-nationalism, migration, mobility and fragmentation can be articulated.

Keywords: Europe, diversity, borders, multicultural, film

Neofytos Aspriadis & John Paravantis

The Chicken Game Strategy in the European Discourse: The Case of the Euro-group negotiations for Greece

The European negotiation of the Greek Debt during the first six months of the SYRIZA Administration in Greece was dominated by the conflict between two powerful men: the ministers of economy of Greece and Germany. The negotiating

positions were domesticated and represented by the two personalities, transforming the debate in a personal case. The individual image attributes were strategically mobilized to enhance the negotiations of Greece and Germany and construct the image of SYRIZA' administration. Processes of institutional image enhancement by transfer of image attributes from individuals holding position in the institution (country, government or party) automatically mobilized a degradation process of the image of these people by their opponents. In order to escalate the debate and raise the stakes of the negotiation, the two parties employed game theoretic concepts through the media and their discourse. Their interaction may be modeled by the game of chicken, which was transformed into a strategy employed through the strategic communication of the parties. This paper explores the way in which the adversaries employed game theory rhetorically and transformed the game of chicken into a rhetorical strategy sending messages across, that aimed at the construction of specific perceptions about the otherness in order to frame the negotiation process. The rhetorical strategies that were used by the Ministers of Economy of Greece and Germany (Drs. Yanis Varoufakis and Wolfgang Schäuble correspondingly) during the heated negotiation of Greece and Europe, are considered to be part of a general strategic communication plan in order to build perceptions, images and alliances within the Euro - group and the Eurozone and lead the process to a desired outcome. In the framework of the campaign mode of the two parties, game theoretic tools were employed as a means of strategic communication in order to prime certain aspects of conflict and become part of the general strategy. The main research hypothesis is that the employment of the rhetorical strategies (such as risk, threat, values, fear appeal, fearmongering, attack and defense) may construct the concept of the strategies followed in the game of chicken through the use of strategic communication tools. The methodology is the structured qualitative content analysis. A corpus is composed by press releases, the speeches, the positions of the protagonists and the media reports on the subject.

Keywords: European economic crisis, European discourse, strategic communication, greek debt crisis, Euro-group negotiations, Game Theory, Chicken Game

Nazli Avdan

Competing constructions of groupings in the European Parliament

The European Parliament (EP) is the scene where certain issues concerning over 500 million peoples of "Europe" are publicly debated. It is the scene where groupings and intergroup boundaries are discursively co-constructed. In other words, definitions of 'we' and 'other' are debated in the European Parliament as the speakers pursue their political agendas. Simultaneously, intergroup boundaries are drawn, maintained, and/ or transgressed as Members of the Parliament (MEPs) take stance on behalf a grouping in relation to presupposed

other groupings and argue what differentiates the 'self' from 'others'. That is done through the two-stancetaking activities (Haddington, 2007): 'positioning' and 'alignment'. This research in progress examines how groupings and intergroup boundaries are discursively constructed in the EP. The focus of the analysis is on the two aforementioned stance-taking activities that MEPs operate in the question types they formulate. The corpus of the study is composed of a collection of "blue-card" question-answer sequences in the plenary debates held in the European Parliament between 2008, when the European Debt Crisis Broke, until the end of 2011, when the crisis was relatively stabilized. The theoretical frameworks of the study are drawn by Theories of Intergroup Behavior, Positioning theory and social constructivist approaches to discourse analysis. The preliminary results of the present study show that the construction of groupings and intergroup boundaries is a dynamic process that displays a "collaborative competition" between contradictory ideologies and political agendas. The speakers do so as they strategically manipulate their opponents' utterances in order to build up their arguments. In that, a reoccurring pattern of "formulation, assessment, new proposal" is observed not only in blue-card questions and answers but also in the initial speeches of the speakers that take blue-card questions.

Keywords: Groupings, intergroup boundaries, stance-taking, positioning, alignment

Fabienne Baidar & Maria Constantinou

Refugee crisis, media coverage and ideological positioning in France and Cyprus

The unprecedented scale of the migrant crisis of 2015 in Europe has been largely covered by the European media discourses. However, as expected, media coverage varies according mainly to the ideological positioning, the political agenda the media want to serve, and their target readership. Given the critical importance of media discourse and its persuasive power in shaping, manipulating and fabricating the public opinion against or in favour of migrants (Fowler 1991, Van Dijk 1991, 1998), this paper proposes to closely examine the refugee crisis through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis. By using corpus linguistics methodologies (Bednarek 2008) and tools (Sketch engine), it explores comparable corpora drawn mainly from daily French and Greek Cypriot newspapers such as *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde*, *Libération*, *L'Humanité* / *Politis*, *Simerini*, *Phileleftheros*, *Charavgi*, published over the same period (September 2015-December 2015), by identifying salient lexical items (collocates and keywords) related to refugees and migrants. The debate focuses mainly on how to handle this issue and the national problems occurred by mass migration in the affected European countries. In this sense, rhetoric strategies such as legitimization, authority legitimization, rationalization or moralization (cf. Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999, Van Leeuwen 2008), etc. are put forward to justify and reinforce the ideological and political positioning of each mass medium. We focus on the discourses of

solidarity, dramatization and victimization (empathy and compassion) in favour of migrants and on how discourses promoting their demonization (fear and hate exploring mainly amalgams based on Islamic terrorism) and the self-victimization of European citizens (discourses of the Self) deconstruct pro-migrant arguments and EU policies related to the refugee issue. Our comparative perspective aims to shed light on commonalities of the rhetorical means and strategies which seem to be determined by the ideological orientation of and political agendas supported by the mass media concerned.

Keywords: Refugee crisis, media coverage, ideological orientation, French and Greek Cypriot press, critical discourse analysis

Kitti Baracsi

Specified and excluded? Transnational experiences of Roma children and their struggles of self-identification in the European context

The main scope of this paper is the critical examination of the categories offered by policies of different levels and by the educational practice for the framing of transnational childhood in the case of Roma in the EU, and the experiences of Roma children and families. The main questions of the paper are: What are the conditions in which a European pupil with transnational experiences can identify with a European identity or with one or more national identities? What are the restrictions on multiple identities that are applied through different discourses in policies and educational practices? What is the connection between the way Roma identity appears in those discourses and the space for self-identification? How much do the top down Roma policies limit the “accessible” narratives on belonging? How does the professional (educational) literature relate to that and what are the concrete practical approaches of the public schools and NGOs? What are the concrete experiences of children and families? What are their concrete strategies to struggle in defining their identity in this over-politicized, restricted discursive space? What kind of resistance can we find and how can we interpret it? How does the “local” play role in the constitution of belonging? Regarding the wider interpretation the paper looks at: How do the discrepancies between the core mobility discourses within the EU and the (recent) restrictions on the mobility of certain groups reveal the ways of excluding Roma from an imagined European identity? How can we interpret those local solutions for example in Italy which reconstruct the borders within a city by the design and implementation of policies that support the presence of EU citizen Roma in reception centers and informal camps? What kind of distortions in special Roma policies (see nomad cultural policies or Roma minority law) can lead in certain contexts to the construction of “Roma” as less Europeans? Finally the paper intends to draw some prospective: how can the academic knowledge on European identity, transnational childhood, mobility in Europe and in the world contribute to the discourses of policies and

pedagogical literature and practices in order to provide a space for alternative framings of belonging for Roma children with transnational experiences. The paper's findings are based on an extensive ethnographic research (including collaborative ethnography with different educational actors: pupils, teachers, families, NGOs) on the experiences of Roma students in two different localities, in Hungary and in Italy and their relation to political and professional discourses on the education of Roma in Europe. Moreover it draws upon the literature of children's mobility and transnational childhood and its implication in educational settings. The view on privileged and underprivileged groups is complemented with the researcher's position itself which implies a critical reflexive analysis of the author's own experiences as a mother of a child with transnational experiences and Roma background, though in a privileged position.

Keywords: multiple identities, transnational childhood, Roma, mobility, migration

Alexandra Bardan

Visual Representations of Crisis on the “Debating Europe” Platform Theme: Images of crisis and recovery in Europe

Launched in 2011, the on-line platform “Debating Europe” aims, through a bottom-up approach, to encourage communication and interaction between EU policy-makers and experts and European citizens, as a “virtual public sphere where three principles rule: inclusiveness, diversity, and citizen participation” (Cmeciu, 2014). Website architecture and design are simple, using a minimalist style, focusing on the effectiveness of the user interaction right from the home page. Each debate is accompanied by an image illustrating the topic. The images (photographs, drawings, diagrams, icons etc.) are either produced in-house, or selected from the Flickr Creative Commons database. Since the creation of the “Debating Europe” platform, a recurring debated theme is the economic crisis and the effects of the crisis on the labor market in the European Union. Although highly discussed in media and cultural studies, the concept of “crisis” seems difficult to be represented visually: how does the crisis look like? As an abstract term, drawings, cartoons and infographics are recommended solutions instead of photographic images (Gervereau, 2004; Brielmaier and Wolf, 1999). Moreover, as Gervereau points out, the rhetoric of photographic illustrations should strongly be considered within the context of the discourse and the image-text relation. This paper analyses the visual representations of the crisis on the “Debating Europe” platform, focusing on a body of photographic images as visual illustrations to the topic related debates. Developing on a visual framing analysis perspective, this study has a twofold aim: first, to assess the direct, or the indirect connection of the photographic illustration with the debated topic; second, to elaborate a model of visual framing analysis focused on the visual rhetoric that these images convey, in order to (re)trace how visual meaning is communicated and whether the photographic representations of the crisis may be subject to conflicting and

contradictory interpretations, ones that maybe were not intended. In this respect, a subsequent question is whether the editorial choice of images plays a significant role in the further development of the debates.

Acknowledgement: This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research and Innovation, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number PN-II-RU-TE-2014-4-0599.

Keywords: Debating Europe, visual framing analysis, photographic images, visual representation, crisis

Alla Belova

Ethnicity and Pan-Europeanism in European Discourse

For many years the European Union has been creating a single state with external frontiers only, common political and economic space, pan-European culture on the basis of European civilization, Christianity, fundamental European values, common European historical narrative, English as a new lingua franca. The fall of the Berlin Wall which resulted into the unification of Germany became a symbolic starting point in the progress to borderless Europe. Internal border controls were abolished, Schengen area guaranteed security, mobility, high living standard, convenience and comfort. Therefore the EU became a new highly competitive centre of political and economic power within current geopolitical configuration as well as an attractive migration destination. The EU regulated migration issues via diversity and multiculturalism policy. Creating Pan-European culture and shaping Pan-European identity, Europeans tried to break any ethnic stereotyping in behavior and communication. Despite all efforts, difference in mentality, traditions, way of life, even variation in the English language competence revealed themselves in the periods of diverse complications. As a result, national identity and nation state quite often overshadowed Pan-Europeanism. Finally, European leaders had to admit that multiculturalism as a policy in Europe failed. The economic crisis of 2008 became a challenge and a threat for the EU as Germany proved its leadership while some other countries faced default. Intergration and convergence as a strategy yielded to nationalism and divergence. But prior occasional disagreements among the EU member states, as well the 2008 financial crisis look insignificant in comparison with the migrant crisis of 2015 which coincided with the terrorist attacks. These events, masterminded outside Europe, changed the situation radically: nation states began to erect razor-wire border fences protecting their territory, population, living standards, their mother-tongues, trying to avoid financial burden and shifting responsibility to other EU member states's shoulders. Nation states regained their status again. Within few weeks the lofty idea of Pan-European identity yielded to national identity. The refugee crisis transformed the vision of diversity and multiculturalism. Europeans split into those who welcome refugees and those who strongly oppose their arrival. This split is much deeper than the opposition of opponents and proponents of Eurointegration. Moreover, refugees from different

countries, scattered over Europe and having the same goal – to get settled in the richest European countries - keep close within their ethnic communities unwilling to assimilate and intergrate into the EU. Thus, national identity prevails again. Ethnicity is becoming a key concept in Europe and the globalized world. European refugee crisis, Ukrainian crisis, current dynamism in international relations revitalized all historical background, historical parallels, heterostereotypes, “We-dom - They-dom” opposition in discourse generation. Conflictual component of current discourse is tangible at all levels. Multiculturalism as a component of Pan-European policy verbalized via discourse is to become more effective otherwise Europe might witness the clash of civilization due to the conflict of cultural and religious identities as Samuel P. Huntington predicted. Since WWII religious and cultural conflict might pose the most serious challenge for Europe as a civilization center.

Keywords: ethnicity, diversity, border, borderless Europe, multiculturalism, Pan-Europeanism, Pan-European identity, national identity, ethnic stereotyping

Pilar G. Blitvich & Maria Sifianou

Problematising them: Discourses of the far right in Southern Europe

The aim of this presentation is to analyze the micro-level construction of the *other* by two Southern European, neo-Nazi groups, one Greek – Golden Dawn (GD) – and one Spanish, Hogar Social (HS). The former was the inspiration behind the creation of the latter. Both GD and HS emerged not so much as a continuation of a tradition of far right ideologies in both countries, but mostly as a reaction to the debilitating economic effects of the 2008 crisis and concomitant negative feelings generated by levels of immigration neither country had experienced before.

One of the effects that globalization has on identity, according to Blommaert (2013), is *superdiversity*, which he defines following Vertovec (2007, 2010) as “diversity within diversity, a tremendous increase in the texture of diversity in societies such as ours” (Blommaert, 2013, p. 4). In his view, the interaction of new and more complex forms of migration, communication and knowledge circulation has resulted into a situation which has made it difficult to answer these two questions: who is the *other*? And who are *we*? Blommaert argues that the *other* is now a category in constant flux about which very little can be presumed. *We*, as a result, have become much more complex. Our lives are differently organized and distributed over online and offline sites “involving worlds of knowledge, information and communication that were simply unthinkable two decades ago” (Blommaert, 2013, pp.5-6).

The effects of superdiversity are clearly visible in our corpus that includes face to face conversations extracted from Georgousis’s (2013) documentary on Golden Dawn and sequences of comments included in Hogar Social’s public Facebook page. The difference between the present analysis and most other previous studies on *othering* is the fact that ours offers insights into a bottom-up

construction of the other carried out by marginal groups, not the elites. In our corpus, the *other*, as predicted by Blommaert (2013), is certainly in constant flux, which is reflected in the use of discursive processes of selective dissociation (García-Bedolla 2003; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou, forthcoming) in which who is *them*, and therefore, who *we* are constantly switches. More importantly, our study focuses on how superdiversity is realized at the micro-discursive level. Results of the analysis show that superdiversity is discursively constructed by conflictual linguistic strategies; these results thus corroborate the key role of conflictual discourse in processes of identity construction (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2009).

Keywords: Golden Dawn, Hogar Social, superdiversity, othering, conflictual strategies

Ivo Bosilkov

Brussels via Athens: Reverse mobilization in Macedonian attitudes on EU after exposure to positive news frames on Greece

A famous study on EU public opinion states that in the absence of direct knowledge about an entity perceived as distant and bureaucratic, individuals form their attitudes on the Union through proxies (Anderson, 1998). These proxies are declared to be system support (satisfaction for the performance of institutions), attitudes towards the incumbent national governments, or simply political parties' attitude towards the EU. However, can the attitude towards a single EU member state act as a proxy for support of EU integration among citizens of an EU candidate state? The unique case of the Republic of Macedonia with its complicated relationship with EU member Greece offers the possibility to test this hypothesis. In an experimental study, taking the influence of media as an often overlooked determinant of support for the integration process as its main premise, Macedonians have been exposed to different news frames regarding neighbouring Greece, which has been blocking Macedonia's EU accession due to a bilateral dispute. The aim was to discover how different combinations of frame valence (positive and negative) and frame issue arising from two of the strongest EU support determinants (economic and national identity) would impact their attitudes on EU integration and levels of Euroskepticism. Due to the complex identity dispute of the two countries and the salience of Greece-related frames in Macedonia, experimental research in this setting about framing effects and EU attitudes requires exceptional subtlety. That was reflected in the outcome of the study, where results have been surprising and somewhat counterintuitive, showing that individuals in fact exhibit less support for the EU when exposed to a positive frame about Greece. However, a decidedly original approach explaining this phenomenon would be by utilizing Schuck and De Vreese's (2008) concept of reverse mobilization, according to which people facing positive news about an EU referendum are more mobilized to vote against, if their prior beliefs are opposed to it, because they become more motivated to prevent an outcome that disturbs the status quo. So far, this principle hasn't been applied to a non-referendum

setting, but as this context mimics a hypothetical EU accession question, it can reveal why individuals who were exposed to a positive frame were keen to oppose the newly acquired information that run counter to their beliefs. After all, showing Greece in a positive light is bound to raise eyebrows - and skepticism - in the Republic of Macedonia. In addition to this major finding, the study also demonstrates how people consider the economic factor to be more prominent than the threat of national identity loss, despite the identity-centred nature of the dispute with Greece. Despite this, the perception of national identity as important to EU accession is shown to increase after exposure to an identity frame. However, these findings are considered secondary to the one about reverse mobilization, which would be the main focus on the presentation.

Keywords: EU, public opinion, Macedonia, Greece, media, national identity, reverse mobilization

Salomi Boukala & Dimitra Dimitrakopoulou

The discursive (de)construction of European identity: Analysing social media in times of “Greferendum”

The Greek bailout referendum (Greferendum) took place on 5th July, 2015 in a climate of political polarization and economic insecurity. The Greek Prime Minister and leader of the left wing party Syriza, Alexis Tsipras, called on voters to say ‘No’ to European and national blackmails. On the other hand, the majority of the opposition parties (New Democracy, To Potami, PASOK) were urging a ‘Yes’ vote, saying that a ‘No’ vote will interrupt Greece’s European process. By focusing on the political parties and their leaders’ social media accounts (Facebook & Twitter), we intend to examine Greek politicians’ discourses on Europe, illustrate the discursive dichotomy between the Greeks and Europeans and investigate whether and how the non-elite media discourse could contribute either to the discursive construction of a (supra)national European identity or to the resurgence of nationalism. Our aim is to introduce a multi-methodical, interdisciplinary approach in the analysis of social media genres. By synthesizing ethnographic approaches and the discursive strategies of the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) of the Critical Discourse Studies, we seek to explore the discursive strategies employed in the construction of in-groups and out-groups, and especially what strategies of argumentation are applied in the parties and politicians’ discourses and how they lead to the construction of political and (supra)national ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’. Drawing upon the tradition of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995), our aim is first to introduce a multi-sited social media ethnography and thereafter to proceed to the analysis of the social media discourses in times of ‘Greferendum’. We assume that our multi-methodical, interdisciplinary approach of social media discourses reveals discriminatory and nationalist messages are embedded in political discourses and social media genres, and silent strategies and dynamics that are linked to the discursive construction of (supra)national identities.

Keywords: Greek politics, social media discourses, European identity, nationalism

European corporate values and practices: from CSR to “greenwash”

These days companies use CSR as an interface between businesses and society. The interpretation of CSR one makes, influences the dialogue between governments, private sector and civil society. This results in different implications among various parties regarding the legitimacy, obligations and impact of corporate social responsibility standards. The most comprehensive definition of CSR is the one of World Business Council for Sustainable Development: “CSR is the continuing commitment by business to behave ethically and contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the local community and society at large”. But there are many other definitions that describe the practices and behavior the companies should show. Unfortunately, the result of the multitude of interpretations of CSR was that some companies used it only in their own interest, in what is called (Galicano, 2011, Lyon, & Maxwell, 2011) “greenwash” (dissemination of false information to hide the abuses towards environment or to present a positive public image) or “spin” (making-up information). Our case study is HOLZINDUSTRIE SCHWEIGHOFER (Austria); we intend to analyze the difference between the company's declared mission and the real activity it has in Romania. The company is assuming European values declaring its support for those values and the care for environment. But a lot of media investigation in Romania revealed exactly the opposite: company's activity is harming environment, by illegal and abusive clearing. Using qualitative content analysis, we will examine the CSR messages of Holzindustrie Schweighofer and the journalists' discourse to identify the key words and the major themes. Starting from the distinctions of Decaudin et al., (2006) between wished image (what company wishes to send to different publics) and transmitted image (translation of wished image in different messages), this study will show the way media frames the firm's actions. The difference between the transmitted image and the perceived one leads to a process of reshaping values and sets Holzindustrie Schweighofer's CSR campaigns in ‘greenwash’ communication category. This kind of disfunction draws attention to negative effects that the corporate interests and actions can have when they contradict shared European values.

Keywords: corporate social communication, corporate image, European values, greenwash

Maria Calzada Perez

Using corpus-assisted discourse studies to explore the European Economic Crisis

The present paper combines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) (see Partington, Duguid, and Taylor 2013) in order to explore European Parliament's (micro) communicative features in (macro) context. More precisely, the paper examines discourses on the economic crisis at the time of the Great Depression, whose peak may be placed between 2008 and 2010 (Copsey 2015), but which started earlier -- at least after the rejection, in 2005, of the European Constitution -- and lingers on even now. The Great Depression shows, as Bauman (2004) argues, that Europe in general (and the EU in particular) is becoming liquid. There are no more certainties, no more safety spaces, and no more comfort areas either for citizens or states. The paper uses corpus technologies and tools to identify (micro) linguistic traces of the (macro) contextual phenomena related above. It therefore counts on frequency as an "indicator of markedness" (Baker, 2010:125); keywords and clusters as "somewhat more sophisticated" (Baker, 2010:134) "point[s] of entry" (Baker 2010:133) of analysis; and concordances to identify trends and strategies. In order to perform the (micro) analysis, the European Comparable and Parallel Corpora of Parliamentary Speeches (ECPC) is resorted to. This is a bilingual archive of parliamentary speeches from 2004-2011's proceedings of the European Parliament (EP), the Spanish Congreso de los Diputados (CD) and the British House of Commons (HC). Compiled at the Universitat Jaume I (Spain), the archive incorporates sociolinguistic information (i.e. speakers' status, gender, constituency, party affiliation, birth-date, birth-place, post, and institutional body and sub-body of representation) and data on the structure of sessions, through XML annotation, that makes it unique.

Keywords: European Parliament, corpus-assisted discourse studies, critical discourse analysis, crisis, ECPC

Paola Cattani

Europe and the Other during the '30: Eurocentric and globalized perspectives in the League of Nations Conferences

This paper will investigate the conflict between the Eurocentric and the globalized perspective as it emerges from an historical corpus: the proceedings of two international conferences organized by the League of Nations in 1936 in Budapest and in 1937 in Buenos Aires and dedicated respectively to "Vers un nouvel humanisme" and "Europe-Amérique Latine". These two conferences stand out from the others organized by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations (eight conferences which, between 1932 and 1939, gather intellectuals such as Paul Valéry, Thomas Mann, Miguel de Unamuno,

Johan Huizinga, etc. to discuss the identity and history of Europe) because they both deal with and convey an external perspective on Europe, due to the location where they are held (Budapest and Buenos Aires instead of Paris, Madrid or Venice as in the other conferences) and to their main topics which address the issue of the loss of centrality of Europe. The corpus under analysis in this paper has never been studied before from a discursively-rooted standpoint, and it enables to appraise within an historical perspective some themes and contents which are essentials also to the present contemporary debate. The participants to the LN conferences – who exchange in French – make extensive use of concepts and oppositions such as “choc de civilisations” (clash of civilisations), “civilisations nouvelles” (new cultures), “national/universel” (nation vs universe), “Européen-Occidental/planétaire” (European-Occidental vs global), and they question in particular the notion of “humanism”, with which, on one hand, Europe often identifies herself and which, on the other hand, has embedded in its very definition the aspiration to universality. What notions and patterns of conceptualization are developed in those debates in order to question the centrality of Europe? How is the concept of Europe differently articulated by the various participants to this debate? In particular, what differences can be highlighted between participants with an European-oriented and European-centred perspective, and those who bring, for geographical, historical and cultural reasons, perspectives external to Europe? In this paper we will answer to these questions through a methodological approach that weaves Discourse Analysis into Conceptual History. In particular we will explore how the rhetorical and argumentative structures of the discourse help shaping the concept of Europe and if and how the debate and the discourse help the participants to overcome the conflicts between their different visions

Keywords: Globalized Europe, eurocentrism, intellectual history, discourse analysis, conceptual history

Silvia Maria Chireac

Multilingual identities of Roma children from Eastern Europe in a globalised world

Globalization is transforming the migratory landscape of the modern world and is having a considerable impact on social and linguistic practices. More than ever, schools have students from dozens of ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds. The school as an institution certainly is one of the most important strategic factors that provided immigrant students with linguistic integration and equality conditions. Migrant children already constitute more than half of the student population in many schools across Europe. Europe's social cohesion strongly depends on the successful integration and inclusion of these children. In this respect, one particular case portraying the challenges of immigration and integration is the situation of Roma children who are enrolled in the education systems of Western EU countries, where they often face different forms of segregation. The European Commission's policy of promoting multilingualism

and cultural diversity to foster European citizenship has led to excellent results. However, the current economic crisis and lack of effective political integration within EU member states have promoted protectionism, which is undermining key principles of EU citizenship. This paper focuses on the construction of identity in multilingual Roma students who have been exposed to different languages in immigrant contexts. It examines the effects of different school environments on Roma students with a complex cultural and linguistic background. The narratives show different feelings toward the issue of multilinguality which includes also the constructive negotiation of identity and belonging. This paper also provides an in-depth analysis of the situation of Roma children from Eastern Europe, highlighting the barriers and opportunities for improving and protecting their human rights in the EU education system. It proposes specific measures and a series of recommendations that contribute to the further implementation of the right to a free education as well as the access to education in their own language and culture which must promote democracy and non-discrimination for Roma children in diverse immigrant-receiving Southern European countries.

Keywords: construction of identity, Roma children, multilingualism, human rights

Piotr Chmiel

Still in fashion? Reconsidering conceptual elements of the Central European identity in the context of discourse on the idea of Europe

Thirty years ago the idea of Central Europe experienced an unexpected revival. Thanks to works created by authors as Kundera, Miłosz and Szucs this concept of imaginative geography was (re-)defined in geographical, historical, cultural and even moral terms and started to be used and discussed by historians and thinkers from both sides of the Iron Curtain. After several years the discourse on Central Europe contributed to a development of the political situation in Europe by providing arguments for admission of several post-communist countries to the Western political world. Shortly thereafter the idea seemed to have lost its power. This fate of its popularity enabled numerous scholars, among them Todorova, to criticise the idea of Central Europe as created and promoted in order to fulfill given political aims and thus inappropriate to describe historical and cultural particulars of a broader region lying between the EU-15 and Russia. Although questionable, this criticism seems to reflect a common perception of the Central Europe's image as of a quite recent idea introduced to the humanities with a defined political scope. However, a conviction for a need to define a third entity between the Western and Eastern Europe – being it *Mitteleuropa*, meridian stripe, belt of mixed populations etc. – is wider than alleged attempts of several dissidents from the then communist countries to restore their homelands to the free part of the continent. This phenomenon may be proved by numerous

works on the region created since the 1980s onwards and published both by authors from Central Europe and by thinkers external to the region (as Magris or Garton Ash). Far from treating the idea of Central Europe in political terms, the aim of the paper is to analyse conceptual elements of the image of this continent's part such as its multiculturalism / interculturality, difficult legacy of the 20th-centuries totalitarianisms, postimperial traditions (of Habsburg Monarchy and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and finally a syndrome of being bulwark of the Western civilization against invaders from the East. By reconsidering these elements, I will intend to describe their importance for defining the region and delimiting its imaginative borders. Yet the discourse on Central Europe does not seem to limit its significance to this part of the continent, but it can serve as a good indicator of reformulation of the idea of Europe ongoing during last thirty years. Using examples from scholars' works on the idea of Europe I will try to show how the abovementioned conceptual elements of the image of Central Europe are applied to the discourse on the whole continent's identity and what connotation is attributed to them in this context. In other words, why the understanding of multiculturalism, otherness and post-totalitarian foundation myth seems to be different in case of discourse on Europe and on its (nominally) central part? What role of bordering empires is ascribed to the development of both imaginative entities? Trying to answer similar questions, I will assess a presumed attractiveness of the discourse on Central Europe for the present-day discussion on European identity.

Keywords: Central Europe, imaginative geographies, interculturality, totalitarianisms, empire

Nikolaos Christopoulos, Afroditi Papaioannou-Spyroulia & Emmanouil Takas

Metaphorical Representations of Europe in the Greek Press

Conceptual (cognitive) metaphor refers to the understanding of a concept in terms of another (e.g. "Politics is business", "Life is a journey"); based on this definition, metaphors shape not just our communication, but also the way we think and act – generally, they are seen in language in our everyday lives (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Papaioannou-Spyroulia, 2009). Metaphor, due to its symbolic representation, serves as understanding and experiencing concept X in terms of concept Y by placing arguments, identities and thoughts into a wider dimension of meaning that is experientially based (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/1999/2003). Metaphors, as figurative linguistic concepts and heuristic devices, shape the representation of identities via providing an opportunity of understanding and evaluating social surroundings under various perspectives. Hence people are expected to apply to politics the same information shortcuts they have learned to use throughout life (Lau & Redlawsk, 2001), metaphors not only shape identities but underline the heuristic connection between concepts (Bougher, 2012). In other words, metaphors allow the general public to grasp the meanings of

political events and feel part of the socio-political process (Mio, 1997). McGraw and Dolan (2007) proposed that personifying the state has consequences on attitude formation. In addition, this personification can be embodied in different ways in particular through prominent elected leaders, dictators, monarchs or any other figure that is salient in each political system (Takas and Papaioannou-Spiroulia, 2015). Since Europe is a more abstract political and financial construct further research is needed to explore through which metaphorical mechanisms its identity is being constructed or delegitimized. Focusing on Greece, the financial and social turmoil and the subsequent measures of three Memorandums triggered shifts not only in domestic political communication but in the representation of the identity of Europe. Many debates were held regarding the role of Europe in the Greek paradigm. Based on the above, our analysis focuses on the Sunday central themes of three major Greek newspapers serving different political perspectives in order to respond to questions as: a) How is Europe represented by the Greek press? b) Which are the most prominent characteristics of the European identity through personification? c) How do personified characteristics of Europe shape the Greek political perspective of the European identity? d) Is there a differentiation of metaphorical representation of Europe due to the political orientation of each newspaper? Content analysis is deployed in order to pinpoint and categorize each metaphor regarding Europe along with the fundamental characteristics. The analysis focuses the official transcripts of the discussions held by the Greek Parliament. Researchers are expecting to reveal interesting aspects of the European public political knowledge and political identity via processing the wide-used metaphors in the Greek press

Keywords: Metaphors, identity, Greece, memorandum, press

Adriana-Claudia Cîteia & Mihaela Ivănescu

The Haplogroup Identity: Political and Cultural Meanings. Can Today's Political Parties Be Identified as Modern Types of Haplogroups?

If the meaning ascribed for the nation is a group of those born on a given territory, with a specific cultural matrix and history, with a specific feeling of belonging and identification, then the meaning of a haplogroup emphasizes the non-native dimension of a small, simple group of people, defined in a virtual cronotopic context, with same concerns and values and with real or fictionalized identities. While in Antiquity and Middle Ages the identity hypostasis were successive, in Modern Age they manifest simultaneously, determining the apparition of decentered subject, with multiple identities. Wlad Godzich uses the concept of celerity to define the speed of the subjective time and the capacity of passing from an identity to another, of psychic dissociation (dipsychism). The platonic and Christian model of the "unity with the self", of the mind as unitary space is

pulverized, the consequence being the assuming of multiple role identities and of interpersonal identities which protect the intimacy of the individual, but which produce distancing from the others and the “cult of authenticity”. The potential of multiple identities, configured following the interaction with the others, warrants the situational identity and the perception of the individual by the others in terms of the role that he is playing as a member of a group defined without spatial and temporal compulsion, as a haplogroup. We will try to analyze, as a case study in this paper, the Romanian political parties, in order to identify those characteristics that can define them as haplogroups, both between them, in the Romanian political system, but also as political actors in the European Union. The main research questions are on what extend can we approach the political parties as haplogroups and how does this particular behaviour impacts on their capacity to represent fairly their electors, to carry on an ideological line and to keep their defining role in the society, even if we are referring to the national society, or to the European one.

Keywords: identity, fictionalization, haplogroup, political party, ideology, behaviour, policronia, hipotiposis

Camelia Cmeciu & Madalina Manolache

To have or not to have a common European identity? Insights into the e-citizens' discursive (de)legitimation

The online subsidiarity adopted by EU through online platforms has allowed a new form of European citizenship where the EU citizens turned into active content producers. Alongside with Futurum or EUROPA, the 'Debating Europe' platform is a transnational communicative space where citizens engage themselves in debates on various EU issues alongside with other EU citizens and policy-makers. In this paper the discursive online power-holders will be the EU citizens who will debate upon the advantages and disadvantages of having a common European identity. Our choice for this particular strand of dialogue has one main reason: the skepticism that European citizens showed towards European identity. The Eurobarometer 77 (2012) highlighted two important aspects: (1) 49% of Europeans opted for an identity where their nationality comes before being European, 39% identified themselves with only their nationality and 3% described themselves as European only; (2) for Europeans the key to strengthening their sense of European citizenship is based more on social welfare than on political rights. The sample will include 240 comments and the primary units of analysis will be words and key phrases. The two debates on which we will focus our network and discursive analyses are: “Do you feel part of a common European identity?” (launched - October 29, 2013) and “Is a common European identity possible?” (launched December 19, 2011). We will employ a discursive analysis and a network analysis of the comments posted by EU citizens on the 'Debating Europe' platform over the issue of a common European identity. By combining the ideological structures and the discursive strategies (van Dijk, 2000; van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999;

van Leeuwen, 2008) we will develop an integrated model of (de)legitimation which encompasses three forms of (de)legitimation: (de)legitimation through membership and position, (de)legitimation through goals, activities and resources and (de)legitimation through norms and values. The network analysis (NodeXL and Qda Miner software) will help us in mapping the interaction among the EU citizens who participated in the debate by means of conceptual associations of key words and phrases and thematical coding by using two codes, namely norms and values, in order to intertwine the two analyses. Based on similarity coefficients (Jaccard and Cosinus) and on cluster analyses within the networks of conceptual associations, we will identify and validate those associations relevant for our integrated model of (de)legitimation. This integrated model of discursive (de)legitimation will reveal the most relevant discursive structures and strategies of legitimation and delegitimation used in the online representation of a common European identity.

Acknowledgement: This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research and Innovation, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number PN-II-RU-TE-2014-4-0599.

Keywords: ideology, discursive analysis, network analysis, e-citizens

Cinzia Colaiuda

Plurilingualism in Europe: promoting language and cultural diversity

The main aim of this paper is to describe the main effects of language education policies of the European Union on language and culture integration at school level, through the outcome analysis of an action research project carried out in primary and lower secondary schools in Italy, Languages of schooling and plurilingual and intercultural curriculum (2011- 2015). The theoretical framework of the project itself was based on the main studies on plurilingualism and intercultural education that have been carried out in the last decades by European scholars and researchers. Data were collected to underline the importance of plurilingual and intercultural education in the so called “fluid” society, characterized by strong waves of migration that imply the coexistence of multiple identities and cultures in the same multilingual context. They also show how the application of those policies engaged teachers to use plurilingual and intercultural approaches and to reflect on their positive effects on pupils’ behavior towards “otherness” through metacognition processes. They demonstrate that the development of curricula based on plurilingualism and interculturality constitute not only a key factor for improving children’s communication skills, but also a good practice for integrating them in school life, also through the pro-active participation of their parents on the basis of a whole community approach. It is shown that the valorization and validation

of cultures and languages of origin can boost both children's and adults' self - confidence and self - esteem in second language learning. On this way, a better linguistic and cultural integration of migrants can be fostered on the basis of a new conception of diversity, since it is seen and perceived as an added value by the whole school community that can be considered as a solid "bridge" between the effects of new migrations and the whole social context. Furthermore, they show the positive effect of a bottom up approach to education, based on the theoretical paradigms of the action research model considered as a key factor for school innovation, social cohesion and cultural changes. The application of the main theoretical and legislative principles of school autonomy - as conceived by the European Union - was the fundamental premise for the development of the whole project.

Keywords: plurilingualism, interculturality, identity, integration, action research

Cristina Coman & Mihaela Păun

E-communicating with e-citizens through the "Debating Europe" Platform

In the context of the European (digitalized) global village all public institutions, especially the European Union's agencies, directorates and units needed to enhance their online visibility through a complex array of communication platforms – their websites, webcast portals, social media pages or any other type of virtual platforms - thus converting the offline motto "United in diversity" in a virtual unity in diversity. Responding to the evolution of information and communication technologies (ICTs), the platform www.debatingeurope.eu was launched in September 2011 by the Brussels-based think tank Friends of Europe and Europe's World, the only Europe-wide policy journal, in partnership with the European Parliament, Microsoft and Gallup, "to encourage a genuine conversation between Europe's politicians and the citizens they serve – and that means taking YOUR questions, comments and ideas directly to policy makers for them to respond" (<http://www.debatingeurope.eu/about>, accessed on 12.11.2015). Starting from the objective of the platform and using the framing theory, we focused this research on three of the six channels of "Debating Europe", namely "Smarter Europe", "Global" and "Europe-Asia" to find the specific frames that e-citizens - the public, PR specialists, officials or analysts may present, interpret and assign meanings to the specific topics, policies, and directives of European Union. Between 2011 and 2015, the debates on the Global channel are developing around a series of recurring themes. One of the most important seems the theme concerning the enlargement of the European Union or maintaining it within its current limits, along with discussions on the capacity of Balkan countries or Turkey to meet the European requirements. For the Asia-Europe debating strand one can note the following debate directions: the economic crisis and the effects of the crisis on the labor market in the European Union, along with the accelerated development

of Asian countries with significant potential for growth, such as China and India, in specific sectors: research, technology and sustainable development. Related to the Smarter channel, topics about financial issues tend to generate comments about disintegration of the concept and the EU institutions. Our study examines, through qualitative content analysis, the most relevant frames and issues associated with the three channels, the most commented topics and their relevance in accordance with the political and social problems of the European Union. The analysis offers an overview of ideas and concerns of the e-citizens, with responses and feedbacks from experts and policies makers.

Acknowledgement: This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research and Innovation, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number PN-II-RU-TE-2014-4-0599.

Keywords: framing theory, social media, European policies, e-citizens, e-communication

Maria Constantinou

Europe and anti-European sentiments through metaphorical conceptualizations: A Critical discourse analysis of Facebook political discussions over the Greek referendum of the 5th July 2015

The unexpected resounding No of the 5th July to continued austerity echoed a great disapproval and rejection of a Germany - dominated Europe and a strong claim for radical change in Europe or the abandon of it and return to the drachma. The referendum fueled reactions which on Facebook were both expressed verbally and symbolically. Such conceptualizations appeared to express, mobilize or to further intensify anti- Brussels and anti-Germany sentiments. The study relies on comments posted on Alexis Tsipras' site on the Facebook during the pre- and post- referendum period (about 600 000 words) and sets out to investigate how conceptual metaphors in political discussions on Facebook shaped the ideological positioning(s) and created or intensified affects which seemed to prevail in the field of those who fervently expressed themselves in favour of NO. Comments formulated during that period seem to reflect the reactions of the Greek people to what was happening on a European level against their country and the social representations of Europe by Greek people. Such conceptualisations can be safely interpreted against austerity measures and a tyrannizing 'German' Europe and as linguistic tools which further intensify the polarisation process between Us (Greek people and even peoples of Europe) and Them (EU which is mainly described as an elitist oligarchy). Lexical units or expressions such as *χούντα* "junta", *γερμανική δικτατορία* "German dictatorship", *κοράκια* "ravens" etc. are demonstrative of the ideological positioning and emotional dispositions (such despair and anger) of No partisans and reflect the problematic axiological representations of Europe by Greek people. The study lies with Critical Discourse

Analysis (Wodak 2001, 2007; Wodak & Meyer; 2001; Wodak et al. 2009) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff 1991; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999) and uses corpus linguistics tools.

Keywords: conceptual metaphors, Greek referendum, anti-Brussels sentiment, emotions, critical discourse analysis

Dragana Cvetanovic

Living the past: Balkan post-conflict youth narratives

By using ongoing documentary project *Perspektiva* (Perspective 2015) co-produced by Radio Free Europe, Balkan Service and the National Endowment for Democracy, I will discuss how collective memory in the post-conflict Balkan is discussed through youth narratives. High-school teenagers are revealing their ideas on religion, otherness, gender issues, and even immigration and questions on terrorism in various cities across the Balkans. Each city and its youth is introduced in four episodes, of which first three encompasses often colliding opinions while the forth one gathers youngsters from various schools in a large live discussion mediated by one public person, usually one of the socially engaged Balkan rappers. Even though one could expect that post-conflict young people 17-18 years of age would show eagerness of celebrating cultural diversity and peaceful co-existence in their narratives, often these narratives are ruled by ethnocentric sentiments and neo-traditionalisms disconnecting them from the contemporary values of Europeanness.

Keywords: Balkan, youth narratives, collective memory, post-conflict, Europeanness

Julien Danero Iglesias

Securing Europe or Helping Refugees? An Analysis of the Discourse of Those Working at the EU Borders

Romania is in the European Union but not in the Schengen zone. Consequently, Romania has not been as affected by the 'refugee' crisis as neighbouring countries like Hungary. Still, since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, refugees have been entering Romania, notably through the Black Sea, and the Romanian authorities prepared for an expected 'wave' of migrants and refugees. While media outlets were reporting at large about the chaos for example around Budapest train stations, the Romanian authorities started building hastily temporary centres and shelters just next to the country's borders with Serbia. In line with general negative opinions towards migrants and refugees in the public, the Romanian authorities refused EU-proposed quotas of refugees that were eventually imposed. In this context, the paper proposes an innovative approach of the discourse on immigration and borders in the European Union by looking at

the discourses of those who work at the EU external borders, be they physical or symbolic. During a one-year fieldwork in different cities of Romania, from January to December 2015, the author carried out an ethnography of collaborators of state institutions and non-governmental organisations working with migrants and refugees. Following interviews and hours of observation spent, amidst others, with border guards, Romanian language teachers for refugees or counsellors for migrants, the author identified an apparent tension between discourses about, on the one hand, the need to secure and protect the borders of a threatened Europe and, on the other hand, compassion towards migrants and refugees that have traumatizing experiences of poverty, war and displacement. While this tension is made very clear when looking at the discourse of border guards, for example, who might see refugees as an extra workload and as a security threat, it is interesting to note that the same kind of tension can be found in the discourse of activists and NGO workers who have been working in the field for years and show, to some extent, a fatigue towards refugees and migrants that might sometimes be seen as 'ungrateful' or 'lazy'. Joining discourses from both state institutions and NGOs workers and collaborators, and using tools of Critical Discourse Analysis, the paper addresses, in a first section, the tension identified among state institutions workers before linking it, in a second section, to the related tension in the discourse of non-state workers. In a third section, the paper demonstrates that such tensions and discourses are strongly influenced by the current negative economic, social and political context of Romania. The paper concludes by deconstructing 'security' and 'humanitarian' myths of borders and refugees and by linking them to issues of power and inclusion/exclusion. This research is part of a research project on working and researching multilingually at state and (European Union) borders in Bulgaria and Romania, which is carried out in the framework of the AHRC-funded project 'Researching Multilingually at the Borders of Language, the Body, Law and the State'.

Keywords: Borders, European Union, discourse, refugees, Romania

Vassiliki Delli

European Values and Virtues in Discourse: Political Sphere or Public Space?

Half a century after the EU was formed, the very nature of its constitution and the values that govern its development trigger unceasing political debates and doubt. Lacking a unanimous conclusion about what the European Union is, the anguished yet still constructive impetus to the 'end' of the European project was intercepted by an undisputable reality; Europe was faced with an almost 'epidemic' type of crisis: economic, social, political and, for many scholars, deeply existential. Along with the skepticism that the crisis brought about and its long-discussed economic implications, it directly or indirectly shifted the focus to the organic concerns about the EU's political, social and ethical constitution,

both at an institutional and discourse level. Unfortunately, the crisis seemed to reinforce the idea that the EU remains “a political conundrum both as to what it is about and what it should do”, especially in times of hurdles (Williams 2010: 2). In line with many observers, the EU has often been interpreted as “a conceptual chameleon, shifting its purpose depending on the changing political, social, economic and legal environment as well as perspective” (ibid : 3). The political and social uncertainty attached to EU has been often accompanied by the fear that Europe is running the danger of becoming “an incoherent collection of sub-unions lacking any historical, ethnic, psychic –or even geographical- reason to exist” (Allott 1997: 487) with actually no coherent idea of its actuality or an ideal of its potentiality. For many scholars, this fear is attributed to the lack of an “arch” denoted by the philosophical and ethical void that has always permeated the Union’s existence, relating largely to issues of institutional ethos and the nature of the salient values that have directed its development. Although values were embraced early enough in the EU’s history, their specification, scope and depth have always been ambiguous despite the efforts made to define them in the Treaty on European Union, the Treaty of Amsterdam and the latest Lisbon Treaty. Hence, the aim of this paper is to originally attempt to distinguish and elaborate on the distinct meanings ‘values’ have acquired over time within the European context. Are they indeed values with a teleological purpose or do they serve rather as principles and virtues with a deontological objective? Do they politically describe qualities and states of condition considerable for shaping action or political programs lacking indeed the ethical framework desired to provide the EU with its ‘missing soul’? Towards this enquiry, we will trace the corresponding official EU documents that discuss the polysemous concept of ‘values’ and the overall institutional ethos of the Union. By applying Foucault’s post-structuralist discourse theory we will try to show that the EU discourse on values and the European ethos has been for several years the ‘domain of all statements’ (Foucault, 1972-2010). This implies that the institutional ethos generates discourse that constitutes a discursive formation, i.e. series of rules of formation which provide the conditions of existence, co-existence, regularities and transformations towards EU’s overall social discourse. That implies that discourse can be contested and modified as it does eventually happen within the European context. Despite the fact that in some instances we can see how value aspects might be fulfilled, there is no sense of when, where and how this should occur or when, where and how they should interact. Furthermore, no effective political sphere or public space has been created despite claims that this might take place in the EU. The institutional ethos as a whole can be described as chaotic, a patchwork of contingent values with an apparent “liquidity” that turns them “invisible” on the way they are perceived and interpreted by the public lenses. Therefore, can values be viewed as ‘empty signifiers’ and the institutional ethos of Europe a ‘social imaginary’ (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985)? Has the ethical framework of Europe been underpinned so far by an idealized image of the desirable end image? Are there any social antagonisms in the effort to create ‘hegemony’ in the discourse related to the ethos of Europe that could potentially account for the indeterminacy of European values? We conclude by arguing that the institutional ethos of Europe relies on a functional

interpretation of values, centering on principles and particularly the principle of effectiveness. The EU attempts to establish its values retrospectively aiming at reinforcing identity and legitimacy ensuring above all the EU's continuation. In this context, values can be considered a becoming part of the European heritage rather than a reflection of the heritage already in existence.

Keywords: Values, institutional ethos, indeterminacy, principle of effectiveness, discourse theory

Deanna Demetriou

EU expansion and Immigration Discourse in Britain: The Storm Surge that never was

This paper investigates online representations of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants as part of a wider, dynamic discourse of immigration within Britain. On 1st January 2014, British journalists and politicians headed to Luton airport to wait for what was perceived to be an undeniable 'influx' of new EU migrants from Romania and Bulgaria; only to be disappointed by only a handful of newcomers. In the year leading up to this, the topic of EU expansion and immigration fuelled public discourse resulting in heightened awareness and increased speculation. The welfare system was said to be vulnerable to 'benefit tourists'; public services including the NHS and housing had the potential to be 'taken advantage of'; and there seemed to be the possibility for an increase in 'Romanian' criminal gangs. These concerns could be found not only in tabloid press, but also in official government discourse. The advancement of this type of immigration discourse, prior to and after the expiration of transitional restrictions for Bulgarians and Romanians, had further implications with regards to Britain's position and identity within the EU. Not only was a dichotomy between eastern and western EU member states constructed and reinforced, but the discourse was also inextricably linked to argumentation strategies for Brexit. In adopting an eclectic methodology situated within the broader field of Critical Discourse Studies, this study primarily draws upon the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to provide both a politically motivated as well as reflexive account of the discursive strategies used in the representation of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). Alongside this, influences are also taken from critical discourse analysts including Fairclough (2010) and van Dijk (1993, 2000), corpus-based discourse approaches (Baker 2006, Baker et al, 2008) and discourse approaches to computer-mediated communication (Herring 2004, 2007; Androutsopoulos, 2008). Although the current paper is part of a larger project examining three levels of discourse (political, media and public), it is apparent that the affordances and dynamics of online platforms have promoted a change in participation structures, leading to a change in power dynamics and blurring the dichotomy of powerful producer and powerless consumer (KhosraviNik and Unger, 2015). The findings indicate that these participatory structures allow for resistance to racism and

stereotypes, but also that the openness, scalability and anonymity of the Internet allows for the spread of racist ideologies and propaganda (Banks, 2010), in this case by constructing Romanians and Bulgarians as the Other

Keywords: immigration discourse, online discourse, discourse-historical approach, critical discourse analysis, EU expansion

David Duarte

Iberia and Europe: a conflict of images

The current economic and social crisis endured by the southern European countries has regenerated an old image of Europe in which coexist a dynamic and enterprising North and a static and obsolete South. The resurgence of this representation threatens the European Union's consolidation as it contributes to the lack of solidarity between its peoples. Created to surmount centuries of rivalries and tensions, the European Union faces now the awakening of old demons menacing its political union project. A cultural approach to the European theme suggests that the richness of Europe relies in its diversity. In our oral communication, we will consider Europe as a cultural laboratory and question one of those multiple Europes. We will adopt a comparative cultural approach to iberism as a current of thought that delimited, during the transition from the 19th to the 20th century, the representations that both peninsular countries forged of their cultural affinity and their relations with Europe. Through a brief presentation of Antero de Quental's *Causes of the peninsular peoples decadence* in the last three centuries, a communication pronounced in 1871 and considered as the text founding the iberism's period of theorization, we will suggest that Europe is represented as a mirror projecting the inverted image of what Iberia has become. An inverted image that is the consequence of Iberia's marginal condition and the fact that both Portugal and Spain did not follow the three main revolutions that forged the modern character of Europe: the Reformation; the Modern Science; the Industrial revolution. By questioning iberism, we expect to understand the nature of the cultural distance separating Iberia from Europe, a distance that has transformed, in the 19th century, the Pyrenees into a symbolic frontier, this representation being still effective during the last century and revitalized with the current economical and social crisis. However, the entrance of both Portugal and Spain in the European Economic Community in 1986 represented a real opportunity to rethink the Iberia's marginal condition and offer to the Peninsula the possibility of having a more active part in Europe. Ideally placed in the continent's periphery, both history and nature have condemned Iberia to exist between different worlds. Even Europe, to whom the Peninsula belongs geographically speaking, is mentally beyond the Pyrenees. We suggest that the reinvestment of iberism depends on the re-actualization of the tendency to universality that defines Europe and that the Peninsula represented during the 15th and 16th centuries. For this, we will follow the thesis of Eduardo Lourenço who sustained

that the European nature of Iberia is precisely suggested by its deterritorialization and the fact that it did not only participate in, but engaged Europe's process of universalization. The iberism emerges consequently as a privileged object of study that can help us to understand the relations between the European Centre and the European Periphery and, therefore, the role of peripheral countries in the current European political project.

Keywords: Iberia, Europe, periphery, centre, imaginary

Birsen Erdogan

Main Themes of the Turkish Foreign Policy Discourse Regarding R2P and Humanitarian Intervention: In Cases of Libya, Syria and Iraq

By incorporating techniques proposed by the critical discourse analysis (CDA) in social sciences, this paper investigates the characteristics of the Turkish foreign policy (TFP) discourse on humanitarian interventions and Responsibility to Protect (R2P) in MENA region after Arab Spring. Under the direct influence of the transformative events and discourses of Arab Spring, the TFP discourse went through some changes also. The author will try to understand a very specific and a quite controversial fragment of this discourse: Interventions abroad for humanitarian reasons. The author wants to critically investigate how concepts of 'Humanitarian Intervention' and 'R2P' are positioned in the TFP discourse especially in MENA region. If they are present in this discourse, how are they legitimised or justified? If they are not present at all, what would that entail or mean? The author will ask what kind of ideas, norms and values are leading the Turkish foreign policy in humanitarian crisis especially after the Arab Spring. Thus through these discourses, how the Turkish identity is constructed and what features are dominant in these identity constructions (normative power, soft power, hard power, Othering, solidarity or aggression, Islamic, Western, so on). And finally are there changes or a transformation in the Turkish Foreign Policy when it comes to R2P. In this study, the author wants to deconstruct these discourses more critically to see the use of dichotomies such as inside/outside, West/East, Christian/Muslim, right/wrong, enemy/friend; re-negotiation of identities and truth claims by the decision-makers. This research will focus on discourses of humanitarian intervention in Syria, Iraq and Libya. The author will base her analyses on a large data set she created. This data set is composed of texts and speeches by the President, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Prime Ministry. Analysis will be mainly qualitative. In the Conclusion, the author will analyse the findings of her research and what they mean for the Turkish Foreign Policy.

Keywords: Turkey, Discourse Analysis, foreign policy, responsibility to protect, Middle East

Human Rights and Gender in European Union: A Socio Legal Perspective of Constitutionalisation of European Union

Recent refugee crisis aftermath of the conflict in different geographies led to an incessant influx of refugees to Europe. The crisis has exploded to a level which has created a controversy on what "EU is all about". The axis of discussion oscillates from the ideological foundations of "fortress Europe" to "a Europe without borders which promotes the values of democracy, justice and equality". Hungary's uncompromising stance on building border for refugees in tandem with ongoing lack of consensus to intergovernmental tensions between Serbia and Croatia brought a new dimension to "foundations of Europe". The current refugee crisis brought a controversial scrutiny to the European Union's fundamental values as turmoil on reaching a collaborative agreement over handling the massive influx of refugees. The rampant xenophobia, sexism and racism has brought a new dimension on "the idea of value of human rights as an underpinning tenets of EU's foundations". It has also brought a new dispute on "solidarity amongst EU member states on borders". As borders erected so did stigmas and stereotypes which has nurtured "marginalization of refugees as others". The one such group which has suffered the most of this endangering migration was women population which Fine et al (2011:96) calls as "feminizing migration and migrant populations". The recent crisis also shows that EU's fragile and fragmentary stance on refugee rights is gendered and creates an imbalance for women. Women has to take care of their children, act as mother and caretakers hence they need extra supportive mechanism. However, both the recent and the previous migratory policies and refugee/asylum seeker policies of EU portrays a "gendered imbalance" where women are at disadvantage in terms of inclusion, finding work and other supporting mechanism which will help them to integrate as equal citizens of the hosting society. This study aims to examine the human rights regime of EU through the eyes of the women in a gendered fashion to explicate the situation of women in the current refugee crisis through the lenses of a feminist gender analysis. I will examine the general EU legislation on refugee and asylum and further examine how that disadvantages women as part of a gendered imbalance. This will also show how gender is still a remaining roadblock in achieving equality in EU's refugee and asylum policies by demonstrating how women survive on the peripheries as opposed to men as they are perceived as "fragile mothers and caretakers"

Keywords: EU, Refugee crisis, gender, Human Rights

Is the Treaty of Lisbon supportive of language minorities in the European Union?

This paper analyzes the Treaty of Lisbon for language defining the linguistic obligations of the EU and the language rights of its citizens. The Treaty fails to address the rights of minority language speakers in the EU, including, most perilously, the rights of minorities who are seeking to secede from their own countries (Catalonia, Scotland) and minorities who use violence in their quest for political rights (Basque Country, Corsica). The paper calls for a more pluralistic approach to language legislation (Romaine 2013) and for *de jure* language rights for speakers of minority languages in the EU, especially for speakers of official minority languages, such as Catalan, Basque, and Galician in Spain, Scottish Gaelic and Welsh in the UK, and others (Faingold 2007). The reason to single out minority languages that enjoy some degree of official recognition in their own countries is that conflict between these languages and the majority language may exacerbate existing claims of self-determination or secession in the EU. Also, new language legislation could recognize the rights of some languages with territorial status but official without status in their own countries, e.g. Breton, Corsican, Occitan, and Sardinian. Explicit language legislation can help to solve conflicts between speakers of majority and minority languages by defining legally the status and use of such languages (Faingold 2004).

Keywords: Lisbon Treaty, language minorities

Russell Foster

Anarchy and Atrophy: Revising the EU's Symbolic Policy

'Those societies which cannot combine reverence for their symbols with freedom of revision,' warned semiotician Alfred Whitehead in 1927, 'must ultimately decay either from anarchy or from the slow atrophy of a life stifled by useless shadows'. Since 2007, this caution has become increasingly relevant for the EU. Crises in the Eurozone, austerity packages, the Crimea, and most recently in migration policy have increasingly contributed to anarchy and atrophy, in the form of citizen dissatisfaction with the Union. This dissatisfaction is expressed not through rational logos but emotional pathos, which is expressed through symbolism. This paper argues that if the Union is to endure, Whitehead's 'freedom of revision' must be pursued by revising the EU's symbolic policy through a dialogue of citizens, policymakers, and academics. Systemic and spontaneous crises in recent years have further transformed the EU from a technocracy uncommented-upon by most citizens, into an entity whose power is increasingly felt in everyday life – in a negative way. These negative emotions are mediated through symbolic discourses. However, the EU has been manipulating symbols in a misguided way. EU policymakers continue to

assume that a positive sense of 'European-ness' will emerge as a consequence of functionalist spillover (Habermas 2013) and consequently, studies on political identity consider symbols to be 'something of a quaint survival, a bit of puffery that has little influence on the real stuff of contemporary politics' (Kertzer 1996). But this belief in rational logos over emotional pathos has been increasingly revealed to be flawed. Rational politics cannot compete with the fundamentally irrationality that defines identity and belonging; the very issues revealed by recent crises (Theiler 2005; Calligaro 2013). It is via symbols that citizens' emotions are funnelled from mundane, banal performances into active political behaviour. As the power of symbols stems from their very mundanity and omnipresence, the media in which symbols appear – currency, flags, festivals, political literature – are thus saturated with embedded politics whose own banality masks its importance (Billig 1995; Thrift 2004). When viewed collectively, these banal symbols convey 'spectacular expressions of state power' (Painter 2006) which are charged with emotion because of the everyday context in which they appear. Focusing on the banal contexts in which EU emblems appear, this paper uses the Annales school to demonstrate how a focus on "Alltagsgeschichte" or "everyday narratives" helps us to understand the 'prosaic banalities' (Whitlick 1960) of materiality and everyday practices which not only reflect politics in the EU, but indeed create EU politics. These discourses and artefacts collectively symbolise the EU as an uncaring, incompetent, and out-of-touch entity with which citizens do not identify. If the EU is to survive, it requires the support of its citizens; and due to the power of pathos over logos in the EU context, this requires studies of symbolic interactionism, and dialogue between academics, citizens, and policymakers, to pursue 'freedom of revision' (Whitehead 1927) of symbols. This paper seeks to open this necessary dialogue.

Keywords: Identity, symbols, iconography, dialogue, visual discourse

Marina Frangos

Is the Greek Diaspora, a historic diaspora from a small country at the Southeastern tip of Europe, super-diverse and globalized?

The simplest definition of 'diaspora' refers to the dispersal of a people from its original homeland, but only in recent years has the usage of the word become so widespread as to force a reassessment of its meaning. During a period which spanned nearly a century (from 1890 to 1970), hundreds of thousands of migrants left Greece, mainly to work and live abroad. Two periods of major emigration took place in the 20th century – one at the century's start and the other in the post-World War II years. By the 1970s, Greece was transformed into a migrant-receiving country and the migrant communities abroad came to think of themselves as global citizens rather than marginalized immigrants. The idea of place figures largely in European identities and fictions. Yet the stories about places that inform ethnic identity narratives, such as the "Old Country" of the European continent or the small villages, are not examined frequently enough from the perspective of immigration,

diasporization and globalization. Globalization has actually made 'place' more important not less. How was this transformation expressed in literary production? My presentation explores the fluidity of European ethnic identity as documented through the analysis of novels by Elias Kazan, Harry Mark Petrakis, Jeffrey Eugenides and Christos Tsiolkas. These works were written by assimilated citizens in distant English-speaking countries away from the 'continent', but "Europe" still figures prominently in their literary production, a clear sign of transnational experiences where identities are expressed in multiple layers –the local, national, international, as well as the European through a shared frame of meaning. Discourse analysis is used to demonstrate this geo-cultural attachment to Europe, as well as the changing meaning of 'refugees', 'immigrants' and 'global citizens'. The ethnic and religious identities of the writers' characters (multiple, changing and at times conflicting) are challenged by the multicultural and multi-ethnic setting of an ever globalized world.

Keywords: European identity, transnational literature, global citizen, Greek Diaspora, Diaspora discourse

Katerina T. Frantzi

Greece, nation, country, state, homeland: as used by ex-Prime Minister of Greece Antonis Samaras in interviews

Since language is a very strong – if not the strongest – tool for politicians (Fairclough 1996), there is an increasing interest for political discourse from both linguists and political scientists (Chilton 2004). In this study, we use corpus processing tools to explore the ex-Prime Minister of Greece Antonis Samaras use of five lemmas with similar meaning in twelve interviews with a total size of 35,811 words, given within six months, from May 2012 to January 2013: **έθνος** (nation), **κράτος** (state), **χώρα** (country), **πατρίδα** (homeland), **Ελλάδα** (Greece). Corpus processing provides the methodology for precise real language study (Partington et al. 2013). These lemmas are similar in their meaning but found to be used in different contexts. The processing gives only two occurrences of the lemma **έθνος**, both referring to enemies of the nation, "**Θεωρώ πρώτο εχθρό του Έθνους τη γραφειοκρατία**" and "**Θεωρώ δεύτερο εχθρό του Έθνους ότι δεν έχουμε ψάξει**". Regarding the lemma **πατρίδα**, there are no more than seven occurrences referring to the rescuing of the homeland, "**για τη σωτηρία της Πατρίδας**", to the good for the homeland, "**καλό για την πατρίδα**", to the homeland being in danger, "**γιατί αυτή τη στιγμή η Πατρίδα βρίσκεται σε κίνδυνο**", to the young people of the homeland, "**ιδιαίτερα τα νιάτα της πατρίδας μας**", to the homeland as the thought for any action, "**να σκεφτεί με κριτήριο την Πατρίδα**" and to serving the homeland, "**έχουν θέσει στην υπηρεσία της πατρίδας όλο αυτό το διάστημα**". There are fifty occurrences of the lemma **κράτος**. Samaras characterizes the state to be wasteful, "**από αυτό το σπάταλο κράτος**" while he suggests that the state should be strict, "**για να είναι το κράτος αυστηρό πρέπει**", clever, "**πιο έξυπνο, πιο επιτελικό κράτος**", and serious, "**πρέπει το κράτος να είναι σοβαρό**". In the 67 occurrences of the lemma **χώρα** Samaras refers to a country with problems, "**Θα ήθελα να πω ότι**

για μια χώρα η οποία περνάει τα προβλήματα”, with difficulties, “εάν μια χώρα σε δυσκολίες, όπως η Ελλάδα”, a country with a need to change, “να αλλάξουμε την εικόνα της χώρας”, to be in control, “όσοι νομίζουν ότι θα αφήσω τη χώρα να γίνει ξέφραγο αμπέλι.”, to be reliable and therefore rescued, “για την αξιοπιστία της χώρας και για τη σωτηρία της”. The most occurrences, 147, are found for the lemma Ελλάδα, where the ex-Prime Minister declares that Greece is being shot, “Και νομίζω ότι πυροβολεί την Ελλάδα”, is being blown out, “θα τινάξει την Ελλάδα στον αέρα”, has problems, “τα προβλήματα που περνάει η Ελλάδα”, needs help, “να βοηθήσει την Ελλάδα” but there is a will of building Greece from the beginning, “θέλουμε να χτίσουμε μια νέα Ελλάδα”.

Keywords: discourse analysis, political discourse, words in context, corpus processing, Antonis Samaras

Nikolaos Gaitenidis

Memory laws and the European constitutional identity: the normative construction historical identity in Europe

Historical memory introduces a subjective element in the interpretation of historical facts and events, which are important not only because of their specific epistemological value but because of their necessity for individuals and groups in order to understand their identity. Since the early 1990s, the multicultural transformation of many European societies has resulted in the gradual empowerment of several minority communities, which demand public recognition regarding their historical identity; A corpus of new laws is thus being established. Two basic types of legal action resulting from the intersection between law and memory: 1. The adoption of national or supranational laws that invite citizens to remember historical facts. In this case, a State or the international community seek to strengthen the collective memory with the introduction of “days of remembrance”, recognizing the victims of historical injustice, condemning or condoning of historical figures and events etc. 2. The adoption of the criminal law punishing the denial, minimization or justification of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. Laws criminalising ‘genocide denial’ initially addressed only the Holocaust, but later spread to other historical traumas. A 2008 EU Framework Decision suggests that ‘publicly condoning, denying or grossly trivialising crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes’ should be punished with between one and three years’ imprisonment. A particular feature of these memory wars is the use of the penal code in order to enforce a unique, official interpretation of these events and to punish diverging opinions. The use of law to define history was always controversial to some extent as many crucial questions arise: are those legal measures consistent with the principles of an open, democratic and free European society? Or are these laws necessary, in order to safeguard pluralism and tolerance, even though sometimes limiting individual freedom? Opponents of these measures have argued that memory laws dictate specific interpretations, thus limiting the scientific freedom of historians.

Advocates of memory laws argue that legal regulations concerning historical facts and events, and their interpretation, serve as guardians of the truth about the past and the dignity of victims of historical injustice. This paper aims to analyze the current laws that criminalize negationism and historical revisionism in Europe. In this respect, the relevant international, European and national provisions will be presented. Their compatibility with the existing European, international and national human rights norms, especially with the notion of freedom of expression will also be explored through the examination of the relevant national case law as well as the balancing approach of the European Court of Human Rights. The paper also explores the social variables as well as the political discourses that took place at national and European level that led to/followed the adoption of the respective laws at national and European level. The main challenge lies in determining whether memory laws are consistent with the emerging European constitutional identity -based on the values of respect for human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights- and, in a reverse rationale, the influence of memory laws in the nature and meaning of the European constitutional values.

Keywords: Memory laws, freedom of speech, European Court of Human Rights, historical revisionism, European values

Mariza Georgalou

Place identity and social media: The Greek case of brain drain migration

Place is not just a position in space; it is the location plus everything that occupies that location, i.e. memories, conceptions, ideas, attitudes, values, beliefs, social meanings, preferences and feelings (Relph 1976; Proshansky et al. 1983; Myers 2006). Such an assertion gains special prominence in the case of migrants, whose status is defined by a physical move from one place to another (Aguirre and Graham Davies 2015). The advent of social media has radically transformed the lives and experiences of migrants seeking to connect with both their country of origin and their host country. Given that brain drain, namely the outflow of educated population, from Greece has acquired an astoundingly massive character since 2010 due to the current crisis, this paper aims at exploring the discourse practices of place-making by Greek brain drain migrants, with specific focus on the role of social media in this endeavour. More specifically, it investigates how a Greek brain migrant constructs place in social media venues (blogs, Facebook, Twitter) via linguistic and multimodal means. It also looks at the ways in which he (dis)identifies with Greece and the host country, UK. Simultaneously, it places emphasis on how different social media affordances affect the brain drain migrant's place constructions. The data come from an ongoing study and comprise social media postings (verbal, visual and audio material, links), extracts from online interviews and field notes from systematic online ethnographic observation. To process and analyse the data, I draw on the theoretical and

methodological frameworks of discourse analysis and particularly from the approaches of textual analysis (Fairclough 2003), multimodal discourse analysis (Jones 2013), and geosemiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003), the sociolinguistics of globalisation (Blommaert 2010), and discourse-centred online ethnography (Androutsopoulos 2008). The paper argues that social media are significant outlets for place-making, constructing place identity and asserting (or eschewing) belonging in this critical turning point for Greece. It also provides insights into how the phenomenon of Greek brain drain is experienced nowadays as well as how Greek brain drain migrants' place identities can become transnational.

Keywords: place identity, social media, Greece, brain drain, discourse analysis

Dominik Gerst

Relationality in practice. Doing geographical categorisation at the German-Polish border

The German-Polish border has shown a great dynamic in the past decades. Installed as the so called "Oder-Neisse Line", representing a post World-War scenario of flight and expulsion, it later became known as the "gate between East and West", separating ideologies. After the end of the cold war, it quickly became a symbol of European integration, epitomized in the phrase of "the laboratory of Europe" and the development of manifold cross-border activities. The consequences of these activities are especially discernable in the field of security – a domain that not only enables a specific discursive public visibility of the border itself, producing social categories like „border crime“, „international gangs“ or „immediate pursuit“. It also shows a dynamic history of increasing cross-border cooperation since the 1990s (Schwell 2008). Interestingly, these strategies of internationalization or Europeanization of security matters are to a great deal connected to geographical representations of border(s) and border-crossing(s). On the one hand, this may seem to be hardly any news, as spatiality has been considered a prior dimension of borders for a long time. On the other, it may even seem contradictory to recent developments in border studies, as this priority of spatiality is currently severely criticized by a growing number of scholars (Brambilla 2015). But what this field shows is not so much an essentialistic understanding of space/geography, but rather a relational understanding in terms of distance, connections, interrelations, ways and flows. While relational thinking is central to understanding borders (Lamont/Molnár 2002), it has so far been mostly conceptualized as an understanding of the multiplicity of perspectives on and meanings of borders than to actually look at how actors draw on relational knowledge. From an ethnomethodological point of view, (geographical) relations can be understood as practical achievements. One particularly fruitful way of analyzing this kind of spatio-practical reasoning - focusing on language use - is Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (Sacks 1995). Since Schegloff (1972) provided a first attempt to use MCA for the analysis of space/place formulations,

there has been hardly any progress in the analysis of spatial categorizations resp. the conversational organization of spatial knowledge (but see Smith 2013). Drawing from conversational data - from public panel discussions about practices of "immediate pursuit" and a new "police co-operation agreement" as well as interviews with security actors - I will closely look at the categorical organization of geographical border knowledge and how speakers verbalize and actively produce spatial relations. One way of "doing borders" - and thereby making them a discursive fact - is to emphasize their relational potential, sometimes without even naming borders as such. Furthermore, I will show that spatiality has to be considered as only one dimension of borders that cannot be separated from its social and temporal dimension, which necessitates the careful demonstration of the relationship of spatial, social and temporal categorization. Finally, I will show that analyzing categories-in-action is one promising way to gain an understanding of the practical implications that border-crossing, especially in the field of security, involves.

Keywords: relationality, borders, common sense geography, membership categorization analysis, security

Margarita Giannopoulou

European diversity through religion and culture

A) Elements for a qualification of an identity as "European" Στοιχεία για ορισμό ταυτότητας (χαρακτηρισμός Ευρωπαίου):

This topic appears extremely accurate and crucial due the recent facts of November 13th, in France. In this relation appears the idea of determination of a "European identity" in order to distinguish from a non-European identity possible. Therefore some elements could be understood as criteria with escalation as basic, elementary or superficial for the terminology of European. All these elements could be considered as belonging to the rule of diversity e.g. orthodox religion, catholic or protestant and culture referring to music instrumental or vocal from the years of Romantic period, sefarathidika songs by Jewish people from Spain and Greece etc. popular music of gypsy of East

B) Diversity as a model of pluralism and as a border for coexistence communication:

Pluralism το διαφορετικό η ποικιλία είναι πλούτος η διαφορετικότητα μήπως είναι εμπόδιο στην συνύπαρξη; Diversity is a chance for the pluralism, a border to overcome in order to achieve cultural wealth in the territory of Europe or is a border/barrier as obstacle.

C) Religion as modus vivendi (element of lifestyle):

Η θρησκεία ως τρόπος ζωής. Όταν η δήλωση θρησκείας καθορίζει και τον τρόπο της ζωής. Common sign the rule of some holidays the respect as acceptable free days like Sunday, Christmas and Eastern as well for citizens with different

religion. And is necessary to declare each person's religion? Is it necessary for the diagnosis of the acceptance as European at all? To continue this point of view there is a *modus vivendi* for acceptable or nonacceptable religions? Furthermore is to examine if religion believe order some rituals e.g. rules beyond the "usual" habits of a community, is that fact even more acceptable/ tolerated under the term of "ordre public"?

D) Culture as indication for the submission to a simile group:

As time goes by in the geographical area of Europe monuments and other goods demonstrate to pass of national groups and historical periods. There are medieval Accepted for the European tradition as indication of history ancient and modern monuments to preserve and protect as cultural goods. In this section is to examine if monuments of another cultural community is justified to remain in the place of origin or is it tolerate the exhibition in another exhibition center. Furthermore should be expected in order to restaured a totally different monument (e. g. a muslim temple) to take in consideration the know-how of the experts in order to preserve the authentic character of the monument and achieve the diversity?

E) Protection of culture and religion as untangible "goods":

To sum up if these elements religion and culture are so important in order to differentiate a community then these characteristics could be considered as "untangible" goods. Therefore an offence of these elements is offence of the identity and as the history of Europe proves consist a "*casus belli*".

Keywords: Elements of identity, pluralism: model or border, religion as *modus vivendi*, culture indication, untangible goods

Korina Giaxoglou

Sharing leaks as viral stories online: vernacular spectacles of politics and the construction of European publics

In the ambient agora of digital technologies of participation, news values and formats are shifting to instantaneous, intertextual, transmedial and vernacular modes of sharing and storytelling with and for affective publics (cf. Papacharissi, 2015). This paper examines the case of the so-called 'Moscovici draft meme' that was leaked on the Facebook and Twitter account of Paul Mason (former Channel 4 Economics editor) on the 16th February 2015 at the climax of the Greek bailout talks. The case is considered as a key example that showcases some of the key resources deployed by journalists, politicians, and e-citizens for constructing stances to the happenings and outcomes of Eurogroup meetings for local and European publics. Drawing on insights from the study of everyday digital narrativity (Page and Bronwen, 2011; Georgakopoulou, 2013) and sharing online (Androutsopoulos, 2014), the analysis shows how significant 'behind-the-scenes' happenings are selected, styled and negotiated with networked audiences as

breaking news stories that unfold across media in sequences of temporally, intertextually and transmedially linked posts that represent acts of ecstatic sharing with and for polymedia audiences variously geo-culturally located. In addition, the paper identifies the key contextualisation resources for turning the selected happenings into viral stories potentiating wide circulation, based on the appropriation of vernacular modes of sharing and telling. The paper calls for closer attention to the study of significant moments in specific local sites of engagement in terms of emerging modes of news storytelling online, spectacles of politics and the politics of spectacle with and for European publics.

Keywords: Greek crisis, European audiences, breaking news, narrative, affective publics

Bozena Gierat-Bieron & Dorota Jurkiewicz-Eckert

European Cultural Integration: How the EU cultural policy is influencing the phenomenon of “European identity”

The presentation examines interrelationship between priorities of the UE cultural policy and the idea of ‘European identity’. These two phenomena are the key elements of European cultural integration and the pillars supporting ‘new state of awareness’ of the Europeans, a state built around supranational values. The objective of the presentation is critical analysis of mutual relations between EU cultural policy and ‘identity policy’ in particular emphasizing their common goals and differences. The “identity” concept was conceived during Copenhagen Conference in 1973. Since then it has been continuously developing and expanding, adopting new ideas from the ongoing process of European integration. Cultural policy was born 20 years later, codified in Maastricht Treaty in 1993. Similarly to “identity” concept, it is evolving and stretching its goals. The research so far reveals that cultural policy influenced concept or “European identity” in various aspects, such as, construction of common European heritage, acknowledgement of various linguistic traditions and recognition that national cultural achievements could be a part of common European history. Concept of ‘European identity’ most profoundly influenced EU cultural policy in regard to common political belonging, common habits, respect for democratic achievements of Europe, and especially to protection of human rights. This research attempts to identify the results of the interrelationship between cultural policy and processes shaping ‘European identity’. Furthermore, it tries to prove that going beyond the paradigm of “unity in multiplicity”, the modification of cultural policy followed by fostering a common cultural sphere and intercultural dialogue creates a modern role for culture, as indicator of socio-economic growth and a catalyst of the creative industries. Presentation highlights the links between the aims of cultural policy mentioned above and the notion of ‘Europeaness’, which result in idea of pluralism, political community and human rights. Several documents will be taken into consideration, namely: Treaties of: Maastricht (art.

128), Amsterdam (art. 151), and Lisbon (art. 167), Programme 'Culture 2000', Programme 'Culture 2007-2013'; Programme 'Creative Europe' and 'European Agenda for Culture' (2007). The presentation will conduct interdisciplinary format. It will combine sociological analysis with methods of discourse practised by the European studies.

Keywords: EU cultural policy, European identity, cultural diversity and unity, national cultural policy

Angela Giovanangeli

Shaping European geographies: The museum of European and Mediterranean civilizations in Marseille and the making of identity

In 2013 the city of Marseille, in the south of France, added its name to the list of cities having held the title of European Capital of Culture. Of particular interest was the completion of the Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (MuCEM), a new museum of European and Mediterranean civilisations as part of this city's contribution primarily to a sense of European and Mediterranean identity in the framework of the European Union led Capital of Culture programme. For some museum practitioners, this museum is the first to devote itself to an ethnographic collection and programme that aims to define the relation between Europe and the Mediterranean (Colardelle 1999, 21; 2002, 19). The decision to open an ethnographic museum dedicated to the civilisations of Europe and the Mediterranean complements French cultural policies that have traditionally recognised museums as 'powerful identity-defining machines' (Duncan 1991, 101). The aim of this paper is to examine how a museum in regional France constructs and shapes European narratives arguing that the local narratives of the MuCEM's location and narratives contribute to the meaning attributed to the museum's transnational focus. This museum situated on the shores of the Mediterranean sea, by the banks of Marseille's old port is located on a site that traditionally has been the first port of call within France for diverse migratory groups. In more recent times this area has been home to France's largest migrant group from North Africa and host to shifts in identities. The name of the museum itself already hints at the link between identity and geography. This paper identifies in particular the relation between cultural practices, identity and geographical location through an analysis of the discourse of the museum's collection, exhibiting techniques and location in order to consider the extent to which one of France's newest museums has aligned its collection – originally part of a French vernacular museum – with twenty-first century transnational perspectives on cultural spaces, and pluralisation of curatorial narratives. At stake is what French philosopher Jacques Rancière calls the future of the image, that is, the possibility of finding new paradigms to account for the relationship between objects and a common European and Mediterranean history within Europe and geographical attachments by calling itself a museum not only of European but also Mediterranean civilizations.

Keywords: museum, European civilisations, Mediterranean, musées de société, Marseille

Thanos Gkaragkounis

Ambivalent Spaces: Education, Consumerism and the Class of Intellectuals in Postmodernity

Whether consumerism is often mistreated as a neoliberal movement of late capitalism or is taken as an individual obsession or a mark of a hedonistic era, the question remains on how to come to terms with identity in our consumer society. One thing is certain. In order to be, one has to learn how to be. However, from Max Weber, to Antonio Gramsci, even to late Foucault, education remains a remarkable riddle. I propose in the present paper that intellectuals, here taken up, as a sin of the consumer era, have lost their 'organic' role presented by Gramsci, and entered the epoch where a variety of experts, technicians and specialists arrange the terms and the basis on which the individual and the subject of postmodernity materialize. Norbert Elias in his *Civilizing Process* has very usefully I think, promoted the view that culture and civilization are not irrelevant to the wider capitalist and enlightenment processes that took over France and Germany at the turn of 17th century; and that culture and by implication education are traits that ought to be seen in terms of a novel way of coming to terms with social division, separation and discrimination –and in some cases resistance toward the old authority and power of State-based hierarchy. In the course of the present presentation I argue that 'intellectuals' have lost their role and that they are unable to secure a 'stable' and 'recognised' position for their class; and that, strictly speaking, 'typical' education and by implication the university in the present consumer state of late capitalism is a highly 'contested' social space. To understand the processes of discrimination and exclusion postmodern intellectuals face today, I take up on three texts that irradiate various versions of such a 'superfluity': a) first, I take up on Michel Foucault's disciplinary power in order to support the view that power is knowledge; b) second, I follow Zygmunt Bauman's proposition that consumerism is a state of controlled happiness and instant gratification within which any economic class 'feature' is highly misrepresented; and c) lastly, I pick up on Jean Baudrillard's theorization of use-value that offers a more nuanced understanding of the consumer society and the reason traditional political economic analysis fails to understand the role of education.

Keywords: consumption, education, intellectuals, postmodernity

Nataliya Gorodnia

Is Ukraine a European Nation

Geographically Ukraine is located in the center of Europe, but politically it is not a part of Europe, as today "Europe" means "the European Union". We argue that Ukraine is a European nation in terms of geography, culture, and history. It stayed aside of Europe mostly because of inefficient domestic policies, Russian influences, and a fear of Russian reaction on its European Union orientation. Ukraine's status

proves that contemporary Europe is not determined by geography, but it is a political phenomenon. Though cultural and historical aspects of constructing Europe are important, they are not crucial. Contemporary Europe is an outcome of the national elites' vision and a deliberate policy to implement it. It is based on a set of values, norms and practices that differs it from other parts of the world, including neighboring Russia. Actually contemporary Europe is a result of a geopolitical division of the western Eurasia between two centers of power – Franco-German core and Russia. Enlargement and strengthening of the EU is considered in Kremlin as a threat to Russia's national interests. The perception encourages Russian great-power nationalism, and its efforts to keep post-Soviet nations in its sphere of influence by all means, including war. Such policies caused lingering "Ukrainian Crisis" that has both domestic and international dimensions. From its domestic side "Ukrainian Crisis" is a "Revolution of Dignity" that united people against a corrupt and criminal government, and for the right of Ukraine to be a part of Europe. It revealed Ukraine's final break with the Soviet past and Russia as its successor. The Revolution started in November 2013 when thousands of Ukrainians gathered in Kyiv to protest against the government decision to postpone signing of the Association Agreement with the EU, to advocate European values, and demand reforms to advance Ukraine's admission to the EU. The Revolution is still in process. It is all about reforms to make Ukraine a strong and effective democratic social state that cares about its citizens, and to enable its unification with Europe. Today, when the Rubicon has been crossed, European future is a national idea of Ukraine, which encourages its positive transformations. The only reason for the "Ukrainian Crisis" was Kremlin's treatment of Ukraine as Russia's vital sphere of influence and rejection of its right to choose its own way and a developmental model. The crisis reveals a geopolitical competition between Russia and the EU, a struggle for values, for the rights of middle and small nations, and the basic principles of the international system. Do we want to live in the world where a great power can annex a territory of another state, violate all inter-state agreements, openly support separatists, rob and ruin a neighboring sovereign nation? One of Russia's foreign policy goals is splitting up the EU as its principal geopolitical competitor. The outcome of the "Ukrainian Crisis" will determine the future of Ukraine, Europe, and the global international system.

Keywords: Ukraine, identity, Ukrainian revolution, Ukrainian crisis, Russia

Objects of Othering, Criminalization, Inferiorization, and Abjection: Immigrants and Refugees in the Italian Extreme Right's Political Discourse

The unrelenting arrivals of economic immigrants and refugees coming from Africa and the Middle East through the Mediterranean on rickety boats, the heated Italian political debate about Italy's involvement in search and rescue missions in the Mediterranean, and the increasingly harsh Italian Extreme Right's anti-immigrant xenophobia testify to the extreme urgency to tackle the issue of trans-Mediterranean immigration in the Italian political discourse, and especially in the Italian Extreme Right's discourse. Indeed, this oral presentation aims at analysing the images of African and Middle Eastern economic immigrants and refugees in the discourse of the Italian Extreme Right, by focussing in particular on parties' ideology and manifestos. It is hoped that this oral presentation will encourage an analytical and critical approach to immigration in Italy and that it will fill the lacuna in the existing academic literature concerning the images of economic immigrants and refugees in the political discourse of the Italian Extreme Right.

Academic literature pays overwhelming attention to the ideology of the Extreme Right (also defined the Populist Right) in Europe and sufficient attention to the Italian Extreme Right. However, existing scholarship predominantly focuses on the characteristics of the electorate, on the economic and social context, and on the ideological evolution of the Italian Extreme Right. On the other hand, there is a wide literature on xenophobia directed against economic immigrants and refugees in the Italian context. Nevertheless, these sources are rather generic and are not focussed on the accurate analysis of the political discourse of the parties that capitalize on and foment xenophobia against the Other. This is an important omission, which drives the research behind this oral presentation.

First of all, this presentation defines the Extreme Right and justifies the selection of political parties belonging to the Italian Extreme Right, i.e. Lega Nord, Fratelli d'Italia, and its predecessor Alleanza Nazionale. Then, this presentation investigates the images of economic immigrants and refugees discursively constructed by the selected parties, by analysing the ideological discourse and the discourse of party manifestos from 1990 to the present. Special attention is paid to the historical periods characterized by events that catalyzed xenophobia, such as the immigrants arrivals crisis since 2013, the beginning and the end of Mare Nostrum, the January 2015 Charlie Hebdo massacre and the November 2015 terror attacks in Paris. The discursively-constructed images of economic immigrants and refugees in the Italian Extreme Right converge around the framing of economic immigrants and refugees as threats to national identity, security, and employment. Adopting a postcolonial approach, it is worth noting that the immigrant and the refugee becomes a target of persistent and virulent othering, criminalization, inferiorization and abjection. These processes are fuelled by

exclusionist ethnic nationalism and, in turn, they reinforce it. Particular attention, therefore, will be paid to the intersection between exclusionist ethnic nationalism and xenophobia in the discourse of the Italian Extreme Right. The unrelenting arrivals of economic immigrants and refugees coming from Africa and the Middle East through the Mediterranean on rickety boats, the heated Italian political debate about Italy's involvement in search and rescue missions in the Mediterranean, and the increasingly harsh Italian Extreme Right's anti-immigrant xenophobia testify to the extreme urgency to tackle the issue of trans-Mediterranean immigration in the Italian political discourse, and especially in the Italian Extreme Right's discourse. Indeed, this oral presentation aims at analysing the images of African and Middle Eastern economic immigrants and refugees in the discourse of the Italian Extreme Right, by focussing in particular on parties' ideology and manifestos. It is hoped that this oral presentation will encourage an analytical and critical approach to immigration in Italy and that it will fill the lacuna in the existing academic literature concerning the images of economic immigrants and refugees in the political discourse of the Italian Extreme Right.

Keywords: Extreme Right, immigration, refugees, Italy, xenophobia

Matthew Gumpert

Beware Greeks Bearing Metaphors: Classical Tropes and the Greek Debt Crisis

At a critical moment during negotiations with the Eurogroup over the recent Greek debt crisis, a German official was widely quoted referring to the latest Greek offer as a "Trojan horse" designed to dodge its commitments" ("Greece Drops Key Bailout Demands, but Germany Still Objects," New York Times, 19 February 2015). Just a figure of speech, surely: one of a stock of familiar tropes based in Greco-Roman antiquity, reflexively deployed whenever the subject is Greece. The recent economic debacle and the threat of a "Grexit" from the Eurozone resulted in a plethora of such tropes: Greece becomes Europe's "Achilles heel" (e.g., cover for *The Economist*, 12 May 2012); its collapse is viewed as a "modern Greek tragedy" (e.g., Catherine Rampell, "The Modern Greek Tragedy of Financial Crisis," *Washington Post*, 25 June 2015); its prospects for recovery deemed "Sisyphean" (e.g., "Greece's Sisyphean Task," *Telegraph*, 6 May 2015), etc. But it is precisely in their seeming innocuousness and apparent inevitability that such figures (catachreses, in effect: i.e., metaphors the metaphoricality of which is no longer perceptible) exert their force. It is worth taking a closer look at such figures, and how they function to reconstitute Europe through the production of "other Europes" alongside or within Europe. Visible here, in effect, are two conflicting logics: the first based in metonymy (establishing relations by contiguity) or synecdoche (substituting the part for the whole). The Trojan horse is a term - based, of course, on the familiar classical topos (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.271-89; Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.31-267, etc.) - for any piece of malware masquerading as

benign - and a good definition of mimesis in the Platonic sense. Using it casts the Greeks as the sinister outsider, an insidious virus waiting to infect the European body politic. (Technically speaking, Trojan horses are distinct from computer viruses, which are self-replicating programs.) Now this metaphor is itself an insidious vehicle system for delivering, covertly, its own potentially dangerous cargo. (Typical of such metaphors is their reversibility. Note political cartoonist Zapiro's illustration ["Euro-debt Crisis and Greek Referendum Announcement on Bailout Conditions," *Mail & Guardian*, 3 November 2011], reflecting the November 2011 stage of negotiations, in which it is Greece cast as the besieged Trojan city, and Europe as the conniving Greeks; but note that even here the viral metaphor remains unaltered, and virulent.) All these classicizing metaphors pronounced of late are so many Trojan horses: in appearance benevolent offerings, re-inscribing Greece within the familiar classical narrative, as the arch□ of European identity; in fact, malicious pieces of software writing over the European map, erasing Greece, or ejecting it from its borders. To conclude: beware those bearing metaphors! (Beware of Greeks bearing gifts: a paraphrase of Laocoon's futile efforts, at *Aeneid* 2.49, to dissuade the Trojans from opening the gates of the city to the Trojan horse: "Equo ne credite, Teucri! Quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes" ["Men of Troy, trust not the horse. Whatever it be, I fear the Greeks, even when bringing gifts"; trans. H. R. Fairclough].)

Keywords: Metaphor, catachresis, Grexit, Trojan horse, virus

Konrad Gunesch

The relationship between the personal mastery of many European languages and historical-cultural aspects of European individual identity from a global perspective: languages as tools or keys, and countries or cultures as treasures between the continent and the world

This paper investigates the relationship between the successful learning of many European languages and the development of a corresponding European identity as well as a wider cosmopolitan cultural identity. In this paper, Western and Eastern European nationalities, languages, cultures are linked both to the European continent as well as to the wider world. Conceptually, the personal cultural identity model focused on is that of cosmopolitanism, in the Classical Greek sense of a cultural "world citizenship" yet in contemporary form and practice, such as straddling the global and local spheres in academic, private and professional contexts. Empirically, the paper shows how an investigated group of highly multilingual international students revealed themselves, in in-depth interviews, in terms of their cosmopolitan cultural identity. Since the students also revealed dimensions of European cultural identity alongside, the two identity dimensions are compared with each other. These empirical in-depth

revelations allowed the analysis and, building on that, the synthesis of several ideal types of cosmopolitans, which contribute to the previously existing literature on cosmopolitanism or world citizenship, while also shedding new light on the notion of European identity, especially in a cultural and linguistic context. The paper contributes to altogether four fields, namely 1) language learning and mastery, 2) cosmopolitanism or world citizenship, 3) European identity, and 4) the still very thinly researched area of cultural identity of multilingual persons. Future research agendas are: 1) the analysis of a causal relationship between the degree or quality of mastery in a number of foreign languages and the degree or intensity of global or European identity revelations and affiliations, 2) the investigation of languages other than European ones, 3) the adoption of more quantitative methods, and 4) the inclusion of highly multilingual individuals from geographic areas beyond Europe.

Keywords: European identity, multilingualism, language learning, cosmopolitanism, world citizenship

Maja Halilovic-Pastuovic & Maja Muhic

Two Discourses Two Decades Apart: A comparative analysis of EU discourse in relation to Bosnian and Syrian refugee crises

According to the UNHCR's annual Global Trends Report titled 'World at War', released in June this year, more people are fleeing their homes due to wars and conflict than at any other time since the records began. Every day last year on average 42 500 people became displaced by wars. 2015 has so far been marked by the Syrian refugee crisis which is the biggest refugee crisis Europe has seen since the Balkan conflict in 1990s. Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis in 2011 more than half of the country's population fled their home, meaning that 12 million people were made refugees. While a significant number of Syrian refugees found temporary relief in neighbouring countries, a large number of people undertook a journey into the mainland Europe. This recent wave of refugee migration from Syria to Turkey and Greece, and further to Germany via Balkans, took Europe by surprise and has created a series of actions, contextualised in a discourse, which are surveying, controlling and managing this movement. The aim of our paper is to compare current European discourse towards migrating Syrian refugees to the European discourse that existed towards Bosnian refugees two decades ago. Like Syrian refugee movement of today Bosnian refugee movement represented a serious and unpredicted large refugee movement. The conflict that happened in Bosnia was the bloodiest conflict in modern European history and half of the Bosnian population, which accounts to 3 million people, was displaced by the conflict. Our paper shows that despite two decades between the two crises European discourse towards the refugees did not change much. We argue that the European discourses on migrating refugees has not only remained unchanged for two decades, but it became even more radical in conveying a strongly anti-immigrant rhetoric. The European discourse towards Bosnian refugees was twofold. One discourse emphasised the need for humanitarianism

and solidarity among the countries offering protection to the displaced people; the other highlighted the need for control, the temporary nature of protection and the eventual need to return burdensome refugees home. Linking this to the new prevalent socio-political discourse around refugees in Europe today, we want to show that the xenophobic, anti-immigrant discourse in most European societies is not simply a recent phenomenon of the growing right-wing Europe, and linked to rising numbers of newcomers that are perceived and constructed as culturally different from the “genuine Europeans”, but one that follows a distinct historic national trajectory of xenophobia. This xenophobia is linked first and foremost to Europe's obsession with being a “Christian cultural continent”, a perception that totally ignores the centuries long amalgamation of traditions, religions, Empires, and cultures. Xenophobic hostility now finds its manifestation predominantly in anti-immigrant attitudes and behaviours directed against Muslim groups, most recently fueled by the global “War on Terror” debate and the highly debatable notion of a clash of cultures between the ‘civilized’ (Western, Judeo-Christian) and ‘non-civilized’(Muslim) world.

Keywords: refugees, immigrants, transnationalism, temporality, anti-immigrant discourse, xenophobia

Monica Hapiach Christensen & Joana Sousa Ribeiro

Institutional Frameworks and Discourses of Inclusion: A Comparative Approach Among Migrants and Refugees

The process of inclusion of migrants and refugees comprehends various institutional frameworks (among others, EU Directives, Third Sector initiatives, national policies) that all have implications for their participation in society. Member states in the European Union have increasingly introduced ‘integration’ measures that link refugees and migrants’ access to rights with their fulfilment of certain duties. Such ‘integration measures’ can be perceived as discourses that reflect the perception of what constitutes to be included or excluded but at the same time clashes with refugees’ and migrants’ expectations and aspirations to the process of inclusion. The presentation will discuss the different institutional frameworks that are part of refugees’ and migrants’ inclusion process in two European countries, with different social welfare systems, migratory regimes and geopolitical locations – Denmark and Portugal. Using a comparative methodology, it will ask how refugees and migrants navigate in and incorporate these institutional frameworks. Throughout the presentation, the institutional distinction between economic migrants and refugees will be central and emphasis will be put on the similarities and differences between these two migrant sub-categories; and its implications on the particularities of the inclusion process. The paper will discuss and critically reflect on active citizenship and labour market participation as examples of normative discourses that have become prominent when defining ‘successful paths of integration’ at both the EU-level and at the policy-level in the member states.

Keywords: Inclusion, migrants, refugees, active citizenship, labour market participation

“Εδώ είναι Πειραιάς, εμείς θα σε νικάμε και εσύ θα προσκυνάς»-

Identitarian Aspects of Football Rivality Discourses in Southern European Discourse Communities: A Comparative Approach to Discourse Analysis

This article deals with the linguistic analysis of discursive constructions of collective identities in the context of Southern European football. This way, discourses of conflict and power between the rival supporting groups in the discourse communities of Spain, Portugal and Greece are to be analyzed. These are suitable for a comparative linguistic discourse analysis, as they have undergone a comparable political, social and economic development since the end of their dictatorships and the subsequent democratization in the 1970s to the present financial crisis in the divided southern Europe. Another shared feature of these discursive communities are football rivalities between the two most successful clubs: one of the capital, another one of the second largest city. My working hypothesis claims that not only sporting conflicts but also social, economic and political conflicts are designed top-down on media discourses because football clubs produce regional identity constructions in the three discourse communities and the biased sports media landscape is a shared feature of these ones. The medial-discursively constructed conflicts are received by rival supporters in social media and developed bottom-up so that a kind of public discussion arises. The project presented here is a contribution to less developed comparative theories and methods of linguistic discourse analysis. The contrastive discourse of linguistics is an extension of the discourse linguistics by Foucault with a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural component (such as Niehr / Böke (edd.), *Einwanderungsdiskurse. Vergleichende diskurslinguistische Studien*. Wiesbaden: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht). To this day, the analysis of comparative linguistic discourse in the Romance languages and Modern Greek Studies is almost a desideratum. The cognitive value of a comparison of linguistic rivalry discourses in Spain, Portugal and Greece might go beyond the individual representations if space-forming and transregional discourses in the sense of a Southern European communication space can be demonstrated. This circumstance would lead to shared discourses and discursive communities in different languages. The corpus used for this analysis includes subcorpus from sports newspapers and various social media in each language and is analyzed multimodally – for example complex relationships of image-text must be particularly analyzed on the cover pages of sports newspapers – using the DIMEAN-model (Warnke, Ingo / Spitzmüller, Jürgen (2011): *Diskurslinguistik – Eine Einführung in Theorien und Methoden der transtextuellen Sprachanalyse*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 201.). The project is connected to the topic “Europe in Discourse - Identity, Diversity, Borders” and focuses on geo-cultural aspects of European identity. Simultaneously, the analysis is created diachronically in order to outline potential intra- and interlinguistic changes in the media-constructed football rivalry discourse during the past 20 years.

Keywords: comparative linguistic discourse analysis, media discourse, discourse of conflict, european football, portuguese, spanish and modern greek language

The Current European Discourse on the Notion of Bildung and its Metamorphosis in the Age of Globalization

A growing discontent with neoliberal ideals permeating and essentially changing the educational systems across Europe has triggered a wave of interest in the European discourse on the notion of Bildung (e.g. Heidt, 2015; Siljander et al., 2012; Lovlie et al., 2003). Although Bildung is an unparalleled German notion as compared to other nation-states, it was influenced by many European thinkers such as the Czech J.A. Comenius, the French J.J. Rousseau, and German scholars such as I. Kant and W. von Humboldt. The concept of Bildung is often translated with 'education' but its meaning is better captured with notions such as holistic growth, self-development, and self-cultivation which seem to be unthinkable in today's educational systems that rather highlight commodification and instrumentalization of knowledge. This paper attempts to show how Wilhelm von Humboldt's (1767-1835) concept of Bildung, as a product of the Enlightenment, originally aimed at individual freedom and democracy has lost its critical stance and brought about an attitude towards educational control achieved by state intervention in the early 19th century. This development has culminated in today's concept of Bildung that is highly attached to neoliberal ideals, propagating principles of the free market such as efficiency, measurability, and self-entrepreneurship; a development that has affected various educational settings within Europe. However, despite neoliberal appropriation, we can observe a metamorphosed kind of Bildung that goes beyond the neoliberal parameters. This new kind of Bildung includes social and local practices visible in social media, rap sessions, subversive lyrics, linguistic landscapes and other venues which are not to be found in textbooks or educational standards. By using concrete examples of human activity such as graffiti or street art undertaken by young people around the globe I will be able to show that the conditions rendered possible by globalization offer alternative avenues for Bildung, which is inherently reflexive and self-conscious, as once envisioned by Wilhelm von Humboldt.

Keywords: Bildung, education, neoliberalism, entrepreneurship, globalization

Michael Herslund & Irene Baron

European Identities: Centre and Periphery

When discussing European identities, or indeed a common European identity, it is useful to take into account the existence of different narratives upon which identities are built. One way to analyse such differences is to draw attention to the opposition between the centre and the periphery in the EU (Baron et al. 2015). The European narrative, as it can be reconstructed from the texts of the treaties, is one of a new beginning for Europe, a rupture with the past, an era of peace,

democracy and the rule of law (e.g. art. 2 TEU, Treaty of Lisbon). This is consistent with the fact that the three major founding countries, France, West Germany and Italy, had performed their own breaks with the past shortly after the end of World War II. It is, as it were, their individual histories that are projected onto the history of Europe in order to create a coherent, legitimising and inclusive narrative for (Western) Europe. Other countries have joined the EEC/EU, some of which have a different background. This is for instance the case of Denmark, whose narrative differs in important respects. It emphasises the fundamental historical continuity of the Danish nation on its march towards the nation state, democracy and the peaceful development of the welfare state. But this narrative, which forms the cornerstone of Danish identity, is an exclusive one, stressing national specificity, the nation's fight against foreign attempts to dominate and its struggle to fulfil its "historical mission", the welfare state. If we compare the two cases, we see that the European Union acts as is typical of the centre of an empire (Zielonka 2007): it strives to control, but also to include the periphery, hence its narrative must be wide, welcoming and inclusive, inviting everybody to participate, as is characteristic of an institutionalised identity (in the sense of Castells 2010). The inclusive character of the community is stated explicitly in the preamble of the treaty of Rome: the purpose of the creation of the European community is to preserve and strengthen peace, democracy and liberty, and countries sharing this ideal are invited to join in. The Danish narrative, however, is typical of the periphery: since it only concerns itself it cannot but be exclusive in order to maintain its own identity and freedom towards the surrounding world, and more specifically, the centre, which is conceived as dominating and, in the last resort, threatening. It is thus a kind of resistance identity (Castells 2010): its purpose is not to invite others, but to strengthen the ties within its own national community. We then can see how the assumption that collective identities, in particular national identities, are based upon narratives about the nation, and how the analytical tool provided by the notions of centre and periphery can shed an interesting light upon the kinds of opposing identities, not only in the case of European vs. Danish, but also in other cases of identity clashes where member states seem to react hesitantly towards the European Union.

Keywords: centre-periphery, narrative, empire, institutionalised identity, resistance identity

Neriman Hocaoglu Bahadir

Linguistic Diversity as a Component of European Identity

European identity is the identity of the European Union, which is a *sui generis* entity. Its identity has been constructed since it was first introduced with Copenhagen Declaration on European Identity. The European identity has many components and linguistic diversity is one of these components as it is a Union with 24 official languages and many other indigenous regional or minority languages that are used in daily lives of its citizens. Different than national identities the European identity is not constructed on a common language but on a linguistic diversity.

European Union supports and promotes this linguistic diversity with its laws, regulations, programmes, actions and its translation and interpreting services. In this article it is aimed to examine the historical development of the European Union's language policy as one of the components of its identity and to find out its contribution to the European identity. In order to realize this aim the regulations, conclusions, programmes and actions related to language policy are researched.

Keywords: European identity, linguistic diversity, multilingualism

Concha Maria Höfler

Being “European” in the Southern Caucasus – Greeks in Georgia between identification and alteration

In the conception of the Greek community of Georgia „Europe“ is both a locus of identification and one of alteration – a place they feel they belong to and one they distance themselves from. Identification in this community is traced through their migration to the Southern Caucasus from the Southeastern coast of the Black Sea almost 200 years ago, their belonging to the (Greek) Orthodox Church, the perception of being part of a greater Greek diaspora reaching back to the Byzantine Empire (Bruneau 1998; Sideri 2006), and through mass emigration in the past 25 years (initially mainly to Greece and Cyprus). In Georgia, religious affiliation and the historical link to the Byzantine Empire were and in most cases still are considered as “legitimate” links to “Greekness”. In Greece, however, while they are officially recognized as Greeks, ancestry and religious affiliation are in many cases not considered to be sufficient features of “Greekness” in everyday interactions, especially in the case of Greeks from the Soviet Union that do not speak Standard Modern Greek well (Hionidou 2012; Kaurinkoski 2010). This paper proposes an ethnographically informed conversation analysis (Deppermann 2000) of 50 semi-structured interviews with members of Georgia's Greek community and two outsiders from Germany and Georgia. The focus will be on the interactive construction of belonging (Hausendorf 2000), especially the juxtaposition of “Europe” and “the Caucasus” and the positions interviewees ascribe to themselves and their communities in relation to these. “Europe” and “Europeans” are constructed as ambivalent entity/ies, both aspired to and despised; a community the speakers both feel they belong to and at the same time reject and are rejected by. “Europe” is contrasted with “the Caucasus” and “Caucasians” with the latter both offering significant points of attachment in terms of shared practices fostering belonging and identification and being despised due to its “backwardness”. A careful analysis of these complex relationships offers insights into three issues: Firstly, the interactive construction of belonging in an understudied community. Secondly, the interviewees draw on wider discourses about the recent socio-political transformations whose role may be explicated as the background to the recorded interactions. Thirdly, the data offers a view on “Europe” from an outside that is ambivalent about its own situatedness.

Keywords: identification, alteration, Greeks in Georgia, minorities, conversation analysis

The Representation of Europe in UK Election Manifestos

This paper investigates how the European Union is represented in the election manifestos of the traditionally three major UK parties, namely the Conservatives, Labour and Liberal Democrats (notwithstanding the fact that the Liberal Democrats slid to fourth position in the 2015 general election). Election manifestos are official declarations of programmes, policies and goals of political parties, and thereby constitute an ‘authoritative’ source of where parties stand with respect to political and social issues. Britain’s relationship with the EU has been commonly described as “stormy” (Gibbins, 2012), “phenomenally complex”, “inconsistent” and “reluctant” (Jones, 2007). British public attitudes to and press representations of the EU have been the focus of a number of studies (e.g. Eurobarometer 2011, Marchi & Taylor 2009) but to our knowledge this is the first study that examines election manifestos. . A corpus of 22 election manifestos were used in this study, spanning the period from 1992 (the year when the Treaty on European Union was signed) to 2015, the year of the most recent general election in the UK. The corpus was analysed using Corpus-Assisted-Discourse Studies (CADS), an approach that combines a corpus-based quantitative approach and a discourse analysis-based qualitative analytical methodology. Our main focus of investigation was collocations, discourse prosody, and keyword analysis. Our findings show that – contrary to our expectations – the frequency of keywords relating to Europe is considerably higher in the election manifestos of the Conservative Party than those of the other two parties. Closer investigation indicates that there is a significant overlap across the three major political parties in terms of what the EU means for Britain. All three parties share a broader concern for more democratisation of the EU institutions and empowerment of the European citizenry than imposition of policies handed down from Brussels. At the same time there are important differences in the way the three parties see the role of Britain in the EU. The Conservatives seem to adopt a rhetoric of Britain’s superiority over the rest of the European countries while the Labour and the Liberal Democrats show more ‘integrationist’ approaches.

Keywords: European Union, political parties, corpus linguistics, Discourse Analysis, collocation, semantic field

Karim Ifrak

Islam et musulmans en Europe. Entre diversité religieuse séculaire et identités culturelles nouvelles

Le Vieux Continent, à l’origine païen, devenu plus tard chrétien, a fait connaissance avec l’islam à la faveur de plusieurs rencontres, le plus souvent violentes. Une violence dictée par des logiques économiques et politiques au nom d’Allah pour les uns, de Dieu pour les autres. Des pages sombres de l’histoire, qui semblent avoir été définitivement tournées de nos jours, mais qui gardent, malgré les apparences, des traces indélébiles dans la mémoire collective de millions de

citoyens de part et d'autre de la Méditerranée. Installés en masse, avant et après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, les musulmans, venus des anciennes colonies, se sont vus confronter à des modes de vie et de pensées totalement distincts des leurs. Mais génération après génération, ils ont réussi, plus ou moins, à assimiler la langue, la culture, les sensibilités des pays d'accueil. Une assimilation qui demeure asymétrique eu égard aux politiques d'immigration des pays d'accueil, aux propriétés d'acculturation de chaque communauté, aux origines sociales des individus, etc. Implanté un peu partout en Europe, l'islam et donc les musulmans, à l'image d'une Europe multiculturelle, multiconfessionnelle et multilingue, demeure intrinsèquement pluriel. Maghrébin dans les espaces francophones, indien dans les espaces anglophone, turc dans les espaces germanistique, etc. Assujetti donc à ses communautés, l'islam demeure, selon les cas, traditionaliste, piétiste, fondamentaliste ou islamiste, voir dans certains cas, radical ou extrémiste. Toutefois, et ce, dans la majorité des cas, lorsqu'il n'est pas athée, il est soit sunnite ou chiite, scindé ensuite en des courants de pensée pluriels. Au sein d'une Europe multiculturelle, multiconfessionnelle et multilingue, qu'elle est la place de l'islam et des musulmans originellement européens ou qui le sont devenus plus tard ? Quel est l'impact qu'ils ont au sein de l'espace européen, tant dans la forme que dans le fond, et quel est l'impact de l'Europe sur l'islam et les musulmans dans le sens inverse ? Autrement dit, pourra-t-il exister, demain, un islam européen, et dans ce cas-là, quel visage aura-t-il ? Ou alors, dans un cas contraire, réussira-t-il à cohabiter et à s'épanouir en toute quiétude dans une Europe plurielle au sens large du terme ? À travers une démarche globale, nous allons dessiner, non sans précision, un panorama le plus large possible, en creusant des pistes de réflexion qui permettront d'anticiper la place et l'avenir de l'islam au sein d'une Europe désormais pluraliste, aujourd'hui et demain.

Keywords: Europe, religion, interaction, intégration, identité

Aleksandar Ignjatovic

Paradoxes of a Cultural Divide: European Identities and the Appropriations of Byzantine Architecture in the 19-20th Century

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, many Western European nations have been historicized through a variety of disciplinary regimes—from political and cultural history, to archaeology and architectural history. This happened simultaneously with the construction of what is widely believed to represent a common European cultural identity. Regardless of the complexity and diversity of changeable political systems and phases of development of each European nationalism, historiography had a major role in a dual process of distinguishing particular national identities and establishing notions of European cultural borders. This universal phenomenon was based on a controversial and often dubious process of selection and invention of suitable pasts, which consequently provided a framework for perception of different national groups as being both culturally

diverse and unified in a common European cultural framework. Architectural history had a major role in this complex identity-constructing process across the continent. While the classical heritage of ancient Greece and Rome provided a ubiquitous ground for imagining borders of European identity, and while particular medieval architectures became crucial for forging notions of national distinctiveness, there was an architectural tradition which has remained absent in mainstream western European historiography. That is Byzantine architecture, a particularly telling example which simultaneously enforces and questions a supposed cultural divide that still dominates the perception of European cultural borders. Namely, Byzantium remained a commonplace for imagining a non-European otherness usually associated with its cultural inheritors—be they modern-day Turks, Russians or the Orthodox nations of the Balkans. However, the same Byzantine architectural legacy was simultaneously and reversely included in Western European historical imagination, becoming integral part of national heritage and acquiring a range of ideological functions and overtly political resonance. Paradoxically, Byzantine architecture has retained its unstable referential status, representing a symbol of a conspicuously non-Western identity, a kind national legacy—not only for the Balkan Orthodox nations, but also for many Western Europeans—yet rarely been associated with a shared European legacy and model of Europe's common identity. The primary aim of this paper is to examine how a number of national architectural historiographies in both the European East and West similarly reinforced the process of constructing national identities by employing the Byzantine heritage which is usually associated with only one side of the supposed East-West European cultural divide. From Russians and the French, to Christian nations of the Balkans, Germans, Catalans and British Catholics, a number of European nations were simultaneously employing the tropes of Byzantine cultural succession as a symbol of national identity. Furthermore, while rewriting national architectural histories these nations were erecting modern neo-Byzantine edifices that were springing up throughout modern European capitals to represent a kind of “inverted archaeology”, failing to interpret Byzantium as a common European heritage. A paradox that lies at the heart of this pan European Byzantine discourse is that a heritage that was, and still is, usually thought of as a symbol of the East-West European cultural divide, represented a common cultural treasury for creating architectural imageries of national identity and cultural exceptionalism.

Keywords: national identity, European identity, cultural divide, historiography, architecture

Margarita Iliopoulou

The rise of the Technocracy as crisis management-emphasis on the case of Greece

The European continent has provided us with the birth of intellectualism, which has been substantially transformed throughout the centuries resulting in what is widely known nowadays as Technocracy. This paper is an attempt to conceptualise the current meaning of Technocracy and its practical and more evident implications that may be identified within the European Technocratic rule. The fiscal philosophy of the European Monetary Union and the evolving regulatory framework of the fiscal policy bring up the trilemma of the obligatory nature of the rules, the amount of discretion within a democratic political system and the political incentives. We attempt to assess the fiscal rules both from an economic perspective and a socio-legal perspective. Furthermore, we examine to which extent the transnationalization of Democracy serves as a path to European Integration using either austerity or solidarity as effective tools, while constructing narratives that achieve balance through conflict. The main argument is that the rise of Technocracy and more importantly its newly constructed legitimization became during the crisis the main challenge for Democracy within the European Union. We are seeking for the correlation between economic crises and technocratic governments, the latter generating new forms of legal pluralism along with the new political actors. The crisis management expertise seems not to leave sufficient space for a “rebranding” of the concept of (European) citizenship. We examine a series of European countries that stand out as representative examples of that “lure of technocracy”. Thus, we use Greece and Italy as case studies in order to explore the perceptions of the political-technocratic elite on national and European level.

Keywords: Technocracy, crisis, democracy, EMU, fiscal rules

Onescu Ionut Dragos

Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union and the role of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) in its development

Emergence is a complex process that highlights the emergence of new power centers geopolitical and geostrategic. BRICS emerging countries can be a model for other states, a model of development and progress on the international scene. BRICS is a group of states informal group of countries, a platform for exchanges wishing changing financial and economic architecture globally. Member emerging BRICS countries in the European Union saw a pillar of stability and development. Reasons for choosing such topics of study is more imperative if we consider the magnitude of changes with a rapidity unprecedented in history in the geopolitical

security, on the basis of new challenges, risks, threats and vulnerabilities are sketched new processes of change continuous deep affecting traditional concepts of security. Emerging countries are developing under the impetus of foreign direct investment and economic and social reforms. When we talk about development we consider the qualitative growth of economy, diversification of economic sectors. Real progress means increasing living standards, eradicate poverty, illiteracy. BRICS suffers from chronic underdevelopment. The origins of this underdevelopment are the country's past, the failure to reform the political system and maintaining a backward mentality. The European Union has been hit by the crisis but resisted because of lofty ideals. EU unity lies in its belief that Europe is the cradle of civilization of mankind. Development cooperation is the impetus that helps the EU to go further. The European Union will cooperate with the BRICS collaborating because you can only develop by helping others to develop. The second world is about to become the first world if you take the necessary steps. Continuous reform and development orientation are necessities that the BRICS should not ignore. To grow you must implement programs and projects starting with the company and then continues with the state. Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union's mission is to promote belief, values, norms and ideas of Europe. The geographical position of the EU is bound to be a center for peace and security. By promoting a policy of cooperation, the latter must generate peace, stability and development. By cooperating with the BRICS and the European Union must develop paradigm of development cooperation.

Keywords: PESC, BRICS, European Union, Common Security

Mihaela Ivanescu

How Far Is Romania of the European Union? Romanian Politicians' Discourse in the European Elections and the People's Interest for the European Agenda

As well as the national parliaments, the European Parliament is an institution which has a very important mission: to represent the European citizens, their interests, not the ones of the national governments or some particular groups. Hence, just like at a national level, the elections for the European Parliament are a huge part of the democratic architecture of the European Union. It is clear that, for the European elections, the politicians' discourse must be different from the one used in the national parliamentary elections, emphasizing on themes that bring to the people's attention the European institutions and policies. The people must vote for its representatives in the European Parliament, so the public debates during the electoral campaigns for the European elections must leave in the background the national themes and concentrate on the European ones. But the political rivalries at the national level are often too strong and sometimes the candidates seem to forget the stakes of the European elections and bring to people's attention themes that are not always in accordance with this type

of election. Romania is one of the most recent members of the European Union, which does not have a very long experience with this “electoral exercise”, but a country in which the people’s trust in the European institutions and policies seems to be higher than in most of the other Member States. As a paradox, the people’s interest for the European elections has been quasi non-existent, both in 2009 and in 2014 rounds of elections, much below the European average. This situation generates at least two main research questions. First of all, why, in a country in which the trust in the European institutions seems to be quite high, the interest for the European elections is so low? Second, why don’t most of the politicians who run in the European elections put more emphasis in their political discourse on the European themes, in order to differentiate more between the national parliamentary elections and the European ones? This paper will try to offer some responses to those questions, based on the experience of the three rounds of European elections that took place in Romania after its accession in the European Union (we took into consideration also the European elections from 2007, the year of Romania’s accession in the EU, even if those elections were organized for half of mandate). The methodology used for this paper will necessarily be a pluralist one: the comparison of the statistical data regarding the electoral turnout and the results will be combined with the discourse analysis, in order to demonstrate that, in the cases of most of the candidates in the European elections, the discourse was less oriented towards European themes and policies and more connected to national problems, emphasizing – yet again – the national political rivalries.

Keywords: European elections, Romania, candidates, political discourse, turnout

Maria Davou

Discourse of Deception; A Crisis of False Identity in Nature of Debate Shows

Television as the most conspicuous representation of mass media, with its extreme influence in shaping public ideas, has been subject to power plays and ideological struggles since its inception. One of the explicit ramifications of such power plays is to impose false identities on individuals as well as minority groups in different societies. In this paper, efforts have been made to shed lights on the mechanisms and processes of the development of such false identities in media through the analysis of a number of debate shows. Analyses of the exchange of opinions in the research corpus led to unveiling a number of strategies that parties of a debate have exploited to impose a false identity on their opponents. Further in this paper, potential ramifications of the profusion of these false identities in mass public is addressed, warned about, and deprecated.

Keywords: language, deception, media, debate shows, false identities

Learning to be (come) a good European a critical analysis of the official European Union discourse on european identity and higher education

During the year 2007, the European Union could look back at fifty years of collaboration, which began with the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and which has developed from being mainly economic in character to incorporating a political as well as a social dimension at the European level. In 2007 the European Union also commemorated the twentieth anniversary of Erasmus, its higher education mobility programme. It is this relatively new political dimension which I have been interested in investigating in my research. More precisely it is the political construction of a common European identity which is analysed using a critical discourse analysis approach. The major aim of this research has been two-fold. The first aim has been to investigate how the European is constructed in the discourse contained within the official European Union policy documents. I have been interested in analysing the various structures, in the form of ideas and norms which are used in order to construct 'the European'. In this sense This research is a study of the power of modern government. I am influenced by Foucault and his concept of 'governmentality' which can be linked to his other concepts of 'conduct of conduct' and 'conduct of the self'. Is being a European something we are or something we become? I argue that there is an increase in normative soft power where 'The Good European' is not something 'you' are but something 'you' become by being a responsible active citizen who partake in higher education as a lifelong learning project. The second aim has been to explore whether the role of higher education, as constructed in the official European Union discourse, is given a similar identity-making role as education is argued to have in the nation-state according to the theory on national identity. I argue that there are three version of European identity construction, i.e. cultural, civic, and neo-liberal, with their own relationship to higher education, present in the empirical material analysed, consisting of official European Union documents. Through the use of critical discourse analysis I illuminate the power which resides in the language in the discourse analysed. Thus, I have been interested in investigating how the official European Union discourse on European identity and higher education works to both include and exclude individuals.

Keywords: identity, higher education, culture, citizenship, neo-liberalism

Questioning EU relations in the Finnish and Estonian refugee debates

In Finland and Estonia, popular reactions to the European refugee crisis have grown increasingly polarized since summer 2015. As governments have negotiated Europe-wide arrangements for the relocation of asylum seekers, those calling for European and international solidarity, on one hand, and those insisting on the sovereignty of member states to determine the intake of migrants, on the other, have clashed in the public domain. As a consequence, established national narratives of the EU have become challenged in both countries. This paper examines the public refugee debate in Finland and Estonia from the perspective of critical geopolitics. Accordingly, we ask how, in the national debates on the European refugee crisis, popular geopolitical imagination concerning both Finland's and Estonia's positions within Europe is constructed and their relations with the EU are defined. To analyze and compare the popular geopolitics of Estonia and Finland, we examine news reports, opinion articles and editorials that deal with the 2015 refugee crisis in the two leading national newspapers, *Postimees* and *Helsingin Sanomat*, correspondingly. We employ Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis to uncover the underlying geopolitical positionings, in which the nation ('we') is articulated in relation to 'others'. Our analysis suggests that the refugee crisis debate redefines the national geopolitical imagination in both Finland and Estonia, but in rather different ways. In the Finnish debate, established notions of Finland as part of the "responsible Northern Europe" and an ally of Germany is being destabilized, whereas in the Estonian discourses, the dominant narrative of the EU as a provider of security and welfare becomes threatened. We interpret these findings in light of the broader crisis in European integration and discuss the relevance of popular geopolitics for foreign policy.

Keywords: Refugee crisis, Estonia, Finland, media, critical geopolitics, discourse

Bilge Kalkavan

One story-Different Schemas

This study examines the affect of structures of expectations on the perception and narration of a film. The study applies Tannen's (1993) theory of structures of expectations and Labov/Waletzky's (1967) narrative structure to elicit and analyze the narratives of four Greek, two Turkish informants based on a Turkish film with Greek subtitles "My Grandfather's People". It is story of a Turkish man who was evicted from Crete during "Population Exchange" and had to live rest of his life in Turkey longing to visit his 'home'. The study suggested different schemas at work in perception and narration of the film, namely: narrative, cognitive, affective, linguistic and silential. Narrative structure affected the tendency of most of the

tellers to follow complicating action after orientation part as they perceived it as an expected step by the listener. The analysis of Yorgos' narration depicted a huge gap with the other participants' narrations in terms of knowledge of narrative genre. Although Turkish narrator, Ali's discourse of narration was quite short, during the interview, he was as if lecturing a history lesson. Turkish narrator, Gözde's narration was also different from others but it had a similarity with Yorgos' narration only with respect to take an impersonal viewpoint and enter into consciousness of the actors while narrating the film which was an indication of their literary narrative awareness. In terms of cognitive schema, "Population Exchange" was the common concept, but knowledge of people, events and experiences in the film were all different for each participant. Affective schema, emerged from the memory of personal experiences, memories and hopes, were dominant in most of the narratives. The languages used in this study (English with three Greek informants, Turkish with one Greek and two Turkish informants and Greek subtitles), also had different effect and cultural resonances, especially the word "gavur" which means "nonbeliever-nonmuslim" has different connotations for Greek and Turkish cultures. In the framework of linguistic schema, the discourse of participants' narratives were analyzed closely in terms of hedges, repetitions and adjectives which indicated different expectations of the narrators. Finally, the silential schema functioning as a negative face saving device, pointed out the things participants did not say but could have said under different circumstances. Tannen's claim that personal experience and our cultural habitus always affect our narration of a film was not born out in this study, particularly, in the case of Yorgos. There was great deal of variation among the Greek and Turkish narrators even though they all belonged to same culture. The findings of the study suggests more critical perspective to the notion of "structure of expectation" than that of Tannen 1993. "Norms of interaction and interpretation, form part of the invisible ritual imposed by culture on language users"(Kramsch,1997,p.6). Such a study, underscores the difficulty of being "the other" in a society, is timely given the increased number of migrants reaching to the shores of other countries trying to find new homes to survive.

Keywords: narrative structure, structures of expectation, affective schema, cognitive schema, linguistic schema

Alexia Kalogeropoulou & Athena Chatjoulis

Digital narrative identities and the construction of reality on social media during the European economic crisis

Drawing on Social Constructivism and Discourse Analysis Theory this oral presentation puts forward the concept of "narrative identity" in order to analyze the European identity and its separation to "we" and "the others" as it is constructed through the content that is shared on social media from the early stages of the European economic crisis until the present. It assumes that the narratives of separation to "we" and "the others" shared on the social networking

sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, during the economic crisis, have contributed to the construction of certain identities, as European sub-identities and group identification. It also presumes that the constructed meanings attributed to sub-identities are shaped by the social context in which people live and are influenced by the local dimension where everyday life takes place. By presenting a research conducted exclusively in social networking sites, the presentation aims to highlight the constructed separation to “we” and “the others” as it is presented on social media and shared by Europeans from diverse socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. Results show that the “narrative identities” of Europe are constructed multi-level stories.

Keywords: social constructivism, discourse analysis theory, narrative identity, social media, narrative construction

Antigone Kapasaki & Stamatia Psaroudaki

That’s not my democracy

Since political discourse is not a simple issue it combines many strategies of language use, so that the listeners are influenced to develop a positive and desired attitude. The use of language strategies varies, depending on the conviction, and the goal of the speaker, as well as the context in which the addresses are made. Language has been a powerful tool in the hands of the political leaders; they manipulate the tool to suit their purpose. Since politics is basically about struggling to control power, it is only through language that it can be accomplished, thereby making language a very strong weapon. Take “democracy” for example, which is an “essentially contested concept” (Galley, 1956) and its interpretation may differ even in the minds of individuals who belong to the same linguistic context. Politicians seem to take advantage of this in their rhetoric in order to justify the implementation of various practices both in the domestic and international scene. In July’s referendum in Greece, people had to vote against or in favor of more austerity measures. The measures constituted the bailout conditions in the country’s government debt crisis. In a democratic country people’s decisions are respected and taken into consideration. The Greek government was hoping that the result of the referendum would lead to a more favorable agreement. However, even though 61% of the Greek citizens voted against more measures, a third memorandum was signed shortly afterwards. It seems therefore that the argument upon which the referendum was held in the first place was disregarded completely by the European partners. How is “democracy” understood then and what does it really mean? In the present paper, two political speeches by the Greek Prime Minister, Alexis Tsipras, are going to be analyzed. The former was addressed to the Greek Parliament before the referendum of July 5 and the latter to the European Parliament after the referendum. Numerous references are made to the significance of “democracy” and the need to defend and preserve the democratic tradition of both Greece and Europe. Through the analysis, the language used and the manipulation of certain linguistic items will be closely

examined, which in the hands of the Greek Prime Minister became powerful tools. Moreover, the different layers of meaning of 'democracy' will be unfolded and their contribution to the construction of different identities for the Greek people will be discussed.

Keywords: debt crisis, referendum, democracy, identity, Greece

Ekaterine Kartvelishvili & Concha Maria Höfler

Constructing "Europe" from the margins – the view of Soviet Greek immigrants to Greece

In this paper, we propose to look at the construction of "Europe" from its margins, namely through the eyes of Soviet Greek immigrants to Greece from Georgia. They are a particularly interesting group to work with as they have had to come to terms not only with the unsettling experience of migrating to another country but also with rather unexpectedly (and at times violently) encountering rejection in terms of not being accepted as "real Greeks" – something they had been categorized as and categorized themselves as since Ottoman times (Sideri 2006). Leaving the collapsing Soviet Union, they were and are categorized as "Greeks" by the Greek government but not in everyday interactions, especially not if they are not perceived as speaking flawless Standard Modern Greek (Hionidou 2012; Vergeti 1991). 20 semi-structured interviews of Georgian Greek immigrants to Greece centering on their migration experiences and self-identification(s) are analyzed with regards to how interviewees position themselves vis-à-vis the "Europe" they have encountered through their migration and everyday life in Greece. The method of analysis is an ethnographically informed conversation analysis (Deppermann 2000) that focuses on the categories that are interactively established, ascribed and evaluated following the model of Hausendorf (2000). The proposed paper will shed light on a discourse on "Europe" that does not usually take center stage.

Keywords: post-Soviet Greeks, conversation analysis, identification, Georgia, Greece

Sofia Kefalidou

Narrativization of the Greek financial crisis by Greek TV news: The outbreak and Greece's return to bond markets

TV news's intermediating role of representing abstract processes pertaining to the public sphere in ways that they become accessible to their viewers is considered to be critical for the images that the latter form about institutions that determine their everyday life. That said, any attempt to understand the growing euro-skepticism as a result of the way EU citizens perceived the manner in which the EU handled the financial crisis couldn't leave unaddressed, among others,

the issue of how the crisis was represented to them by the media. The paper contributes to the discussion by addressing the issue of the representation of the financial crisis by Greek TV news. More specifically, it focuses on the narrativization and naturalization of the austerity program adopted by the Greek governments as a series of defensive moves necessitated and imposed by the outbreak of the Greek financial crisis (October/ November 2009) and as means to a successful end signaled by Greece's bond sale in April, 2014. By analyzing a small corpus of TV news items from both public and all private channels (covering the period from October to November 2009 and further including the broadcast of the 10th of April, 2014 when Greece issued new government bonds to international investors) within the framework of cognitive narratology and cognitive linguistics, the paper treats the representation of Greek financial crisis by Greek TV news as an instance of narrative discourse and examines the mechanisms involved in the emergence of narrative meaning, such as the conceptual blending of the abstract domain of finance and economy with the middle sized world of everyday people and the distribution of the roles of agents and victims. Especially with respect to the latter, resorting to the narrative mode of representation (as opposed to the explanatory mode of representation, Herman 2009) involves obscuring the ideological factors that determine the actions and decisions of the entities involved in the crisis and configuring them as personalized agents that participate in story-plot schemas very much familiar from every-day life. Special emphasis is given to the narrative construction of the identity of the European Union (and its institutions) as the powerful "other": Greek TV news are proven to have been ambivalent towards the European Union and its institutions since the latter are represented either as allies or as powerful agents cornering the Greek government and imposing their agenda on the cabinet (along with the markets, the international press and the credit rating agencies). (add linguistic expressions referring to EU institutions, officials etc levels of abstraction, schematization Sweetser, Langacker, a direct effect of narrativising + metonymies metaphors). The paper thus contributes to the conference's areas of interest since it applies discourse analytical and cognitive linguistic tools to detect the ideological implications of the media's practice to storify instead of explaining the crisis.

Keywords: narrativization, Greek, crisis, TV news, blending

Sophia Kitsou

“EU-topia or dystopia?” The EU image at the crossroads

Paradoxically, although the European Union has a relatively good “image” in the wider world, it seems that its “self- image” within its member states has been badly hurt since the Eurozone crisis started. According to public opinion surveys, in some member states less than half the public does not believe that the EU promotes prosperity. However, there are some Europeans who still share an idealistic vision of the European Union, holding on to views reminiscent of the

ambitious goals propounded by the founding fathers. Communicating Europe is a difficult task done in fierce competition between European institutions, but also with member states, who are much easier to identify, are closer to their nationals, and who are often tempted to “nationalize” the successes of the EU project and to blame Brussels for news that is less positive. According to Joseph Nye, the development of the EU has greatly enhanced Europe’s attractiveness and soft power in the world, however, the EU undoubtedly lacks the soft power required to get the member state publics to want the outcomes its political leaders want or to shape what they want, not by means of coercion, but by attraction. If we adopt Sharp’s (2005) definition of public diplomacy, that is “the process by which direct relations with the people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented”, then we understand that the EU public diplomacy faces great challenges in projecting a positive self- image to its citizens, especially those living in crisis-stricken countries. This paper discusses the controversial issue of the EU image while, at the same time, explores to what extent, in which ways and by what mechanisms can the EU influence and remedy its negative perceptions among the EU public.

Keywords: EU, negative image, Eurozone crisis, soft power, public diplomacy

Gabriella Klein, Koffi Dossou, Maria Fountana & Stavroula Sokoli

Discursive and Visual Construction of Internal Borders. Analysis of advertisement samples from Italy, Greece and the UK in the framework of the EU Project RADAR

For centuries the word “race” as biological notion, has been applied to human beings, creating borders and barriers between continents and countries (1684 Bernier; 1735 Linneo). Even though this notion has been declared as scientifically incorrect, the idea itself still continues to exist as a social construction dividing the humanity in superior and inferior beings. This idea has eventually led to the phenomenon of racism (in the 1920’s), a phenomenon which is of extreme importance at the moment in which the EU is facing the challenge of continuous immigration accompanied by racist (re)actions. While there is extensive literature on racist ideologies and beliefs, further scientific reflection is necessary on how racism and xenophobia are communicatively constructed through mass media devices such as advertisements. Issues that need to be tackled include: How do advertisement videos and pictures convey, directly or indirectly, prejudice, racism and xenophobia? Which sociological, political, economic and cultural attitudes are reflected? What possible impact can they have in culture and society? These questions are at the focus of the RADAR (Regulating AntiDiscrimination and AntiRacism, JUST/2013/FRAC/AG/6271) EU Justice project, which will provide law enforcement and legal officials with tools aiming to facilitate the identification of racist hate communication. The work of the project consortium

from the six partner countries involved (Italy, Greece, Poland, United Kingdom, Finland, the Netherlands) builds on the self-evident axiom that each time racist hate crimes are not recognised as such, a violation of fundamental human rights takes place. The present contribution focuses on advertisements as a valuable primary source for gathering information about practices, values and beliefs of a certain society, since “Nell’opinione pubblica e nei mass media persiste la propensione a ragionare e giudicare in termini razzisti”. [In the public opinion and in the mass media there is still a tendency to argue and judge in racist terms.] The aim is to present a theoretical model for their analysis, which is based on Conversation Analysis, Multimodal Analysis, and Visual Analysis. Three samples of advertisement pictures (one from the UK, one from Greece, one from Italy) and two advertisement videos (one from Greece and one from Italy) will be presented to exemplify this model and their analysis will ultimately lead to identifying how hate, xenophobia and racism are supported and even constructed by verbal messages (words and discourses), paraverbal messages (voice), non-verbal messages (body language) and visual messages (images).

Keywords: racism, hate communication, advertisement, conversation analysis, multimodal analysis

Ekaterina Klimenko

“Integration of Migrants” in Russian Media: Constructing Boundaries, Constituting Distance, Legitimizing Domination

Russia's migration policy has been altered a number of times during the last 25 years; nowadays we are facing another round of reforms in the sphere of migration. A significant part of these reforms is the growing attention towards the issue of the integration of migrants reflected not only in a number of legislations passed recently, but also in migration related debates in media. This latest shift in the migration policy is often esteemed as a sign – and a necessary component – of its liberalization (or even humanization). Does this wide spread esteem of the introduction of the concept “the integration of migrants” into migration related debates as reflecting the “humanitarian turn” in Russia's migration policy comply with the way this concept is represented in the variety of modern Russia discourses? May this concept itself – as well as its intensified usage – be deemed a “veil” disguising the practice of discursive construction of boundaries and constituting distance between migrants and the host society, as well as legitimizing the dominance of the latter? The objective of the research is to perform the discourse analysis of written media texts where the concept “the integration of migrants” is represented in order to elicit which type of discourse is (re)produced in these texts, what topics, discursive strategies and linguistic means are employed by their authors to perform such a reproduction. The methodology of the research is based in the recognition of the ability of discourse – considered as a set of forms of representation, codes, conventions and habits of language that produce specific fields of culturally and historically located meanings [Fiske J. Television Culture.

London: Routledge, 1987] – to predetermine the way we perceive reality. A use of language, influencing beliefs and interaction, mediates our access to reality and contributes to reproducing (or resisting) certain social practices, including discriminatory ones [Van Dijk T. *Discourse as Structure and Process*. London: Sage, 1997]. The results of the research show that media texts where the concept “the integration of migrants” is represented (re)produce the type of discourse, which specific traits are: considering migrants and the host society members as representatives of a certain “culture” that is deemed a never altering substance; applying cultural markers (language, traditions, values) in order to establish boundaries and set distance between them; representing all sorts of difficulties an individual experiences when she decides to migrate (such as social, economic, communicative, everyday problems) in terms of culture. Those who have access to the media discourse of the integration of migrants are members of the host society: experts, functionaries, journalists. Migrants themselves, deprived of such an access, are considered an object of the “integrating” influence. At the same time migrants are regarded as the ones obliged to perform “integrative” efforts. Whether the integration of migrants is regarded as a means to neutralizing migration related threats or maximizing the migration related benefits, both these threats and benefits are perceived from the perspective of the host society.

Keywords: Discourse, migration policy, integration of migrants, modern Russia

Emel Kökpınar Kaya

Symbolic construction of Greek/Turkish borders via discursive performances in newsprint media of Greece and Turkey: Evidence through “Syrian Exodus”

This study offers a critical investigation of the symbolic construction of Greek/Turkish borders in the newsprint media in Greece and Turkey by pointing out the news about ‘Syrian Exodus’. The study conceptualises borders as social and historical constructions since “they are physical entities and run through geographies of the mind as well as physical landscapes” (Mathur, 2013). To this end, a distinction between ‘hard borders’ and ‘soft borders’ (Eder, 2006) is made out in the context of the former as the legitimised territorial borders and the latter as the symbolic borders which are socially constructed with the help of the news media. In this frame, the study endeavours to explore the ways that territorial borders which are institutionalised by legal conventions are discursively reconstructed in newspaper articles as creating soft borders. In order to achieve this end, the study draws on the constructed images of the lands and borders of Greece and Turkey by considering that these borders are the external European Union borders which elaborate the conceptualisation of where and what Europe is. Grounded within social constructionist paradigm, the study delves into the linguistic units representing geographical spaces which lead up to a spatial

reference of a borderland between Greece and Turkey, between European and non-European lands. The data of the study have been collected from one national newspaper of Greece, Kathimerini, and one of Turkey, Daily Sabah since the very beginning of 2015. In both newspapers, the news about Syrian migration towards Europe is taken into consideration. That is because the news about 'Syrian Exodus' contains linguistic constructions of Greek and Turkish borders since Syrians can tentatively be labelled as the crossers of the Greek/Turkish border. It is observed in the data that there is a transformation in the understanding of the Greek/Turkish border from 'hard borders' to symbolic 'soft' ones. That is, the linguistic representation of geographical spaces are used to construct symbolic borders which are not totally harmonious to the legal territorial borders. By providing a detailed discussion of the borders through a spatial reference, the study also brings explanation about the influence of the historical trajectory of Greek/Turkish relationship to the narrative construction of the symbolic borders..

Keywords: discursive construction, symbolic borders, newsprint media, spatial reference

Barbara Kondilis

Student discourses of civic engagement and global citizenship in a time of crisis in Athens, Greece

This empirical study explores student and teaching faculty's perceptions of the concept of "Global Citizen", through participation (or not) in an undergraduate academic program series of Global Citizen Seminars (GCS) in a small college/university in Athens, Greece. Information gathered aims also to explore students' experiences in the Politis program of civic engagement, a required co-curricular component of undergraduate education aimed at fostering social and civic responsibility. The GCS curriculum includes both interdisciplinary and intercultural components centering on the themes of intercultural competence, social & personal responsibility, integrated learning from global, cultural, historical and political perspectives. From local to global, students review and discuss issues of diversity, civic and democratic engagement, cyber-citizenship, corporate social responsibility, and intercultural communication, as expressed both in verbal and written forms. Through Politis students experience first-hand issues relating to the current economic crisis by working with the impoverished, immigrants, as well as other vulnerable populations, becoming thus, practically aware of the notion and benefits of social responsibility (Young, 2004). Mixed methods were utilized including website information, surveys, artifacts (poems, self-reflection sheets among others) and focus group feedback from teaching faculty (N=15) and students (final number to be determined, currently 9 students completed the first focus groups in Spring 2015, further focus groups to be held in the Spring 2016 semester). Students and faculty provided further feedback on concepts of civic engagement and global citizenship by reflecting on a concept model developed by Morais & Ogden (2011). Data collected from self-

rankings for selected value rubrics of the U.S. Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) indicate that students and faculty perceive they are at the “milestone” level of development regarding their experiences in both GCS and/or the university’s undergraduate general education program. Using select AAC&U rubrics, participating students ranked their experience higher than that of the participating faculty ($p < 0.005$) while there was a significant difference in rankings among students who were required to participate in the GCS as compared to those who were not ($p < 0.05$). Concepts expressed by students and faculty reflect their definition of “what is a global citizen?” and how this reflects (or not) the university’s mission. Further the participants provided discourse on how they see civic engagement (via Politis) enhancing further the identity of the global citizen. Focus group data indicate an overall positive experience of both GCS and the overall undergraduate general education program. Further research of the most recent cohort of students who completed the Global Citizen course in Fall 2015 will be explored via both the demographic pre-survey and focus groups, similarly to the first student cohort interviewed in the Spring of 2015. Faculty continue working towards unified messages about global citizenship concepts and indicate the need for further support from senior administration in ensuring effectiveness and successful program implementation in the future. Further research in tracking progress and change in knowledge or attitudes as well as developing a community concept model may be useful in helping both faculty and students better understand and increase their awareness of global citizenship concepts and actions.

Keywords: Civic engagement, volunteerism, global citizenship, crisis, immigration

Kyriaki Kondylopoulou

Europe, European Union and European Council: Unidentified identities

Although Europe is the second smallest continent in the world in terms of surface it is legitimate to say that its diversity in terms of composition is not portrayed accordingly. Fifty one countries comprise Europe with some of them being transcontinental countries, partially located in both Europe and Asia. This by definition influences any possible homogeneity that might be attributed to the continent. To complicate the divergent situation even more, the European Union (EU) that was established in 1945, comprises nowadays 28 member countries. Within the European Union, the European Council is a separate organization with 47 member countries. No country has joined the EU without first joining the Council of Europe. That been said, there are European countries that are not members of the European Union yet, but are members of the European Council. In July of 2015 a referendum was held in Greece to decide whether Greece was to accept the bailout conditions in the country’s government-debt crisis proposed jointly by the European Commission (EC), the International Monetary Fund

(IMF) and the European Central Bank (ECB). This referendum was interpreted by Eurozone as a vote on Greece's place in Europe and the euro. A naturally occurring question at this point is: Can the European identity be extracted from Europeans? This paper acknowledges the European Union's commitment to cultural diversity while raising awareness of the countries' common history and values. It discusses the European identity as a situational identity that is in flux. It proposes that the European identity is constantly negotiated and it is constructed based on the socio-political conditions that are dynamic and rapidly changing. The paper seeks to discuss the perplexity of a collective European identity within the geographical frontiers of Europe and the political and social conditions within the European Union and the European Council's structure. The paper adopts the postmodern idea of fluid identity proposing that ethnic and cultural identity in Europe is fluid and multidimensional rather than fixed because of the continuous social movement not only intra-European but also from Asia and because of the cultural and ethnic identities that the aforementioned organizations (European Union, European Council) attribute to its people.

Keywords: situational identity, multidimensional, intersection of identities

Susanne Kopf

“The EU isn’t a country, is it?” - The EU on Wikipedia

This ongoing study sheds light on the representation(s) of the European Union (EU) on the English Wikipedia. As part of this project, both the Wikipedia-article on the EU and the ‘Talk Page’ underlying the article are examined. The ‘Talk Page’ provides a space for Wikipedia contributors to discuss problematic content and editing issues regarding the article on the EU. This paper, in particular, focuses on the representation(s) of the EU in the Wikipedia Talk Page discussion. Furthermore, it details which aspects of the EU have been considered debatable and problematic among Wikipedia contributors over the past 14 years of Talk Page discussion. While the EU has received considerable attention in linguistics (e.g. Fløttum, 2013; Wodak & Fairclough, 2010), private individuals’ attempts to make sense of this *suis generis* (Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, 2015a) when faced with the task of defining the EU have hardly been touched upon. In addition, the collaboratively-created online encyclopaedia Wikipedia has hitherto received relatively little attention in applied linguistics. Shortly after Wikipedia’s inception in 2001, contributors created an entry entitled “European Union”. Since then, contributors have negotiated how to define and describe the EU, which aspects to include in and exclude in an encyclopaedic text committed to the Neutral Point of View (Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, 2015b). Thus, the website affords the unique opportunity of investigating which aspects of the EU Wikipedians have grappled with and at which tentative conclusions they have arrived after more than a decade of discussion. These insights, in turn, might allow a glimpse of how society at large has grappled with the institution. The given study presents a

corpus-based discourse analysis on the Talk Page discussion and the archives of these discussions, that is, the corpus-investigation aims to give a “rich and detailed perspective” on “delicate variations” in the data rather than focusing on quantification of phenomena (McEnery & Wilson, 2001). Furthermore, the corpus is organised in temporal sequence to allow for conclusions regarding Wikipedians’ focus of debate at certain points in time. The analysis has found that while numerous topics connected to the EU led to extensive discussions on Wikipedia at some point since the creation of the article in 2001, some issues have been subject to heated debate throughout the Talk Page discussion. Among these are the question of whether to define the institution as a country-like entity or as a different form of institution altogether. Generally, and irrespective of the seemingly clear-cut conception of the EU found in the Wikipedia-article on the institution, the Talk Page analysis has shown that the Wikipedia community does not fully agree on what the EU is, was or ought to be.

Keywords: corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, EU, Wikipedia, CDA

Isabela Korbil, Asimina Koukou, Lisa Winter & Katharine Sarikakis

The Role of Communicative Discourse in Governing Public Spaces

The European Union is currently facing its deepest crisis in history. Since its outbreak in 2009, the European sovereign debt crisis has been omnipresent in the media. In the first few months the Eurozone crisis was framed almost exclusively from an economic point of view, with Greece being at the spotlight of international media, often as the culprit, the “sick” member of the EU. What, however, began as an economic crisis has sparked off mediated debates about European integration - about processes of exclusion and inclusion on multiple levels. European institutions, the nation state, social movements, civil society as well as the media play a decisive role in establishing and redefining boundaries of ‘Europeanness’. Drawing on media framing theories and the concept of communicative space, this paper explores the ways in which Austrian, German, British and Greek media have framed specific issues in the Eurozone crisis: national and supranational decisions, social movements and suicides. The media discourse has been charged by populist rhetoric and journalists’ attempts to single out scapegoats. Gradually, the media has turned their attention to national and supranational decisions as a means of solving the crisis. Thereby, not only the effectiveness and legitimacy of political decisions, but the European Union per se, has been challenged. Social movements as collective actions can be a response to inequality, oppression, and social injustice. The discourse produced by the movements is a tool for constructing new and governing public spaces. Media play a crucial role in the emergence, mobilization and outcomes of movements, however mainstream media are often accused of treating social dissent as deviant. Mainstream media in Europe have systematically maintained a discourse

of the EU and of the crisis in accord with political and economic elites. Under these circumstances, citizens make use of media and communicative spaces more general, in order to create discursive and action arenas where plurality of voices can be heard and counter-discourses can be accessed. The discourse surrounding suicides though constructed often solely, and often acted upon as an individual act and mental health issues, is more complex in times of crisis. What is seen as an individual act has an effect on the social life articulating at times a resistance to social injustice and at times being the point of breaking due to social injustice. Crisis destroys social stability and disintegrates society which leads to increased number of suicides. A number of self – immolations in Bulgaria or a pensioner shooting himself in front of the Greek Parliament are some recent and widely media covered cases. Through this extreme means of communication, individuals act to protest and to demonstrate the condition of the society, automatically denying their possibility to speak out in the future. The paper investigates discursive constructions as spheres of deliberation, which are contrasted and intersecting at the same time. These are the institutional level of discourse represented by mainstream opinion leading European media; a bottom-up discourse generated at multiple sites of resistance to the politics of austerity and extinction of public assets; and the personal level, the discourse of annihilation articulated by the ultimate act of silencing, suicide. In addition to identifying these different discourses, this paper aims at explaining how these discourses are interconnected and what their interdependencies look like.

Keywords: communication, discourse, governance

Penny Koutrolikou

Hegemonies in times of crisis? Reflecting on narratives about Athens, Greece, and European crises through Said's Orientalism

The 2008 financial crisis triggered the further expansion and deepening of neoliberalism(s) even in territories where it has not been so explicitly employed. As argued, from being a financial crisis, it soon unfolded into a sovereign debt and urban crisis of diverse path-dependencies, for which austerity was presented as the main remedy. Seven years down this line, we have witnessed the establishment and newly-found sovereignty of multi-scalar “austerity regimes”. Several European countries, and Europe as a whole, have been significantly affected by the financial crisis, the prevailing approaches for dealing with it and by the dominant narratives concerning “culprits” and preferred solutions. Within divergent crisis discourses and narratives, Greece has often been the infamous point of reference. Being the country's capital, Athens has been at the forefront of crises debates and discourses as well as of austerity driven “structural adjustments” as the bitter remedy for resolving the debt crisis. The repercussions of such measures on society and individuals have been well documented, revealing their failures since unemployment and homelessness soared as well as

poverty and inequality, while and many small businesses closed down and the welfare state has been continuously minimized. The implementation of imposed measures and the embeddedness of the hegemony of austerity were pushed through tactics to gain consent as well as through coercion (when consent seemed not possible). The imposition of these “structural adjustments” was accompanied by numerous changes of government and raised questions about (neo)colonialism due to the decisive role of external actors. In the same period, one also observes the proliferation of local solidarity initiatives which tried to respond to some of the effects of the crisis and the emergence and/or solidification of social movements. Amidst stigmatization and resistance, Greece became a point of reference, a multifaceted representation for this crisis upon which stereotypes and desires were projected. Hegemonies – particularly in times of crisis – also depend on entrenched narratives and representations. Throughout the Greek / Eurozone crisis, diverse yet dominant narratives have been crucial in shaping public perceptions and, to an extent, in justifying the doctrine of austerity. By focusing on European and local narratives concerning Greece in the context of the ‘Eurozone’ crisis, this paper re-visits Said’s Orientalism and examines its relevance in solidifying a European (albeit abstract) identity and in establishing or maintaining hegemonies which further legitimize ‘crisis regimes’ and decisions.

Keywords: Hegemony, crisis, narratives, orientalism, Athens, Europe

Foteini Nektaria Koutsotheodorou

Youth in Transit

In Europe at a time when migration control is getting stricter, and the death toll in Mediterranean sea is acquiring dramatic dimensions, the refugee question requires more and more urgency. During my thesis I dealt with the case of unaccompanied minors by focusing on Greece a country which due to its geographical position as a European borderland and European conventions such as Dublin II that put excessive pressure to those borderlands, receives a very large share of the refugee waves and the unaccompanied minors in particular. My main focus and queries were about minors. More and more young boys take the decision to leave their countries either due to war conditions, poverty issues or because they are forced by their own family. I wanted to learn more in depth how they deal with the adventurous trip they have to do and how they cooperate with the changes they are going through as youth in many layers as society, culture, family and feelings in such a sensitive age. In my research I tried to assess how the unaccompanied minor migrants experience the various transition they go through in their life while focusing on their situation in a guest house where I conducted my research. I also examined the function and the challenges that the guest house has to confront with on a daily basis in order to provide support to the unaccompanied minor migrants. The theory from Rozakou (2012) concerning humanitarianism may throw light to my findings concerning the attitude adopted from guest house’s

staff. Although it is an undeniable fact that the guest house provides a very significant task and the staff members put a considerable effort to treat the boys as it should, it is this “should” that leaves space for more discussion. The guest house functions embracing a European perspective about what youth is and what are its needs. According to this perspective, the personnel work so that these boys should be prepared for the new receiving context which is either Greece, or any other European country. As a result the staff gives less space to what these boys actually need. This attitude verifies the “biopolitical humanitarian project in the name of hospitality” where the youth are not actually accepted as they are but they are in a process of integration after being educated accordingly to the requirements of the receiving country, which shows its sovereignty (Rozakou, 2012). My findings concerning the youth show that youth is not only a phase at human’s life related to the biological changes that a teenager experiences, it is also the social status that one creates for him/herself (and the personal expectations that go with it; a passage from childhood to adulthood Arnett 2000). This corroborates what Bucholtz (2002) states about youth and the importance to redefine the term not according to age but in relation to social junctures. Youth should be treated as equals, as future adults who have their own voice and have the ability to decide for their lives. This perspective is also confirmed by Monsutti’s (2007) article over youth from Afghanistan and the stages that go through during the journey. In my research and in my interaction with the boys I felt from the very first moment that these youth little do they look alike with the ones that I had associate with until then and this stemmed from their experiences which differ from what the majority of European youth is commonly having experienced. The unaccompanied minors who come from war torn countries feel they have already become ‘men’, they have seen, acted and experienced situations that many of us in a much older age have not even the ability to conceive. Indeed they have undertaken so many serious responsibilities in a very early age and that empowers them and makes them feel mature and wiser.

Keywords: youth, hospitality, self perception

Louise Kreuzer-El Yaafouri

Teaching the Newcomer Student: Paths to Positive Integration

More than 50 million individuals will be forcibly displaced from their homes this year. Many will be resettled into other countries or cultures, including those in the EU. With specific regard to education, a growing sector of ELA instruction now caters to the unique needs of refugee and immigrant students. These “Newcomer” learners, as they are resettled into Westernized regions, require a tailored brand of education. The Newcomer Student: An Educator’s Guide Transition (Rowman & Littlefield, International, 2016) addresses these needs. The text details refugee and immigrant Newcomer education and provides resources and strategies that facilitate post-resettlement academic and integration success. It addresses

refugee the resettlement process, culture shock and cultural nuances, identity complications related to resettlement, and the effects of pre-resettlement traumatic stress on post-resettlement learning. The book is designed to act as a working resource for educators, districts and aid personnel. It is especially relevant in this critical period of refugee resettlement and healthy integration. It is currently being reviewed as a resource text by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Corresponding workshops are designed for educators who do or will serve refugee and immigrant Newcomer students and families. Participants will develop an understanding of the refugee and immigration processes and will learn to recognize and respond to cultural differences in the classroom. They will also identify key symptoms of traumatic upset and gain tools to address these unique sets of learning needs. Participants will explore best practices techniques for delivering instruction and supporting learning for Newcomer ELLs, and also for engaging Newcomer parents at school. Courses are created to promote healthy classroom, school and community cultures. The refugee and immigrant dynamic has, and will continue to influence the social and academic landscape of host nations. It is in our cumulative best interest to be prepared to meet the demands of population influx with awareness, practicality and unified resolve. The Newcomer Student: An Educator's Guide to Aid Transition and corresponding course work can aid in this process. I would be pleased to answer any additional questions or provide a pre-print copy of the book for review

Keywords: refugee, newcomer education

Efrosini Kritikos

Documentation of the Spatial Identity of Native European Populations as Shaped through the Discourse of their Oral Histories and Traditions: a case study of the Arvanites

European cultural heritage and identity has been partially shaped through the discourse of the oral histories and traditions of its native populations. These have served not only as markers of historical and cultural continuity but also as vehicles of transmission of ancestral knowledge, beliefs and values and apart from their internal pedagogical function are fundamental in understanding the construction of a complex and multi-faceted concept of European identity. Underrepresented local populations, often without a codified language and now threatened by assimilation, need to be documented in order to construct a more complete understanding of the true diversity of Europe's cultural and linguistic heritage. An example of one of Europe's oldest, native populations are the Arvanites whose transhumant pastoral lifestyle since ancient times led to a transnational population today situated mainly in southern Greece, southern Italy, southern Albania, parts of the Balkans and the diaspora. These small, rural, communities have managed to preserve their old way of life along with their language due to the fact that they

were isolated, remote and endocentric and therefore not affected by modernization until recently. Their sole reliance on the land for subsistence makes them models of autonomy, solidarity and sustainable development characteristic of villages throughout the European periphery. Of interest is how their close relationship to the land has played a fundamental role in the construction of their strong and distinctive spatial identity. This spatial identity is composed of values and beliefs which are intrinsically and inextricably tied to the land's characteristics, functions and symbols. This paper will report on the results of a field study being carried out with the last speakers of Arvanitic in the community of Zarakas, Laconia, Greece which has been chosen as a Site of Community Importance and designated as a Special Area of Conservation under the Directive on the Conservation of Natural Habitats and of Wild Fauna and Flora of Natura 2000, a network of nature protection areas in the European Union. Texts collected through ethnographic research in the framework of documentary linguistics are analyzed via discourse analysis. Texts include interviews, dialogs, narratives, descriptions, songs and poems collected both through field work and library and archival research. I argue that that Arvanitic cultural identity is intimately based in spatial values produced and transmitted through interaction in social-spatial spheres, and rooted in the cultural landscape; subsistence economy; ethno-biological knowledge systems; land based rituals, activities, sequences and rhythms of life; and a history of spatial mobility. I use this micro-level, bottom-up, descriptive analysis to shed light on how one dimension of European identity has been shaped at the grassroots and to suggest that this approach may be productive for understanding similar communities throughout Europe. Land is the concrete –but also symbolically constituted – source of a collective sense of identity which could provide a viable model of identity construction at the macro level useful for European policy making and sustainability.

Keywords: European oral tradition, European spatial identity, rural spatial discourse, language documentation, Arvanitic

Martin Kurani

What's Happening Elsewhere: Reasoning from a Middle Eastern Case to Europe

The discourse about Islamisation and Islamist terrorist attacks have shaped the European political landscape. It is worrisome that the narrative of a 'clash of civilisations' seems to be tacitly accepted as the heuristic paradigm by many – the same framework which is propagated by Islamists, as a publication by the Hizb ut-Tahrir with the title 'The Inevitability of the Clash of Civilisations' (2002) clearly indicates. In 'What About Mozart? What About Murder?' the sociologist Howard S. Becker (2015) argues for the value of "Reasoning from a Case to the World" (chapter 2). Obviously, studying certain cases or sociological realities in Jordan does not prove anything about Europe, but it can provide a different perspective and a fresh line of questions which might prove helpful to understand sociological

dynamics within Muslim communities in Europe which in several cities have emerged as what some call 'parallel societies' (Heitmeyer et al. 1997). Albanian, Bosnian, Arabic, and Turkish Muslims living in Europe besides their religion also share another important thing with the majority of Jordanians. Their ancestors once lived for centuries in the Ottoman Empire where through the millet system a plurality of identities and jurisdictions were tolerated and thus a distinct attitude towards the central government, including its laws, and other socio-religious groups could develop. More than thirty semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with a variety of Jordanians, focusing on three of the most commonly used metapragmatic qualifiers marking illicit behaviour. 'ayb (shame) is based on customary code rooted in tribal customs and traditions, haram (taboo) refers to religious norms, while mamnu' (forbidden) is less clearly bound to a certain authority or set of rules. The two main observations from our data point to an uneasy relationship to the state and indicate a rivalry of different normative structures. First, while interviewees from Amman frequently mentioned the law as the basis for mamnu', those living in rural areas almost never referred to the law or the government. Governmental laws seem almost completely irrelevant as a normative source in wide areas of the country. Second, there exists a hierarchy of normative codes with the customary code mostly taking precedence over the other codes. While the religious code has gained influence over the last decades, the legal code remains in comparatively low esteem and is adhered to almost only if penalties are to be feared. These findings show that even in an Islamic state Muslims do not necessarily accept the state as their main authority and do not expect it to create a singular identity with a unified system of norms and values but rather turn to local tribal traditions, customs and to religion. A habitus shaped by the traditionally central role of family and tribe and by a history of local self-government through customary and religious code could serve as a reasonable and less antagonising research framework for the sociological challenges of Muslim subgroups than assuming a hostile basic attitude based on Islam.

Keywords: Muslim parallel societies, multi-normativity, Ottoman heritage, discursive polycentricity, heteroglossia

Kleanthis Kyriakidis

The European “Bermuda Triangle”: Refugees/migrants – Xenophobia/islamophobia and the rise of extreme right wing parties

The “Bermuda Triangle” is allegedly an area of obliteration. There is great danger of disappearance, of total destruction if a vessel heads towards it. The European Union vessel despite the fact that it survived the perfect storm of the financial crisis, is heading towards a “triangle” that could annihilate its vision, its present and its future. This triangle is defined by irregular migration (including the huge refugee problem), prevailing xenophobia (especially islamophobia) and the rise of extreme right wing (sometimes even neoNazi) parties. It is obvious that these

factors are interrelated and form a solid triangle, which has to be broken in order for the EU to survive. This paper will examine the aforementioned issue and will provide policy recommendations in order to solve the problem without exchanging our democratic values for a more secure environment. Human migration has been a perpetual phenomenon since the dawn of civilization and the reason has always been the same: pure survival at worst or the hope of a better future at best. There is nothing wrong with migration, as long as the host nations can afford them. The latter has proven to be a major problem that has affected the European security and political landscape with the rise of euro-skepticism and even worse ultra-nationalism, xenophobia and islamophobia. EU, the beacon of democracy, pride of its “*acquis communautaire*” has been closing its borders, building walls, fences and trenches and there is a surge of a European fundamentalism which rejects multiculturalism and targets the “other”, especially if it is connected to Islam. This paper will briefly bust all islamophobic myths and further address the right wing extremism. Electoral successes of parties like Jobbik in Hungary, Freedom Party of Austria, DPP in Denmark, Front National in France, AfD and NPD in Germany, Finns in Finland and Golden Dawn in Greece is undeniable. The only two things all far – right, euro-skeptic movements in Europe have in common is their rejection of the EU (by definition) and their declared war on immigrants and especially Muslims. As regards recommendations, a step to the right direction would be the change of legislations as regards combating the traffickers. There is no room for misunderstanding; human trafficking is a lucrative business. Another policy recommendation to be adopted, is to change or abolish Dublin II Regulation which relocates irregular migrants from the entire continent to their initial EU countries of entry. Thus, it puts enormous pressure on the South, which is on the verge of collapse. Moreover, we should always bear in mind that desperate people function in a “do or die” mode. Hence, we cannot defeat irregular migration or solve the refugee problem if we do not fight the root causes of the phenomenon. By intervening to stop the war in Syria, by raising the standards of living in third world countries, by using European expertise and resources to establish law and order in lawless areas or countries and by providing the local population with an alternative, we can really save ourselves.

Keywords: refugees, migrants, islamophobia, extreme right wing parties, xenophobia

Christian Lamour

The horizontal Europeanization of the metropolitan press in the EU borderlands

The discourse on Europe is traditionally structured by Medias targeting specific national publics. The few experiences of truly European Medias have failed or have been adapted to answer the demand of national publics in terms of contents and/or languages (Baisnée & Marchetti, 2004; Dacheux, 2004; Chalaby, 2004, 2005). The debordering of communication flows in Europe is a key European

strategy (Michalis, 2007). For instance, the EU supports financially European news programme and more precisely the Euronews production (Commission Européenne, 2011). However, the European Commission also considers that the Europeanization of national Medias is a good way to support the promotion of the European construction (Schlesinger, 2007). This Europeanization has been divided into two groups: the vertical one concerning news related to the EU institution politics diffused to national/regional publics; the horizontal one concerning items about neighbouring European countries which have considered newsworthy for national/regional publics (Koopmans & Erbe, 2004). This European process has been put in evidence for the quality press. But it is less evidently found for the most important popular mass media in the EU: Television (De Vreese, 2009). A relatively recent press targeting metropolitan readers has appeared over the past 20 years: The free dailies such as 20 Minutes. These newspapers have a public as large as the community of TV news bulletins viewers. Some of these dailies structured by national editors are routinely structuring an urban news agenda in metropolises expanding beyond state borders. The objective of the paper consists in analysing a potentially new type of Europeanization of the national media sphere: The local and integrative horizontal Europeanization. Can the free urban press produce local and multi-state news contents for a multinational community of Europeans living together in the EU borderless metropolises? It is hypothesized that there is an Europeanization of this press in a cross-border context. However the mediatization of news concerning the other side of the border is still determined by a spatially-bordered "communication contract" (Charaudeau 1997, 2005) linking news producers and receivers; a communication contract shaped within specific nation-states. This hypothesis will be tested by considering three newspapers located in different cross-border metropolises: 20 Minutes Lille for the Eurometropolis Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai, 20 Minutes Geneva for the French-Swiss Greater Geneva and L'essentiel Luxembourg for The Belgian-French-German-Luxembourgish Grande Region. A sample of cross-border metropolitan news contents over one year will be analysed. Furthermore, discourses of free daily reporters concerning their publics and their interests for local news beyond the state borders will be studied. A focus will be done on the Europeanization of sundries (crime news, accidents...).

Keywords: Metropolises, crime news, free daily press, communication contract, state border

Online Discourses on EU Security within its Borders

Europe is faced with challenges that prove to be of immediate importance. First and foremost, there are the major issues of peace and stability. Recently, violent conflicts have taken place at a time when global geopolitics is undergoing long-term transformations menacing the traditional predominance of the West. These developments question the Union's capacity to guarantee its citizens' security, while also jeopardizing the preservation of European values. The objective of this paper is to compare and contrast discourses before and after 13 November 2015, the crucial date marked by the Paris attacks, against the troubled background of the Syrian refugee crisis. The research corpus subject to a discourse analysis is selected from the "Debating Europe" platform (<http://www.debatingeurope.eu/about/>), an online platform which encourages confrontations of ideas over the future of the European Union identity, language, culture, etc., with Europe's leaders. We focussed on the comments posted throughout 2015 in debates such as "What is the biggest security threat to Europe right now?"; "How should Europe respond to the refugee crisis?" or "What would you ask Europe's leaders after the Paris attacks?" that contain the readers' comments on Europe's future and security. We aim to demonstrate that online users' discourses before the refugee crisis and the Paris attacks were convergent on concrete proposals that they made for the smooth passage to a common European identity, within the European Union project. Unlike this constructive discourse in which the debaters positioned themselves as emotionally involved in this common project, the platform readers' discourses after 13 November 2015 are divergent; they are placed under the sign of blaming a diversity of European and non-European actors, mainly decision makers, emphasizing a critical distance from the latter. The keywords in our corpus: refugees, war, borders, security show a change of focus and concern from constructing a common European identity to the fundamental need of citizens' security within the European Union through the radicalization of discourses.

Acknowledgement: This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research and Innovation, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number PN-II-RU-TE-2014-4-0599.

Keywords: online debate, discourse analysis, European security, refugee crisis, Paris attacks

“Fortress Europe” and displaced persons. The construction of space, borders and Europe

Recent media reports on displaced persons (or refugees) in EU member states are dominated by key words evoking specific images of territory such as “(external) borders”, the construction of “fences” or “walls” and “transition zones”. The accommodation and housing of refugees are discussed in terms of “camps”, “tents”, “containers” etc. Specific places become symbols of the current debate, such as “Lampedusa”, “Lesbos” and “Calais”. EU-specific terms, for example “Schengen area”, “Dublin regulation”, “free mobility” or “hot spots”, also occur frequently. Different as they are, all examples link to concepts of space, borders and mobility. They structure the respective texts/discourse in spatial terms. These topics are also a matter of European politics, responsibilities and self-representations as different (social) actors articulate their own, partly conflicting conceptions of Europe and the EU. Recent (geopolitical) developments have contested established European values, such as the freedom of mobility within the EU, which rely on the absence of (internal) geopolitical borders. In contradiction to these values, we witness a reinforcement of external borders – and even some nation states’ borders within the EU – as the political response to an increase of refugees. The proposed paper, which is part of an ongoing research project, will investigate the following questions: What spatial analogies and concepts are used to construct images of Europe/the EU? How can the relationship between different social actors, their actions and positioning in the constructed spaces be described? The data of the research project comprises material on three levels: (1) EU-level data consists of current statements from EU-officials; (2) (bi)national-level data is a televised discussion between politicians from Austria and Germany arguing from a national as well as from an EU-perspective; (3) local-level data focuses on the far-right “Identitarian Movement” which has launched several campaigns against Austrian asylum policies at some Austrian borders. They have even built borders themselves and aim towards their idea of a “Fortress Europe”. The proposed paper will explore the different concepts and qualities of space and borders from one or two data sets in more detail. The study is based on a linguistically informed theory of space. Following Lefebvre’s triadic conception of space, I assume that space is socially produced, multiple, relational, unfinished and contested (cf. Lefebvre 1991, Löw 2001, Massey 2006). Similarly, I also conceptualize borders as social constructions (cf. Newman 2003) which have symbolic meanings and express power-relations. Borders also (re)establish or maintain differentiations based on practices of inclusion/exclusion (cf. Wodak 2007; 2015). Analytically, the focus will be on diverse space-related analogies, metaphors, processes, practices and further linguistic phenomena concerning representations of space. Given that space and borders are socially produced, further emphasis will be put on social actors, their practices and how they are represented in relation to different spatial arrangements. Here, it will be of a

specific interest to compare the data sets inasmuch as they all claim and create different images of Europe/the EU. As preliminary results show, they all address, more or less explicitly, some features of a "Fortress Europe".

Keywords: refugees/displaced persons, space, border/body politics, imaginations of Europe, (practices of) inclusion/exclusion

Melanie Levick-Parkin

Hidden in plain sight - engaging in the visual construction of European identities and narratives through ancient European script

The aim of this project was to enable visual communication designers and young European citizens to reflect on how societal narrative and meaning can be communicated via a shared visual literacy, by exploring signs, symbols and semiotics inherent in our ancient shared European heritage of the Linear A and Linear B scripts. The reason for using the ancient scripts was the premise that they would act as a 'neutral' but relevant visual and semantic content basis from which to explore visual and written meaning making in contemporary society. Archaeology can grant us access to our history by allowing us encounters with remnants of the past. How these remnants are translated for us, read by us and what we believe that they tell us, is intimately tied up with the context of our own contemporary culture. This makes any interaction with history also a potential interaction with the present and future. Any 'reading' of the past, is also a reflection of our presence (Gamble 2001)(Gere 2009) (Hayden1993). Archaeological research into the scripts from a semiotic perspective and into Linear B's administrative function is particularly relevant to this research, because it highlights potential points of similarity with contemporary conceptions of citizenship. Linear B in particular offers clues to social, political and economic structures of the pre-historic society, and includes ideograms for slaves, religious offerings, domestic animals and commodities amongst many others (Chadwick 1987). The aim was to use these elements to provide a starting point for reflection on contemporary European societal narratives. How visual discourses of European identities are constructed is rarely discussed even in Design Schools. How can we ever develop a (multi)-cultural sense of belonging and a notion of European citizenship, when the majority of political and media generated messages we receive accentuate our differences and bemoan our co-dependency? International branding has made us very competent in receiving messages communicated through visuals, but if the messages and their intended meaning have not been reflected upon and critically analysed, we may not be conscious of how, and to what ends, our emotions and behaviors are being influenced (Ollins 2003).Whilst we may be seemingly united in the consumption of international brands, identifying and understanding their brand values without much effort or inhibition by our individual and diverse, cultural backgrounds (Klein

2003), yet it is often the sub-conscious nature of how visual language is 'read' that can also make it less likely to be critically analysed and reflected upon (Crow 2003). If visual literacy can be successfully exploited for uniting disparate cultural groups for commercial purposes, then visual communication design should, in principle, also be able to facilitate the co-creation of visual language that can help us to explore, understand and propose values of European citizenship that transcend local political and media manipulation (Kress 2010). The aim is to involve young people in discussions about how aspects of historical visual literacy can be critically examined and re-designed in the context of contemporary forms of communication and reflections on citizenship and European identities

Keywords: Visual literacy, multimodal, visual discourse

Arrieta Leyre & Rubio Coro

The Basques and the “Europe of Peoples”. Europeanism in the political discourse of Basque Nationalism and its precedents

One of the modulations of the Federalist formula to build Europe, the Europe of Peoples, it has had on Basque Nationalism a convinced supporter. It was in the context of World War II and in the immediate postwar years when the Basque Nationalist Party (BNP) developed a strong European discourse, and making of Europeanism a distinguishing mark which has kept to the present. The path came prepared by the growing importance given to Europe in the twenties and thirties of last century, embracing the approaching of integral federalism, and deciding to make Europe the preferential framework of its external action in 1933. As remote precedents, it should be noted the European referents inserted in their political speech by the Basque regionalists of nineteenth century, who looked to Europe to legitimize their claims. From that time until the participation of the Basque Nationalist Party on the creation of the *Nouvelles Equipes Internationales*, the most important Christian Democrat organization in Europe during the forties; in the foundation of Spanish Federal Council of the European Movement; or on the meeting of The Hague Council in 1948, it was traversed a path of progressive Europeanism, which was further developed thereafter. Analyzing and studying how the pro-European commitment of Basque Nationalism has evolved in the twentieth century is the objective of this conference, formulated as a *longue durée* study that explores the complex relationship between Nationalism and Europeanism.

Keywords: Basque nationalism, Europe of Peoples, European discourse, European Christian Democracy, European Movement

The discursive negotiation of Greek national identity: Perceptions of self and otherness in the context the economic crisis, 2010-2015

This double renegotiation process is associated with the interpretive schemes and the blame attribution discourses formulated by political and media elites in constant interaction with public perceptions on the causes of the deep economic, social and political crisis that has been triggered in 2009. Moreover, it is inscribed in an ongoing process of transformation of the Greek party system. The present paper addresses the Greek economic crisis as a “liminal moment” and explores its consequences on aspects of national identity applying Critical Discourse Analysis and Discourse Historical Approach to a corpus of texts involving political speeches, party declarations, opinion articles in print and digital media, etc during the above mentioned period. National identity is here examined as a discursive product and as a historical, political and social construction. The underlying assumption is that the Greek crisis could be perceived as a process of “transformation of ‘cold’ or everyday national identities into ‘hot’ nationalism”. In the interplay between political and mass media discourse as far as the Greek crisis is concerned two interpretive repertoires competed for hegemony; they were inextricably linked to the formulation of the cleavage between pro-memorandum vs. anti-memorandum (anti-austerity) political forces. The first interpretive scheme emphasized the internal causes of the crisis insisting on the flaws in the country's economic, political and social development and on a cultural divide between Greece and (Western) Europe mainly understood as a Greek exceptionalism and backwardness. The second interpretive scheme associated the crisis mostly with external factors and attributed the worsening of economic and social conditions in Greece to the actions of external enemies (e.g. the IMF policies dictated by neoliberal economic dogmas, Germany as a hegemonic power in the EU) and to the submissive attitude of the Greek governments thus raising implications on a traitorous behavior on their part. The dominant metaphor in this context was that of foreign occupation and the historical analogy of WWII and of Nazi occupation of Greece was particularly popular in political, mass media and everyday discourses. This absolute dichotomy set aside, actual discourses formulated by political parties and mass media during the crisis years incorporated hybrid narrative and interpretive schemes that combined public beliefs on victimization and guilt. A special chapter in the debate has been the discursive negotiation of Europe and the formulation of Euroscepticism in a country with a strong pro-European legacy. EU membership has been for the greater part of the post-authoritarian period (1974-2010) an important element of the Greek national consensus. Nevertheless, challenges to pro-Europeanism both from the left and from the extreme right have risen in the context of the economic crisis. Moreover, anti-German discourse could be perceived as the first manifestation of Euroscepticism in Greek political culture which intersected horizontally the left vs. right cleavage and was highly instrumentalized by the anti-memorandum camp.

Keywords: Greece, national identity, Euroscepticism, austerity, victimization, self-blame

European Security in trouble: The interplay of national strategic cultures and the search for a European one

In the 21st century the European Union (EU) has faced several challenges regarding its foreign and security policy. The Global War on Terror (GWOT) and the resultant military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq caused a critical blow to the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) by exposing deep and fundamental conflicts of interest among the member states. The division among Old and New Europe and the inability to form a common position has damaged not only the transatlantic relations, but also the credibility of the EU as an international actor. The eastward enlargement of both NATO and the EU, the aftermath of the Arab Spring as well as the global financial crisis clearly illustrate that the geopolitical context has evolved substantially over the last years. The spectrum of security challenges is broad. Piracy, cyber-attacks, energy security, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, refugee flows, terrorism, migration and organized crime, are higher than ever in the EU agenda. Over the past years, regional conflicts in Georgia, Libya, Syria and Ukraine (Crimea) have unveiled not only the reluctance of the EU member states to engage in military operations, but also the lack of united and solid position on such issues. It would not be an overstatement to argue that the future of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) seems uncertain. It is in this context that the discussion about the evolution of a European Strategic Culture (ESC) deserves closer attention. The strategic culture concept is a useful tool for both scholars and practitioners. It can identify factors that explain the lack of progress regarding the CSDP, but also pinpoint the conditions under which closer cooperation in security and defence could happen. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to explore the reasons the EU is lacking a strong and sound strategic culture. The purpose is to explain why the ambition of a genuinely European strategic culture - that was mentioned by the EU High Representative Javier Solana in the document "A secure Europe in a better world - European Security Strategy" in 2003 - clashes with the hard reality of heterogeneous national strategic cultures, inadequate military capabilities and lack of political will. The first section of the paper will outline the concept of strategic culture and explore arguments about the role of culture in shaping security and defence policy. The second section will apply the strategic culture concept within the European context and pose a number of questions. What is the nature of the EU as a strategic actor? Do EU member states share a common understanding of the present security challenges? Is Europe divided between Old and New and to what extent does NATO affect the European security discourse? These and other questions will highlight the endogenous and exogenous factors that affect the formation of a common and solid strategic culture within the EU.

Keywords: European Security, national strategic culture, European strategic culture

Conflicting identities: How the Euro crisis challenges commonalities between member states

The Euro crisis is a crucial moment for the unity of the EU (Picard 2015). A high degree of coherence is needed to overcome the crisis, but conflicting economic interests between the EU members challenge a common European identity. This paper analyzes how European identity is re-constructed in national media discourses in times of Euro crisis. It thereby investigates lines of conflict between selected EU countries. The concept of European identity includes both belonging to the EU and togetherness with other member states (Kaina 2013). Following a theoretical approach informed by public sphere theory (Eilders/Lichtenstein 2010) it is argued that European identity is constructed in media debates. When addressing EU issues, questions of belonging and togetherness are incorporated into narratives about the EU's goals, values, and culture. This "frames" the view of the EU, e.g., as a common market or as a peace community (Díez Medrano 2003). It has been shown that belonging to the EU is constructed in different national colors (Risse 2010) and goes along with specific benchmarks for the evaluation of other EU countries (Lichtenstein 2014). Therefore, different identity frames might result in conflicts and out-group discrimination between the EU countries (Mummenday/Waldzus 2004). In order to analyze the conflictual identity constructions, a quantitative content analysis of national media outlets from Germany, France, and the UK is conducted. For each country two weekly media outlets during three time periods are analyzed: 1) the haircut for Greece in November 2011, 2) the EU summit for ESM in June 2012, and 3) the British Prime Minister Cameron's speech about the future of the EU in January 2013. EU identity constructions are coded as frames of the EU as a specific kind of community. Each frame may be linked to expressions of belonging to the EU and/or togetherness with specific EU member states. Findings reveal three different lines of conflict. In the contexts of the haircut for Greece and the EU summit for ESM 1) identity constructions reflect the economic conflict about austerity and economic solidarity. Germany and the UK build their sense of belonging on the EU as a community of economic stability. They exclude the countries more strongly affected by the crisis from a sense of togetherness in the EU. In contrast to this, France associates a sense of belonging to the EU as a community of economic solidarity and excludes Germany. In the context of the Cameroon's speech 2) another line of conflict is prevalent. Germany and France connect the sense of belonging to a political powerful EU and link this with attempts to further political integration for crisis solution. The UK in contrast sees the EU as a network of sovereign but cooperating states. In all periods under study 3) the EU is constructed as a community with political values like democracy and peace. It is linked not only with exclusion of other EU countries but also with doubts regarding one's own belonging.

Keywords: European Identity, national media discourse, Euro crisis, identity conflicts, quantitative content analysis

Mona Lilja & Mikael Baaz

The Governing and Resistance of the Precarious Other: Migrant understandings of “now” as well as their future in a Swedish context

Precarization is not a marginal phenomenon, but describes a major social transformation in many parts of the world. Since the end of the 1970s, neo-liberal or libertarian ideas have gained support from politicians and governments around the world. These ideas have become imbedded into European discourses. One neo-liberal idea that had a significant impact in Europe during the 1980s was the idea of “labour market flexibility”. Its implementation meant changes to the rights of employees. Together with new technological developments and ways of making profit without labour, these shifts have decreased the value of labour. It has also led to increased unemployment (Butler and Kania 2013), as more people are becoming dispensable and substitutable. In all, millions of people have become “precarious”; they are living under conditions characterised above all by economic uncertainty (Standing 2011). But precarization does not merely signify insecure jobs and lack of economic security. For the individual, precarization can characterise the whole of existence, the body as well as modes of subjectivity. This article analyses the precarization as a major social transformation in Europe, using an intersectional approach. According to Judith Lorey the precarity: “denotes structural inequalities – uncertainties that result from relations of domination along gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, nationality” (2015). According to Standing (2011) some groups are particularly exposed to the new precarization. Among others, migrant’s growing labour market role has coincided with the growth of the precarious and they have taken a disproportionate share of precarious jobs, being far more likely to have short-term contracts or no contracts at all (Standing 2011). Migrants, in western industrial nations, live under situations marked by scarcity and lack of security. Departing from the above, this paper displays migrant understandings of their precarious situation, their comprehension of “now” as well as their future in a Swedish context.

Keywords: Sweden’s immigration policies, precarisation, migrants, power

Siresa Lopez-Berengueres

The rhetorical foundations of the intercultural citizen: assessing the performativity of the EU discourse on diversity

Diversity is central to the ideological construction of the European Union. It constitutes a dominant category in the complex of ideas behind EU narratives and rationalities. It is materialized in its symbols, rituals and apparatuses, as well as in the individual perceptions and experiences of its citizens. Diversity is embraced in EU legislation, embodied by its institutions and policies regulating its cultural

boundaries, and it is ultimately contained in the elusive domain of the identities and subjectivities flowing from the experience of being part of the community of Europeans. Legal and policy documents present diversity as a characteristic trait of the European, a common value, and an asset to be promoted. Diversity and intercultural dialogue are also depicted as articulating principles of the purposes of the Union, presented as tools to enhance the development of a knowledge-based economy, and to generate political stability, social cohesion and collective identity. Not only is diversity a key word in the narratives defining the European Union and its purposes. The 'discourse of diversity' is materialized in rituals, symbols and apparatuses. Mottos, institutions, agendas and policies are containers of the ideological character of diversity. Diversity is also materialized in the terrain of experience, operative in everyday cross-cultural practices, as well as in the domain of identity-building, active in individual perceptions and attitudes towards the European. When looking at collectively internalized ideas on Europe, diversity is revealed as a value and a defining feature of the European Union and the uniqueness of the European culture (e.g. Eurobarometers on Cultural Values and on Intercultural Dialogue in the EU, 2007). Examining these three main axes of the ideological character of diversity, the purpose of this paper is to identify key elements of continuity and discontinuity in the different discourses articulating norms, apparatuses, and individual subjectivities. By analyzing EU primary and secondary legislation, policy documents guiding the EU agenda on culture, and Eurobarometer data representing individual attitudes towards diversity and European identity, the paper will assess the degree of performativity of the EU discourse in constituting the European identity-diversity relationship in citizens' collective imaginary. Ultimately, the paper examines to what extent the diversity and interculturality operative in policy discourses and individual perceptions approaches or moves away from universalistic narratives

Keywords: EU discourse, diversity, interculturality, ideology, European identity

Maria Ivana Lorenzetti

Migrants as a threat: Current Framing Strategies of Right-wing Populists in Europe

The European Union is a complex entity currently comprising 28 member states from multiple national, historical and cultural traditions, and the concept of European identity itself encompasses a range of different dimensions, which make it difficult to provide a clear and unique definition of it (Wodak and Boukala 2015; Wodak and Weiss 2007). Despite the fact that multiculturalism, the promotion of "unity in diversity", and the fall of national borders in the traditional political sense have always been founding ideals of the EU, the last few years saw the rise and emergence of many (often anti-European) right-wing political movements promoting nationalistic policies and creating ever new "borders" throughout Europe. Such right-wing parties and movements, often using a rhetorical style

combining features of populist oratory (Canovan 1999; Zaslove 2008), increasingly promote their candidacy as being aligned with the spirit and benefit of “the people”, viewed in an idealized and homogeneous way, in contrast with usurpers alleged to threaten the identity and integrity of a nation. In doing so, in the last few years, which saw a huge increase in mass migrations of people to Europe from Africa and the Middle East, they have instrumentalized some ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities as scapegoats and “dangerous Others” according to an “Us and Them” logic, gaining votes by playing upon people’s most deeply rooted fears. Although these parties and their leaders may differ in their oratory, as they combine different narrative imaginaries, emphasizing specific issues according to the kind of nationalist past they want to evoke, their rhetorical strategies are generally based on constructing specific types of threats allegedly posed by immigrants. By employing an approach combining a textual (Merlini Barbaresi 2003) and critical discourse analysis perspective (Chilton 2003; Wodak 2007), this paper investigates how specific right-wing parties (the Lega Nord in Italy, the Front National in France and the UKIP in Great Britain) and politicians frame immigration as a threat (i.e. cultural, religious, economic and security) (Hogan and Haltinner 2015; Richardson and Colombo 2013), considering their lexicon, register, and the usage and framing of metaphors (Lakoff 1996). Our analysis draws on a corpus of electoral speeches, especially considering the years from 2014 to the first half of 2016, trying also to assess the extent to which the terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015 affected their style. Social network posts and electoral slogans and posters will also be taken into account.

Keywords: immigration; European identity; right-wing populism; framing strategies; rhetoric

Catherine MacMillan

An Evil Empire? The EU as Dystopian Monster in the Discourses of Four European Populist Parties (The Front National, Podemos, Syriza and UKIP)

This paper uses a variant of the discourse-mythological approach to discourse analysis in order to examine depictions of the European Union in the discourse of four very different European populist parties. While all have been classified as populist, these parties vary significantly in their position on the left-right spectrum – UKIP and the Front National may be described as right-wing populist parties, while SYRIZA and Podemos are considered left-wing populist parties. Moreover, while all four parties show some degree of Euroscepticism, only the Front National and UKIP support their countries’ withdrawal from the EU. An analysis of their discourse on the EU, however, reveals important similarities between the four parties’ depictions of the European integration project; in fact, all four can be said to describe the EU in terms of a dystopian ‘evil empire’. In this context, the (self) depiction of the EU as a normative power, or ‘benign empire’, exemplary

in terms of values such as democracy, human rights, freedom, the rule of law and prosperity is reversed. In contrast, the EU is discursively constructed to an 'evil empire' characterised by totalitarianism, exploitation and colonialism. In this sense, to emphasise the point, it is sometimes compared to previous, current and fictional totalitarian regimes including Nazi Germany, Communism in Eastern Europe, North Korea or literary dystopias such as those of Orwell or Kafka. In this sense, it is argued that all four parties portray themselves as 'dystopian heroes' who rebel against the totalitarian EU, promising to lead their people to a brighter future, either outside the EU or within a reformed EU, dominated by 'true' European values including freedom and democracy.

Keywords: populism, discourse, EU, dystopia, totalitarian

Jens Maesse

Power and critique in Europe. On the discursive logic of austerity discourses within a "new Weberian universe"

Today, Europe is a manifest reality to the people within and outside the European Union. As an economic space it was already integrated through networks of production, exchange and distribution since the early middle ages. After the end of World War II it became an institutional reality, especially through the constitution of a free trade area. Yet, most people have not perceived a common European space since the political-institutional integration was a "negative" integration through neoliberal deregulation measures. To become a "positive" integrated socially-political space, Europe needs the constitution of a "European" symbolic order. How does this symbolic order look like? A symbolic order is usually constructed through different socio-discursive means and practices on the local as well as on the global level of language use, embedded in a particular institutional framework. Accordingly, by taking the austerity discourses during the "Euro crisis" and especially the "Greek crisis" as an example, this contribution will show how a particular sort of "European" discourses in the current European symbolic universe are operating. Here, discourses of power and critique constitute each other by establishing particular discursive actors such as "technocrats", "rebels", "experts", and "leaders". With a discourse analysis, this presentation will show how particular discursive positions are constructed and how these socio-discursive relations may connect to an emerging institutional order of Europe. The idea which will be presented in this talk is that Europe is emerging as an order that can be called a "new Weberian universe".

Keywords: discourse analysis, economic expert studies, economic sociology

Marta Makowska

Political discourses on the European Identity in the light of ongoing Refugee crisis

Research on European integration is facing the pressing question of what holds 'Europe' together in times of crisis, growing distributional conflict and instability in its neighbourhood. Studies on European identity have been part of the attempt to answer this question, at least in the last 30 years. In the most recent past, when the EU was exposed (or rather exposed itself) to the unprecedented level of crises: the economic crisis and a menace of Grexit, Brexit campaign and referendum to be held two days from now, and, the newest refugee crisis which uncovered deep fractures within the European societies, the debate on the European demos and identity could not be more emotional. Bo Strath, Finnish professor of philosophy, history and European integration has argued in his work "A European Identity to the Historical Limits of a Concept" (2002), that analytical research on European identity could be questioned. He states that European identity studies are the studies of concept, and a discourse, since the European Identity debate is inscribed in a long history of philosophical and political reflection on the concept of Europe. The paper examines political discourse on the European Identity in the light of the ongoing refugee crisis, which is believed to be yet another factor that shakes the stability of the European project. European Identity as a construct has emerged in the 1970. In a response to the oil crisis that influenced both European and World markets. Main architects of the European integration have used the concept of European identity as a binder between different political and cultural societies known then as European Communities. The author examines how the ongoing crisis has affected the language and the topics of political discourse on the European Identity, providing insight into the process of the European Identity formation in particular circumstances.

Keywords: European identity, political discourse, refugee crisis

Virginie Mamadouh

Europe and its Cities:

Looking back at the making of the EU Urban Agenda

If all goes as planned, the Member States of the European Union will establish the EU Urban Agenda in May 2016 in Amsterdam. It is one of the priorities of the Dutch presidency. This document will be the culmination of two decades of deliberations about cities, since the European Commission published the communication Towards an Urban Agenda in the European Union in 1997. This paper analyzes key documents (such as Communications of the Commission) and declarations of the Member States (Bristol, Lille, Leipzig, Marseille, Toledo, Riga). It documents how the framing of cities and their role in Europe has changed

over time. While originally urban problems dominated, cities are now seen as sites of innovation and growth. While earlier the urban agenda was about cities, cities have become actors among others strengthening the multiscalar character of multilevel governance and mediators between the EU and its citizens. By contrast the diversity among the needs and potentials of the European cities remain concealed, despite the ever more variegated trajectories of cities in the enlarged European Union.

Keywords: EU Urban Agenda, European cities, multilevel governance, political geography, urban and regional planning

Ioannis Manos

Ethnographic engagements at international frontiers: The politics and poetics of bordering in SE Europe

It has become common, when we talk about borders, to say that we live in a borderless and de-territorialized world where the significance of geopolitical borders has changed through the processes of globalization, the formation of supranational organizations, regional integration, and the power of cyberspace. Yet, the political reality across the world as well as the study of borders point otherwise. New borders, novel dividing lines and fresh categorizations of peoples, places, relations and identities have been established through security concerns over terrorism, refugee flows and illegal migration. Focusing on SE Europe, the expansion of the EU in the region and the political and economic integration, along with the fall of communism have led state governments to develop new policies at the sub-national, national and international level, which have resulted in the opening up of borders, the increase of communication and a high degree of socio-economic change. Yet, the notion of various EU's borders in the region, both internal and external has been problematically accommodated within the idea of nation-state borders. The border is connected with the protection of national territory and security. The resurgence of old national(ist) projects, as well as the creation of new ones have resulted into an increasing number of disputes over border issues between neighboring states. This paper focuses on the ethnographic study of international borders in SE Europe. It identifies the research agendas and the common topics and discusses the main findings in the light of the current sociocultural, political and economic processes taking place in the area and its contiguous states and regions. The paper relates this material to the contemporary theoretical approaches and larger discussions in border studies and provides insights in the complex interrelations between identity, territory, the state and individual and collective agency in the post-1990 SE Europe. At a methodological level, the paper argues in favor of a fieldwork-based approach to the diverse processes of borders and border life. The ethnographic study of borders points to the need for more fluid constructivist notions of borders as sites of social interaction between internationally imposed border regimes, national policies and personal agency. Such an approach can show

that borders are political institutions which have social and cultural implications in peoples', groups' and nations' lives addressing, at the same time, their multilevel complexity within the everyday social practices. Moreover, the paper promotes the idea of bordering, the understanding of borders as a process, as a particularly useful and conceptually promising tool. The bordering perspective can substantially contribute to understanding borders in ways that question the geopolitical traditions of nation states, the national and supranational hegemonic interpretations of history, and the EU's manipulation of border symbolism in order to further its community-building agendas. The bordering perspective can address the wide-ranging transformations taking place in SE Europe, connect them to wider debates about identity, territory, sovereignty and citizenship and pose questions about intercultural understanding and the kind of democracies nation-states or supranational organizations strive for.

Keywords: Bordering, ethnography, nation-state, SE Europe, European Union

Jessica Mariani

“Migrant” or “Refugee”? How translation and terminology affect news discourse in European media

The ongoing refugee crisis affecting European borders in recent years has been widely tackled by news-media across the EU. European media, especially those offering a multilingual news service, play a vital role in the construction of reality and can strategically influence the language used by European citizens. Considering the new pressures facing translation as the need for a flow of accurate information across Europe, which must transfer successfully across geographic, linguistic and cultural boundaries, News Translation has become increasingly important. This paper will start by illustrating the role played by translation and migration terminology in European news discourse; it will first show how the European Parliament decides which terminology is to be used in official documents and press releases concerning migration issues. Then, it will describe the linguistic policy concerning the use of terms like “migrant” and “refugee” adopted by major European media, being sometimes interchanged by journalists, distinguishing the case of multilingual news services like Euronews and Euractiv, and monolingual ones like the BBC in the UK and Internazionale in Italy. A corpus-based study will be conducted on the most crucial moments concerning the refugee crisis on European shores, aiming to show if and how European media select the terms to use in their news reports and can powerfully contribute to build a European Perspective and foster a European Identity.

Keywords: News translation, European identity, translation studies, news discourse, journalism studies

Mechanisms of power and the celebration of otherness in European migration policies

The recent waves of immigration towards Europe are increasingly questioning our capacity to embrace Otherness, despite the well-acclaimed multiculturalism and hybridisation upon which Western societies have been built. On the one hand, tension is building fast along the perceived 'explosion' of borders, and many immigrants are excluded from civic and political participation through discrimination, racism and xenophobia. On the other hand, the marginal positions of such minorities render them easily identifiable as scapegoats, susceptible to blame for problems that are, in fact, domestic. Drawing from Canetti's work on crowds and Girard's philosophical analysis of violence, this paper investigates the mechanisms of power that still inform European immigration policies. More specifically, I am interested in understanding what directs this specific rhetoric of exclusion that seems to fuel European citizens' anxieties on immigration, security and national identity, thus aggravating the feelings of suspicion and mistrust against those perceived as "strangers". The paper will initially look into the wave of populism that is sweeping through Europe, partly as a result of the drift to the right in the European political discourse. Then, I will use the theoretical framework aforementioned to argue that the rise of anti-immigrant violence in Europe in recent years should be seen not only as an effect of government practices. Rather, it should be seen as an aspect of deeply embedded social phenomena through which security and violence are generated as a constitutive force of the community and shaped from below, at the level of the society. In simple terms, my contribution to the political and media discourses/narratives in the European Union precisely lies in the belief that what we are experiencing today along European borders is a consequence of humans' intrinsic inability to embrace otherness and to accept what is considered as "different". By going back to the origins of human culture and society, Girard and Canetti will help to explain why no modern society is entirely free from the scapegoating tendency; in fact, persecutionary strategies have always operated on the fantasy that the enemy is contaminating the body politic, corrupting the youth, eroding the economy, and sabotaging peace. Examples from recent episodes of intolerance within the EU will be called into question to also show evidence that focusing on a transnational strategy as a form of hybrid participation and mutual understanding will help to rephrase the issue of Otherness, looking towards a more integrated approach able to take into account notions of dual citizenship and dual nationality.

Keywords: migration policies, scapegoat, otherness, Canetti, Girard

Rodolfo Maslias

Our common terminology: the linguistic passport for a united Europe

The European Union produces the most important part, in some domains up to 80% of the national legislation of its 28 Member States. The legal acts of the EU are drafted by the EC, decided in a co-decision procedure with the Council and the final vote takes place in the European Parliament, which - after the Treaty of Lisbon - is the final legislator. Following these rigorous processes they become laws of the member states after being voted in the national parliaments. These legal acts are translated in the European Union in 24 languages by some 5000 translators spread in 10 Institutions and have in every language the same legal force, the validity of an original text since they can be used by the citizens in national and in the European Court. Multilingualism, as legal and cultural right of the 28 peoples of the European Family, is a crucial element for the functioning of the European Union, but also a means to achieve a common identity. The full equivalence of the laws is ensured by a common terminology database called IATE which is public and contains 8.5 million terms from the 110 domains of the European legislation in 24 languages. It constitutes the largest multilingual database and is consulted by 3500 users per hour worldwide. The linguistic equivalence of the common concepts that represent the common principles and the common rules created by the European Family 60 years now is the common passport to live together in a space without walls and borders. It is the common denominator to build a common identity respecting the cultural specificity of each people that gives to it a unique character, a unique richness that can and must guarantee the spirit of an efficient and well-functioning society based on common principles also ensuring openness to the principles of mobility and communication in a global context.

Keywords: Common legislation, multilingualism, communication, cultural diversity, terminology

Maria Matala

Europe's etymology in Greek means ευρύς eurys «wide» and ὤψ ops «eye(s), its culture and political existence has an historical and geopolitical relation with Greece, the Greeks and the Hellenic culture all over the world

Europe, first referenced in the Iliad, was the mother of King Minos of Crete, a woman with Phoenician origin of high lineage, and for whom the continent Europe was named. Conscious of our European identity and origins, I share the Stoics idea, according to which the State is a conventional institution and not natural one. The state's only justification is to protect rather than dictate. Greek is the person who thinks and acts as a Greek, and this stoic idea was the first idea

of union, in the ancient world. Today, due to a financial crisis, a false problem if we consider the ancient greek philosophy, Europe and the European Union are judged insufficient. In 1955, Albert Camus, who always fought for the betterment of human existence in a united Europe and a whole world united, was saying during an open discussion held in Greece, about the European civilization's future: "Our culture is threatened", "the human being" which is the center of this culture, "is humiliated today almost everywhere". Thus human dignity is equally crucial as the critical spirit of Cartesian Philosophy. Europe therefore needs to maintain the pluralistic culture and maintain the nations' identities "that was the foundation of the concept of European freedom." Camus during this debate in 1955 changed the title to: "Hope for a Renaissance in Europe". "We should approach the problem of the European Future, to give content to European values, even if Europe does not join soon". "In any case, the role of intellectuals and writers is to continue their efforts to achieve their goals, while pushing the wheel of history. Values of justice, freedom of speech, democracy, solidarity, multilingualism, expressed in the Copenhagen Declaration of 1973 are in danger today. "Every wall is a door" said Ralph Waldo Emerson urging us to look at every obstacle as an opportunity rather than an immovable problem which causes us to just give up and admit defeat. Walls or Borders are false obstacles to survivors. The art of Prisons whether material or moral, individual or collective is an art symbol. The refugee problem is an honest problem, it has always been so. Today, into a universe of hidden settings, in the fictitious universe of society, refugees are trying to find a new identity, to escape danger and find peace and freedom, adopting Europe as their new home. The rhetoric of exclusion is common during the migration vague. The desperate European countries are shutting down people by building borders. This idea seems practical but so inappropriate. Shutting out people is not the issue of the problem. The problem will perpetuate somewhere else, and will gradually return to those who excluded it. Of course Europe is not prepared for such a migration. But are we prepared in life? The issue would be acceptance and incorporation on both the country's and the immigrant's part.

Keywords: identity, Albert Camus, human existence, pluralism, migration

Konstantinos Mavrigiannakis

Causes Of Economic Divergence in EU and the Steps Forward for a Progressive European Integration

Europe has come at a juncture. The project of Euro, without deeper political international transforms towards a progressive European integration, has reached to insurmountable structural deficiencies, which have lead to an unprecedented and unsustainable divergence between the European economies. At the aftermath of the global economic crisis of 2008, rigid austerity policies have been enforced to countries members of Euro, whereas any non-conventional policy is condemned without any consideration. As observed in the recent Greek crisis

occasion, conservative powers will not hesitate even to expel a country from the European Union, which shows unwillingness to adopt austerity measures. European economic crisis divided European countries between creditors and debtors, core and periphery. The idea of European consolidation, as envisioned by great ideologists of the past like K. Adenauer, C. De Gaulle and O. Churchill has transformed to a nightmare for the European citizens, in which some bureaucrats in Brussels decide for their fate. Consequently, the prolonged economic crisis in combination with the recent terrorist attacks and the refugees crisis has risen to prominence right-wing populist parties. Their intolerant agenda includes the reconsideration of the common currency and the entrenchment of each country to its own borders and policies, threatening to return Europe several decades behind and to situations which had lead to world wars in the past. At this crucial point, Europe oughts to return to the ethical values as expressed in the Copenhagen Declaration of 1973 - values of solidarity, democracy and justice - and look forward towards a progressive process of convergence between countries-members of the European Union. The paper is organized as follows: Firstly, the causes of failure of economic convergence between the 12 countries that firstly joined the Eurozone are researched. The programs of financial assistance implemented by countries in emergency (Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, Spain, Portugal), are evaluated, according to whether they contribute to overcome each country's structural economic problems. Furthermore, by applying extended modified Taylor rules, this paper examines the simulated monetary policy rates for core and peripheral countries of EU, for the hypothetical case that the European economic crisis did not happen. Thus, it is proved that the more powerful countries of EU are benefited from the economic crisis, mainly due to the lower cost of borrowing that they enjoy. Moreover, doubts are raised about the decisions of ECB, since the decided policy rates seem to approach the notional Taylor's rule rates of the more powerful countries of the Eurozone. Hence, the paper concludes that political and national reasons impede the convergence of countries in Europe. Secondly, the paper notes the structural deficiencies of the Eurozone, emphasizing the lack of debt mutualization between countries and the democratic legalization of financial aid programs and institutions, like the Eurogroup. Finally, there are proposed several reforms of the current monetary union and actions, towards the convergence of Eurozone countries and a progressive continuation of the European integration process.

Keywords: divergence, progressive, European integration, Taylor rules, financial assistant programs

“Voting for which Europe?” Narratives of Europe during the European Parliament elections of 1979 in the Netherlands

The current debate on the European Union and European integration is predominated by two major positions: pro-Europeanism, which widely supports further integration, and Euroscepticism, which strongly opposes further integration. It is misleading, however, to use these two positions when discussing the complex, multiform history of European Integration. This history consists of many stakeholders and maybe even more motivations. The same applies to concepts like ‘Europe’, ‘European Community’, and ‘European Union’. Although these concepts appear very straightforward at first, they were often used in a more flexible way than one might think. This is certainly the case in the Netherlands. The notion that until the 1990s a pro-European consensus existed between major Dutch political parties is inadequate. Under the guise of seemingly neutral concepts like Europe, many different ideals were pursued. This paper intends to show how the idea of ‘Europe’ is versatile, and seeks to historicize several dominant views on Europe and European integration by studying the propaganda of three major political parties in the Netherlands during the first European Parliament elections in 1979. The cultural turn in the field of political history during the 1990s led to a new understanding of political elections. Whereas political scientists have tried to comprehend elections using models with transmitters, receivers, and media, historians consider it as a period of reflection and signification, during which the divisions between the political and the public fade. Subsequently, the language of politics used during elections in propaganda and in speeches, is regarded as the key to understanding how political reality was constructed. This paper will build upon these notions. In doing so, it focuses on the language of politics that was used during the European Parliament elections of 1979. By offering voters a political conception of Europe and by framing their perceptions of social reality using a particular political vocabulary, politicians used language to construct various narratives of Europe. A discourse analysis of these narratives of Europe, then, will provide us with deeper knowledge of the prevailing ideals and conceptions of Europe during the late 1970s. The analysis of the propaganda of the Dutch Labour Party (Partij van de Arbeid, PvdA), the Dutch Christian Democratic Party (Christen Democratisch Appèl, CDA), and the Dutch Liberal Party (Volkspartij voor Vrede en Democratie, VVD) will show how different ideals were projected on the concept of Europe. In 1979, for example, a narrative of solidarity was used to argue that further integration was necessary, since only a strong and united Europe could fight international injustice and poverty. However, a closer analysis of this narrative shows how this discourse corresponded with the existing discourses of the Third World and the Gidsland movement in the Netherlands. Results like this demonstrate in what ways Europe was, and maybe still is, a contested concept, and how narratives play an important role in shaping, signifying, and determining it.

Keywords: European Parliament elections, Dutch political parties, propaganda, political language, historical discourse analysis

Cultural Analysis of the National Stereotypes in German-British Relations during the Berlin Wall Crisis (1958 - 1962). A Critical Discourse Analysis of National Print Media

This work examines the national stereotypes used in British and German renowned daily newspapers during the Berlin Wall Crisis (1958 to 1962). As the Berlin Wall Crisis represents the tensest controversy within Cold War history, which culminated in the division of Germany in August 1961, the national press coverage of Germany and Great Britain is highly defined by reports on the political events. These are temporarily characterised by the direct confrontation between the West German chancellor Konrad Adenauer and the British Premier Harold Macmillan. The density and acuteness of this Cold War crisis, however, reduces the respective press releases on German and British affairs to a mere political coverage; thus, the analysis of the prevailing British and German newspapers can be regarded as a political discourse analysis. The methodological approach employed in this work follows the Critical Discourse Analysis according to Ruth Wodak [1], Norman Fairclough [2] and Sara Mills [3] with the aim of displaying the mutual use of auto- and hetero-images of “the Germans” and “the British” in the prevailing national media and consequently, the discursive construction of national identity. The discourse analysts’ view is supplemented here by the imagologist approach of Manfred Beller [4], which concerns the particular construction of national images of the Self and the Other in public national discourse. Referring to the above mentioned dominance of politically-related reports in past national press coverage, Critical Discourse Analysis represents a highly suitable methodological approach in this regard as it aims at examining the discursive mechanisms of power and ideology in which a text is set. Considering this, Sara Mills defines Critical Discourse Analysis as a “political analysis of text” [5]. The time period examined in this work does not only mark the peak of the East-West conflict but also implements the substantial formation and structure of the European Union as it is still prevalent today. Major negotiations in the national press of that time, such as the entrance of Great Britain into the European Economic Community (EEC) beginning in the late 1950s, reveal arguments, attitudes and images in national news coverage about European affiliation of which many are still valid today. This can be currently noticed in British demands for a European reform as well as in a possible exit from the European Union in 2017. Accordingly, the diachronic view from the news coverage between Germany and Britain during the Berlin Wall Crisis is accomplished by this present outlook on German-British relations. This double-tracked approach allows both a complex portrayal of the historical development of German-British relationship and a definition of the mechanisms of auto- and hetero-images as they occur *and* change in trans-national media discourse.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Auto- and Hetero-stereotype in Media discourse, German-British relations, discursive structure, construction of national identity

Tobias Metzler

Entangled Refractions:

Global Perspectives on Europeanism and Asianism

Europeanism and Asianisms represent two distinct but interrelated discourses. The emergences of claims that Europe and Asia can be defined and understood as homogeneous spaces with shared characteristics were complementary processes. Both movements constituted the other as 'Other'. Overcoming European domination constituted a central category in visions of Asian unity, while the perceived threat of an alleged 'yellow peril' permeated calls for closer European cooperation. The twofold thesis is paper puts forward is that images of Asia featured more centrally in the formation of European identities than hitherto acknowledged and that Europeanist discourses had a considerable impact on the trajectory of pan-Asian thought. Rather than treating Orientalism and Occidentalism as dichotomous 'monologues', this paper explores the ambivalent simultaneities of binary oppositions and exchanges at work between both discourses. Exploring the place of Europeanist thought in conceptualizations of pan-Asianism and vice versa, this paper put forward a model of transnational discursive exchanges that calls for a recalibration of traditional views on East-West dichotomy and a global framing of the formation of regional identities.

Keywords: transnationalism, global history, Orientalism/Occidentalism, Pan-Asianism, European identity formation

Mihai Coman & Cristina Coman

Emotions and deliberation in European online media in a crisis situation

Social media not only transmit and interpret crisis messages, but also they offer on their new and social media pages a space for the publics to express their emotions, to submit their interpretations and to debate the crisis issues, culprits, and possible solutions. Traditionally, information is disseminated by officials, in a unidirectional manner through their websites, or through traditional media, such as television or radio. All this changed with the emergence new and social media. During crisis situations the public increasingly turns to social media, and often they switch from only passive consumers of the information to possible creators of information. The current paper analyzes the dialectic of social representations of a Syrian immigrants crisis, from the political leaders, journalists and public discourses, as they appear in the media and online communities. Three paradigms sustain this research: a) Benoit's (1995) image restoration theory and Coombs' (1999) situational crisis communication theory; b) framing theory, and more specifically the development of this theory proposed by scholars like Nabi (2003) or Kim & Cameron (2011): emotions-as-frames serve as theoretical lenses for identifying the way mass media and the public interpreted these events. We

expect to find one or more crisis communication strategies (as identified by Benoit and Coombs) in the discourse of different leaders of European countries and EU institutions. At the same time we believe that in a crisis, journalists' discourse and public reactions (in media comment sections) would be dominated by emotions-as-frames (usually anger and sadness vis-à-vis the authorities failure) which create a space of emotional dialogue and deliberation through symbolical representations. Through these symbolical constructions the crisis is integrated in the categories of the collective imaginary and becomes meaningful. Our analysis will compare the frames identified in European leaders' discourses, with the one arising from media discourse (in 3 or 4 European online newspapers) and with the one from readers' comments. Our study will showcase the value of emotion-as-frames concept and its potential to explain the process through which public perception around an event or social actor is built; as well as the reason for which, in some cases the attribution of blame and responsibility is done so rapidly and violently.

Keywords: crisis communication, emotions-as-frames, media, online public sphere

Kyriakos Mikelis

From civilizing mission to soft power?

European powers and the politics of attraction

The paper addresses Europe's central role in international affairs as well as in civilization generally, focusing on the shift of its conceptualization from 'civilizing mission' (19th century) to 'soft power' (21st century). This shift reflects a broader one -identified by G. Paschalidis- from cultural imperialism and propaganda to cultural diplomacy and nowadays cultural capitalism, which is characterized by the increase in the number of players who play the game of the politics of identity and attraction. The rhetoric of civilizing mission, along with the stereotype of barbarians, was noticeably used at the imperialistic ideology in a rather varied manner, playing a crucial role to the expansion of the international society. With the demise of official colonial rule, this concept was not rendered obsolete but took subtler forms such as civilizing process and intervention. By its turn, the notion of soft power refers specifically to serving a nation's interests less through coercion than attraction regarding culture, ideals and policies. Although it was coined by J. Nye for discussing the role of the US in the post-Cold War period, it has proven to be a useful analytical tool for the understanding of European and other nations' strategic communication (public diplomacy) and foreign cultural policy (cultural diplomacy). Overall, the paper offers an analysis of the relevance of those two concepts in the European context, ending with a brief summing up of key-elements of cultural and public diplomacy of certain major European powers.

Keywords: Europe, civilizing mission, soft power, cultural/public diplomacy, identity

In the midst of the economic crisis: Representations of Greece and Europe in international and local media

In recent European economic and political crisis, Greece, although not the only country struggling with the crisis, was the only one which received so much negative attention in the international media and which has been so systematically in the news (Tzogopoulos 2013). The scandalisation of the Greek case, primarily through the international press, and the obsession with Greece, as Kutter claims (2014), “signalled a symbolic-catalytic moment with profound policy impact” that both defined the notion of crisis within the specific socio-historical context and at the same time it dictated a particular way of its management throughout the Eurozone (e.g. austerity, deflation policies, etc). In this perspective, this paper examines different discursive constructions of Greece and Europe in relation to the crisis in domestic as well as European media discourse. A basic claim of this study is to suggest that discourse representations and views of the crisis and the crisis-stricken countries, in this case Greece, are highly ideological in nature and relate to assumed political perspectives. What is more, distinct similarities in conceptualization of the crisis and in representations of Greece and Europe seem to permeate both the local and the international press. It is argued that mainstream European media that align to conservative political ideologies adopt a non-systemic view of the crisis construing it as a “local” phenomenon and present austerity policies as a ‘necessary’ and ‘unavoidable’ policy, thus forwarding a particular ideological position and political strategy for Europe (see also Mitsikopoulou & Lykou 2015, Mylonas 2014). On the other hand, texts of left political stance deconstruct the “local” nature of the crisis and view it in relation to the broader socioeconomic and political European and global context. These approaches foreground the failure of austerity policies and the humanitarian and social crisis which they have provoked.

Keywords: Economic crisis, Europe, Greece, representations, media discourse

Valelia Muni Toke

Non-Metropolitan, Outermost and Overseas. Making Sense of Europe in Les Outre-mer Français

Mostly understood in its primary geographical, metropolitan dimension, Europe is in fact a political space that includes territories located on various continents around the globe. Labeled as “Overseas” (i.e. not belonging to the Union directly but depending politically on one of its members) or as “Outermost” (i.e. remote geographically but still included within the European Union), these are the products of a complex history of colonization and decolonization processes that did not lead to political independence but rather to renegotiated forms of governance by

the metropolises. Relying on a long-term and multi-sited ethnography that is mainly informed by sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, this paper provides an analysis of the discursive processes through which people make sense of 'Europe' in such places. The construction of European identities within French Overseas contexts are characterized by the entanglement of apparently contradictory discourses of 'modernity' and 'indigeneity', and discourses of 'French citizenship' and 'autochtony'. Focusing on the confrontation of these dichotomies with the perception and categorizations of migration fluxes and migrant identities, this paper contextualizes discourses within economies of communication, i.e. it addresses them as situated and embodied interaction and metapragmatics, as sites that produce, reproduce and impact socially significant representations and practices; sites where indexicalities attached to social positionalities get reshuffled and renegotiated. This renegotiation praxis is not confined to the here and now of discursive events but can rather be understood as organized in a scalar way, articulating the level of individual interaction to the postcoloniality of the political regime in place. I will illustrate this analysis with the case of Mayotte, a "département" since 2011 in the Indian Ocean. It is now fully integrated to the French Republic – being an "outermost" part of Europe, and seemingly standing as an extended border of Europe (Hachimi-Alaoui et al., 2014) in the middle of the Canal of Mozambique. Local discourses related to the "migration crisis" that Mayotte would be enduring since the 1990s describe a historically rooted, daily experience of social suffering. In that sense, they contrast with the current metropolitan Europe discourses of a recent, sudden emergence of an abnormal misery and of migrants seeking refuge within the European space. But local discourses regarding migration in Mayotte also develop in an ethnicizing, discriminating way – joining thereby more common discursive practices that construct Europe as endangered by migration influxes.

Keywords: periphery, postcoloniality, governance, margins, inclusion/exclusion

Giuliano Guilherme Nicolaou

European Union and the securitization of migration in the Mediterranean - Topic modeling on official speeches and security documents

The theoretical framework is Discourse Theory from Ernesto Laclau and Essex School, next to international security authors such as Ole Waever, Jef Huysman, Didier Bigo and Pinar Bilgin. From the end of the bipolar conflict, it identifies four moments of the process of forming a European political identity understood as "lowest common denominator" and externalization. We understand the Identity-Alterity relationship as a co-constitutive process, and that is instrumentalized by the European agenda through the securitization of migration. To verify, we used two quantitative methods stemmed from computational linguistics: Graph Theory

(Ego network) and Topic Model (Latent Dirichlet Algorithm). We analyzed 20,000 security documents of the EU and of public officials speeches, with several computational tools developed for the research.

Keywords: Discourse Theory, Topic Model, semantic analysis, migration, international security

Alexander Nikolaou & Jennifer Sclafani

Being between and betwixt. Discursive constructions of “authentic” and “hybrid” identities of Greekness in the narratives of “return” migration

Current work on discourse and identity has underscored the emergent nature of identity and has emphasized the need to connect momentary stances and alignments in interaction with macro-level social categories (e.g., Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Jaffe 2009). Narrative discourse has proven to be a fruitful locus for this area of inquiry because it allows speakers to construct and negotiate alignments and distinctions between Self and Other through the subjective representation of displaced events and interactions. This study explores the narrative construction of identity in interviews given by 11 second generation biethnic Greeks, (in their majority Greek Americans) who relocated to their parents' homeland as adults within a decade prior to the interviews. Through the analysis of stories of linguistic and cultural assimilation, conflict and transition, alignment and misalignment, authenticity and hybridity we consider how returnees position themselves not only in relation to “plain” Americans and “pure” Greeks, but also in relation to other migrants in Greece (e.g. Albanians, Cypriots, Pontians) and Greek Americans who have not “returned”. Adopting a social constructionist perspective we explore identity as a kind of performance in the context of story telling. It is through linguistic and rhetorical devices such as reported speech, indexicality, double-voicing that identities are asserted, problematized and contested. Our primary analytical focus is on language as on indexicality as a central process in the creation, enactment and ascription of identities (De Fina, Schiffman and Bamberg 2006). More specifically, we are looking at the use of pronoun shifting, code-switching and double voicing as micro-level devices of positioning (PL 1 and PL 2) within the storyworld and the interactional context of the narrative (Bamberg 1997). The guided interviews provided the interactional framework within which participants narrated their early experiences as children of immigrant parents in the foreign land, their efforts to cultivate and maintain intra-ethnic group affiliations, as well as their problematic and often painful experience of settling in the parental homeland. Greece is currently undergoing a period of ethno-socio-political volatility, struggling to maintain an identity of ethno-cultural integrity in a Europe that is challenged from within and outside to redefine its identity and accelerate the process of transforming itself into a multicultural and multifaith

context. (Christou, 2006). We feel, that this is an opportune moment to explore the complex positioning of identities among the admittedly understudied group of return migrants, hoping that our study group may provide unique insights into the broader ideologies that mediate hybrid and hyphenated identities in general.

Keywords: identity, discourse, Greek return migrants

Anna Nikolaou

Memory and identity in Epirus: ethno-cultural affiliations and relationships under reconstruction on the Greek/Albanian border

The paper explores the role of collective memory in the (re)construction of local identities in the Greek-Albanian frontier during the post-communist socio-economic and political transformation of the Balkans. The political and social changes of this period have resulted in the spread of various ethnonationalisms and social crisis, as well as the advancement of peripheral supranational systems and subsystems. The reorganisation of political space in Eastern Europe and the Balkans was moreover accompanied by the emergence of new nation states with not necessarily clearly defined ethnic boundaries, as well as by a period of substantial enlargement of the EU's external borders. The story is about Kónitsa, a region in the province of Epirus in north-west Greece that borders on Albania. During the Cold War the Greek-Albanian border delimited two geopolitical sites, namely Greece in the democratic world and the communist country of Albania. After the accession of Greece to the then EEC in 1981, the Greek borders were transformed into Europe's external frontier. Local people on both sides of the Greek/Albanian border retain a collective memory of cross-border communication before and after the borders were drawn. The Second World War and the political turmoil of the 1940s, however, interrupted cross-border inter-ethnic relationships. Particularly the Greek Civil War devastated the area and when the communist regime in Albania sealed the borders with Greece, all forms of communication between the people on both sides of the border were violently cut off. With the fall of communism, borders were re-opened and new social networks in labour and patterns of social relationships were formed across the borders. The information presented in this paper is largely based on 30 in-depth oral histories in the area of Kónitsa combined with ethnographic and observation methods. The research brings together four major study areas, namely political sociology, rural sociology, social history and anthropology of borders. The underlying epistemological assumption of this study is that (re)definitions of identity are primarily associated with particular social, political and historical contexts. This paper, therefore, examines how local people construct identities that cut-across geographical and political borders; how they view borders and border transitions; how they identify themselves in terms of ethnicity, language and religion and how these relate to national identity, European identity and citizenship status; how the underlying tensions between the various identities influence the construction of

identity boundaries in relation to the double-edged inclusive-exclusive character of identity. For example, although language, or better bilingualism (Greek and Albanian), seems to be a perceptible identity marker, it is mostly religion that determines ethnic identities in the region. Both language and religion are used to preserve identity boundaries, cross them or subvert them altogether depending not only on who the "other" is but also who the "other's" position is in the local community.

Keywords: Transnational locality, geographic and ethnological boundaries, reciprocity and exchange, cross-border relationships, linguistic exchanges.

Hanna Nohe

Fictitiously oriental travel novels of Enlightenment: a paradigmatic example for European discourse of identity

In the eighteenth century, the era in which the modern understanding of Europe is developing, one specific literary genre experiences great popularity: novels in letters written by fictitious Orientals, for instance from the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Morocco and China. Spending several years in France, England, Spain or the German speaking area, they describe the peculiarities of the visited culture in letters to their compatriots. However, the real authors of this genre came from the observed countries themselves, e. g. Montesquieu and his 'Lettres persanes' (1721), Goldsmith's 'The citizen of the world' (1760-1762), or Cadalso's 'Cartas marruecas' (1774/1789/1793). Creating an extra-European observer enables them, on the one hand, to alienate the point of view and thus critically analyse their society; on the other hand, the distant perspective creates new unities: whereas within, the neighbouring countries would be rather involved in quarrels and the interest of surpassing the others in strength and development, seen from the (fictitious) outside, they constitute nevertheless not only a geographical, but also a cultural unity. Although the concept of Europe was, then, only beginning to develop in the way we know it today, the narrative structure of the genre and the manner of guiding discourse shows very clearly how the creation and maintenance of collective identity works by creating and opposing oneself to an external Other (be it real or imagined) that creates internal unity. The present paper therefore proposes to look, on the one hand, into the narrative constellation of the genre, and, on the other hand, to analyse the discourse structure concerning Europe. Following Michel Foucault's concept of discourse presented in *The Order of Discourse* (1970), the paper aims at analysing how the differences concerning the Other create unity despite the differing and at times fighting neighbouring countries, and which aspects are focussed on, when trying to create a transnational identity. Thus, the analysis is to show exemplarily how diversity within becomes unity by opposing itself to an external Other, and how the creation of European identity works on a discursive level.

Keywords: eighteenth century, Orient, Other, discourse, identity

Immigration in Germany and the role of the communities

In the last century economic instability and political imbalance have caused a flow of immigrants to wander round the European continent seeking a place of residence that would ensure a safe future. These individual expectations tend to set certain European countries as dream lands and the inflow of immigrants continues and spreads rampant in every European country. Especially in the past five years, the immigration has become more evident in Germany, which is the target land of the majority of hopeless immigrants. Two kinds of immigrants have been spotted. The first type includes highly educated immigrants who aim at obtaining high positions with decent conditions and have the greatest possibility of integration in the local canvas. The second type of immigrants includes those who are of low or hardly any education at all. These people come mostly from countries that undergo an economic crisis, like Greece, Bulgaria, etc., or are refugees coming from war stricken areas, like Syria or Pakistan. The most decisive role in the integration of immigrants in Germany is performed by the communities which were originally founded as organizations in the 1970s. At first, these institutions had a traditional gathering function where people of a certain national group met to retain their relationship with their native country. These communities used to have a cultural character which did not help their integration with the local German population. On the other hand, the German state organized its own foundations in order to achieve this integration. In time, the communities developed a political hue that played its own part in their native countries as well as in the German political spectrum. The result of these practices was the constant negotiations with German politicians claiming support for the continuation of their existence and the preservation of the rights of their members. The German state, however, insists that these communities should change their directions and stop the promotion of their national and cultural identity and come in contact with other ethnicities creating sub-ethnicities. This policy is quite dubious and ambivalent since it may produce fragmentary identities that are not coherent and produce disagreements and mal-adjustment in society. \nWhat seems interesting in these practices is that the German state creates methods of integration with the aim to diminish the differential borders and ease the participation of these populations into the local structures. The communities act as a binding force between the welcoming phase and the adjustment and integration periods which help them maintain their national identity and their new formative identity and establish the legality to demand their privileges through the political pathways of their new environment.

Keywords: communities, immigrants, integration, politic, Germany, culture

Italian media discourse on the European economic crisis

Since its beginning the financial crisis established itself as the main topic in Italian media discourse, monopolizing almost the whole public debate. The economic crisis that broke out in 2008 in the US due to the collapse of subprime markets, developed into a global economic recession crisis of the financial and non-financial sectors of the economy (Kotz 2009). When in 2011 the crisis evolved in the so-called “sovereign debt crisis” countries like Greece in first place, and then Italy, were depicted as the main problem for European stability throughout western media, by the use, for example of the conceptual metaphors (Lakoff, Johnson 1980) of the disease (“crisis as a contagion”) and of the natural disaster (“the crisis as a tsunami”) (see Bickes et al. 2014). Moreover, the mainstream media discourse was pervasively engaged in what Mylonas (2012) named the “culturalization” of the crisis, that is, they «aims at grounding the capitalist crisis as a crisis that concerns a particular nation state and as a crisis that is caused by the particularities and the shortcomings of the Greek society» (Mylonas 2012: 662), hence hiding the systemic nature of the crisis and avoiding a structural public debate on the issue, which has its roots in the capitalist modes of wealth accumulation (what is neutrally described as “growth”). A strategy that tended to depict austerity measures and the intervention of the so-called Troika as the only possible way out for Greece and other Southern Europe states, and that above all represented also the chance to impose neo-liberalism principles and ideology in everyday discourse. Discourse is one of the main instruments through which social representations become, quoting Moscovici, «the contemporary version of common sense» (Moscovici 1981: 181). It specifically happens through a process of social interaction that ideologies are adopted in everyday life. The aim of this study is to investigate how one of the most influential media in the European public sphere tried to depict the crisis, its origin, and its possible solution. The corpus of our analysis is composed by newspaper articles from major national papers *Corriere della Sera*, *Repubblica*, *Stampa*, *Giornale*, plus the most important economic paper the *Sole-24 ore*. The study applies the methods of corpus-assisted discourse studies (Partington 2004), therefore our investigation will employ both quantitative and qualitative methods, in order to fully understand the discursive phenomena in the texts. In our study we take into account lexical items (keywords, collocations, clusters and lexical patterns), along with pervasive rhetorical forms (metaphors), in the tradition of the conceptual metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

Keywords: economic crisis, Italy, media discourse, capitalism, newspapers

Transformation of modern European identity in the framework of the EU integration processes: social and cultural dimensions

Cultural differences are one of the main issues in the processes of integration especially nowadays when Europe is faced with the problem of adaptation a large number of migrants from Eastern Europe and the Middle East. This aspect impact on the whole sphere of social and political life. From this point of view strengthening the comprehension of importance of cross-cultural and inter-religious dialogue in the EU integration processes is very important. On the other hand globalization and cultural diversity threatens the national identity and culture. Nowadays in Europe processes of regionalization are opposed to the process of globalization, when it became clear that along with positive aspects, globalization has also negative impact, namely, the destruction of traditional culture, scrapping of national identity models, dilution of values, etc. So the problem of general European identity formation has its own regional and local features. In my report I will focus on consideration the formation of modern identity in the Baltic Sea region against the background of the European integration process. The Baltic Sea region is united not only by common history, geographical location, nature and climate, but also a special way of life, a high level of welfare and civic responsibility. It appears that studding and strengthening of national and local culture and identity are very important in today's global world, where all differences leveled out. It will be one of the main objectives of the research to examine social practices and institutions that determine the modern European identity formation in the Baltic Sea region. Methodology assumes interdisciplinary research including philosophical-historical analysis, comparative method, hermeneutics and semiotics approach, analysis of cultural values with the involvement of sociological approaches. Research materials will consist of scientific articles and other publications, official documents, print and video materials, interpretations and ideas from discussions and interviews. Mutual enrichment and studying experiences in different countries of the EU will allow to develop new strategies of studding and resolving issues related to the formation of new European identity in the face of contemporary challenges: increasing the number of migrants and citizens of non-European origin, processes of globalization and the loss of the nation-states borders.

Keywords: cultural diversity, EU integration processes, globalization, regionalization, European identity

Nektaria Palaologou, Argyris Kyridis, Ioannis Manos, Vasilis Gialamas & Christos Zagkos

Notions of “homeland”, “borders” and “Greekness”: students’ perceptions in Northern Greece

Cultural diversity has gained a prominent position in modern multicultural countries as a new classification dimension along with social class and social status. National, ethnic and religious affiliations as well as linguistic and other ethno-cultural criteria are used to define the Self and the Other. Within this context, notions of otherness and diversity are constantly challenged, negotiated and re-defined. This is an evident characteristic of today's everyday life in Greece, an emigration country once, becoming since 1990 a reception country for thousands of diverse groups of immigrants. This paper explores perceptions about homeland, borders and Greekness, as expressed by students in northern Greece, attending three different Universities, i.e. University of Western Macedonia in Florina, University of Macedonia and Aristotle University in Thessaloniki. It is based on a survey, conducted to a random sample (150 N) of students. Semi-structured interviews were implemented for obtaining the data. Xenophobia, diversity, understanding, hesitance, tolerance and acceptance are some of the feelings that can be drawn from the content analysis that followed the survey. Students- mostly those who attend the first two years of their undergraduate studies - express fears towards the immigrants living in Greece, regarding them as a potential danger for the safekeeping of national borders and for the country's integrity and homogeneity. On the contrary, older students and graduates express a deeper questioning towards the multicultural diversity and co-existence in modern Greece. They appear to be more tolerant, sensitive and open towards the immigrant population. They are in the process of contesting what they have learned at their early school years regarding nationality and citizenship issues. The paper supports the statement that Intercultural and Citizenship Education could be implemented within the school curricula of first level of Education (i.e. Primary Education) in order to help pupils and students overcome their own stereotypical perceptions and prejudices and develop a broader awareness for notions of homeland, borders, the Self and the Other.

Keywords: Borders, homeland, diversity, immigrants, students

Greece through Spiegel: discussing the political-economic situation from 2009 to the present

Media seems to be a crucial source of knowledge about the other countries. That has an important impact in how we understand a situation (political-economic) in a country and influences also the way of our communication with people of different cultures and normalities. This kind of exposure to the foreign news influences attitudes and opinions referring to foreign countries. This is even more obvious in view of the discussion about the connection between Greece and Germany in the framework of European Union. In the past few years were articulated so many different options of this “relationship” and diverse forms of interpretations through media, which were more than critical. So, this paper attempts to highlight the reception of this “communication” through the spectrum of the magazine “Der Spiegel”, during the period 2009-2011 in order to address some important perspectives of this magazine (referring to Greece) and then to make a comparative analysis with the discussion about Greece during the period 2014-2015. I chose this magazine because it came so often to the media about the way that approaches the political and economic situation in Greece and it is a magazine that not only influences the German opinion through the social media but also has a special approach to advertise its content. The content analysis (both qualitative and quantitative) focus on two aspects: a) the state's attention and expectations toward the coverage of its performance and b) what kind of criteria uses “Der Spiegel” in order to select the presentation of news. I chose to focus on the first years of Greek debt crisis and then to examine what it changed in the coverage angle during 2014-2015 with regard to our situation and our connection with European Union. Can we see a kind of continuity from the results? Did Der Spiegel adopt the same critical point all those years? Was the magazine able to understand the situation in Greece in order to cover it? My aim is to take a critical standpoint for demonstrating what really receives Germany from our situation and which way they found to discuss that. At the same time, we can bear in mind some aspects of the new dimension of public sphere. The dynamic of public sphere changes the era of the “meanings”. Thus, from the interpretation of public sphere by J. Habermas to the new dimension of the public sphere the distance grows constantly. Which is the role of this transformation in our discussion? The influence of media unfolds new narratives and transforms the message through public sphere in a way that notions of discursive exchanges highlight the distance between theory and praxis in the framework of European Union, while the analysis of the articles reveals how EU is perceived as a central authority defining state policies. Can we really invest through media in a common European identity or is it commonplace that media transfers the real situation namely that we do not hold/need such an identity?

Keywords: EU, Greece, Germany, media, Political-economic crisis

Turkey: The Inveterate Candidate

Turkey is the only inveterate EU membership candidate. No country has waited at the front door of the EU as long as Turkey yet. There are different reasons behind this and they make the issue interesting to contemplate. Turkey's most recent failed attempt to become a member of the European Union in the first decade of this century occasioned a great deal of soul searching and comment amongst European intellectuals, media commentators and political actors. It opened up a whole series of discussions about what it meant to be European and about the nature of the essence of the European Union and the idea of a united Europe. It also occasioned much reflection on the historical relations - and boundaries - between Europe/ the West and the Ottoman Empire / Turkey / the East. Whilst all these discussions were challenging and valuable in highlighting complex issues of identity and place - Who is European? Where is Europe? Who is not European, and so on - there were some other areas of enquiry that set off different concerns. One of these was the very different perspectives or approaches to the subject of Turkey's accession that could be found amongst different members of the European Union. So, for example, there were some differences between the ways in which the British political establishment, including the media, looked at the question of accession and the French or German establishment. Although all, in one way or another, sought to place the discussion within the context of a wider discussion about the EU's future identity and the rationale of European integration (Beck & Delanty, 2006, p. 11; Tekin, 2008; Aksoy, 2009; Wimmel, 2009; Kystad, 2010; Papathanassopoulos & Negrine, 2011), at base the discussion was about the nature of Europe and of Turkey as the "other". In addition to Turkey's different status compared to the EU membership candidacy processes of other countries, there is also an awkward relationship between the EU and the UK, and inevitably the British media. Therefore, this study seeks to present an analytical framework which draws on the notion of "a positive Other" while explaining the representation of Turkey's EU bid in the British media. The paper discusses the inadequacy of Orientalism and Self/Other nexus to understand the context in the British coverage and highlights the "essentialist" and "functionalist" approaches in its attempt to explain the differences within the EU in exploring the fundamentals of the EU and the view about Turkish membership. The study seeks to explore how Turkey's EU bid was represented in the British media by focusing on one main research question, namely, 'How was Turkey's EU bid represented in the British media?' In order to answer this question the study looks at the coverage of different important periods in Turkey-EU relations between 1999 and 2006. The news items published in these periods by six news organisations from the British media will be analysed by using quantitative and qualitative content analysis.

Keywords: Turkey, EU, the British media, orientalism, positive Other

The role of ancient Olympia in a period of crisis for Greece, Europe and the world

This oral presentation aims at presenting the important role that ancient Olympia could play as a place of great value and symbolism in dealing with the acute multiple crisis that is nowadays plaguing Greece, Europe and generally the whole world, i.e. crisis of morals, institutions, sense of values in society, the economy and in politics). At present, diversions from the normal state are identified in interpersonal, family relations (alienation, coldness, suicidal tendencies through addiction to alcohol, drugs, pills), in society, especially in youth (racism, aggression leading to delinquency, such as violence, criminality, bullying, terrorism), in the economy (austerity), in politics (corruption, interweaving, manipulation of the electorate, etc.). It will be argued that the above mentioned can be dealt with, if the values and ideals of life are redefined for the good of the individual and society as a whole. This can be done if there is a new humanitarian movement, the values of which future generations will be nurtured with. In my view, ancient Olympia can be the “key” to this effort, as the ideal ambassador of the Olympic ideals, of the Greek spirit, of Greek but also of European culture. This proposal will be presented in detail with arguments and historic examples. In times of crisis Olympia could become the backbone to mankind, it could offer it high ideals and firm human values, on which it could build, after the crisis, the new culture of Greece, Europe and the world. The transition from the crisis to the new era could be based on the ideals of Olympia and of ancient Greece, which could become again the cradle of the new European, but also of the new world culture. Ideals such as freedom, democracy, the concepts of “fair play”, of harmonious balance between body and mind, of physical and spiritual beauty could be crucial in order for the new European and world culture to be rebuilt. The aim of the new humanitarian movement should be to find the “gold” equilibrium, in which man will be able to survive in a society without problems and malfunctions and this society will continue existing, precisely because he is productive and his interpersonal and social relations are healthy and functional. Finally, it will be explained that in order for this proposal to be fulfilled, scientists from different research fields, such as sociologists, psychologists, together with economists and mathematicians, etc. should participate, so that the effort will be interdisciplinary.

Keywords: Olympia, crisis, Greece, Europe, humanitarianism

Constructing of the Ukrainian identity within the European context

The present paper investigates and problematizes how mass media construct the discourse on the Ukraine's national identity. In 2013, the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement had to be signed in the framework of implementation of the Eastern Partnership EU project. This EU initiative aimed at establishing close political and economic relations between the EU and Ukraine and several other post-Soviet states is a part of the European Neighbourhood Policy. The achievement of this goal presupposes certain changes in the habitual reality of the neighbouring countries' societies. As far as Ukraine concerns, these changes led to a cardinal re-configuration of the narrative of the Ukrainian "Self", Ukrainian identity, constructing of the new, European "Self" for the Ukrainians. The signing of the Association Agreement, scheduled for November 2013, was postponed, that caused the protests of the citizens in Ukraine, known as Euromaidan. This bloody tragedy of the Ukrainian people acted as a catalyst of the process of the European Ukrainian identity constructing, transformation of *Homo Sovieticus* into *Homo Europeicus*. The analysis of the English-language mass-media texts (2013-2015) regarding their discursive and narrative features shows that the main vulnerable points in the narrative of the Ukrainian identity are those connected with history (national self-determination of Ukraine, Ukraine in the World War II, etc.), geopolitics (historical borders of Ukraine, Ukraine and European standards and values), ethnopsychology (independence of the Ukrainian language and culture, etc.). Thus the main instrument of constructing the new European Ukrainian reality, European narrative of Ukraine, became delimitation, demarcation of "boundaries" with the Russian Federation as the main successor state to the Soviet Union. There is an actual delimitation, on the material level, like the popularity of external national attributes (national clothes, national flag etc.) and significant changes in the political and economic relations with the Russian Federation (boycotting goods from Russia, no TV criminal dramas produced in Russia and increase in film production of Ukraine, curfew etc.). On the level of consciousness, the boundaries are created through the transition from the Soviet context to the European one by means of narrative changes to discourses comprising the Ukrainian identity. In particular, many historical facts are reexamined from the European point of view (e.g. celebrating of the Victory in Europe Day on the 8th of May instead of the Soviet Victory Day of the 9th of May), changes in the content of the Ukrainian mass-media (more news and analysis on Europe). Becoming a member of a new community always presupposes reconstructing of the existing "Self". In case of Ukraine, we witness modification of old "boundaries" along with delimitation of new ones on different levels that comprises a unique example of constructing new national identity within a short period of time

Keywords: identity constructing, discourse, boundaries, Ukraine, Europe

Tanja Petrovic

Discursive Construction of European Industrial Heritage

Industrial heritage and the legacy of industrialization are considered important pillars of common European identity, since Europe perceives itself as “a cradle of industry” and a key player of global industrialization. It is thus hardly surprising that significant number of documents, initiatives and actions on the European level are concerned with European industrial heritage. On the other hand, most rapid industrialization and modernization of the eastern part of Europe took place in the 20th century during the socialist period, when the continent was sharply divided by the Iron Curtain. Attempts to incorporate legacies of socialist industrialization into common narratives of European industrial heritage are faced with serious problems. This paper looks at discursive strategies to overcome these problems and transcend East-West division of Europe. Looking at documents and representational strategies related to European industrial heritage on the European level and in former socialist societies, it traces main discourses through which history of socialist industrialization is included into the narrative of common European industrial heritage.

Keywords: industrialization, heritage, modernity, socialist Europe

Irene Photiou, Lambrini Papadopoulou & Theodora Maniou

Images of crisis in the Greek-Cypriot television: Ethnographic approaches to European identity-making in the case of the Greek crisis of 2015

In June and July 2015, Greece experienced a fresh culmination of its ongoing financial and socio-political crisis, which once again affected all aspects of everyday life for the Greeks around the world. The negotiations between the left Greek government and the EU administration instigated an unprecedented crisis that led to the break-down of the banking system, a referendum that divided Greeks, social movements in the country and, finally, the national elections of September 2015. Greeks around the world perceived this crisis in multiple ways, but for Greek-Cypriots it brought forth memories of the 2013 banking crisis in Cyprus (at least). The aim of this work is to scrutinize and understand the images of the 2015 Greek crisis as presented to the Cypriot society through the Greek-Cypriot television channels, and specifically in their main news bulletins. Through the methodology of discourse analysis, we will examine the discourse used in the news in order to investigate the political and social aspects in which the crisis in Greece was presented, as well as problematizations concerning conflicts between the European, Greek and Cypriot identities, all or some of which many Greek-Cypriots consciously claim to adopt. In this perspective, although

a comparative analysis with the depiction of the 2013 Cypriot crisis will not be under-taken here, we will look for implied comparisons with this in the discourse of the news bulletins.

Keywords: European identity, crisis, Cyprus, Greece, discourse

Mariangela Picciuolo

European Identity: a Multimodal Perspective

In a recent publication, the European Commission has defined European cultural identity as “a sense of identification with Europe and fellow Europeans” (European Commission, 2012: 36) which is mainly fostered “through the exposure to influential discourses and symbols [i.e. through] persuasion and indoctrination” (ibidem). In this respect, a growing body of scholarly literature has increasingly focused on the official EU rhetoric and practice of identity-building, and there is general agreement in identifying the common rhetoric of unity in diversity as the key to European identity. The European narrative of unity in diversity is an evolving notion, whose significance has changed in the course of time. Today, the unity in diversity rhetoric has generally gained positive connotations, no longer representing diversity – intended as the plurality of historical and cultural traditions which make up the EU – as an obstacle to any further development towards the creation of feelings of belonging and identity to the EU, but as a constitutive element of its own nature. In this regard, academic and official accounts – which largely rely on the quantitative analysis of data from Eurobarometer surveys and national opinion polls – generally converge on the idea that, for an increasing number of Europeans, “the constructed character of European narratives” (Sassatelli, 2009: 193) appears self-evident. However, as it would seem from the case study presented in this paper, when analysing the EU rhetoric at a deeper level of meaning, other more complex and controversial issues appear. To address these issues, this study carries out a synchronic intralinguistic multimodal analysis of selected audiovisual advertisements from the 2014 European Parliament (EP) election campaign that employs lexico-grammatical analysis and Systemic Functional Multimodal Discourse Analysis (SF-MDA) as research tools. It focuses on the 2014 EP audiovisual election campaign for two main reasons. First, EP elections measure citizens’ attitudes in an electoral context, but they affect people’s European identity more deeply as a result of the political communication carried out during the election campaign. Secondly, given that political communication is grounded in the power of language – both verbal and nonverbal – to produce and communicate significant symbols that have a crucial effect on cultural identity, it follows that investigating symbols and values of the 2014 EP audiovisual election campaign can substantially contribute to explaining how European institutions discursively construct European identity in official discourse. As dealing with audiovisual political advertising, the research model of this study is based on the integration of Baldry and Thibault’s Systemic Functional-Multimodal Discourse

Analysis (2009) and Sinclair's lexico-grammatical approach (1991). Indeed, in audiovisual advertising, emotional strategies enhance the psychological attraction of the product for the target audience mainly by stimulating two senses – sound and sight (Lindstrom, 2005). This in turn implies that feelings, values and beliefs conveyed by images and sounds have the most influence on the target audience's purchasing decisions. An in-depth analysis of the verbal content, as well as of the combination of the full set of semiotic features co-occurring within a text, therefore, allowed us to better identify meanings behind symbols and myths.

Keywords: European identity, EP elections, multimodality, SF-MDA, lexico-grammatical analysis

Adrian Pop

Discursive structures of the EU: introduction to the European language and the tendency towards borders' reification

The evolution towards the European Union validated by the signing of the Maastricht Treaty brought about neologistic ways of interaction between the states which affected deeply all the elements comprising the state functioning, including borders. Actions such as the creation of the single market or the areas functioning on the basis of the free move principle (Schengen area) brought about major modifications in the perception of borders and new mindsets were introduced such as the extraordinary visibility of the inner and outer border. The necessity to operate certain differentiations in the nature of borders leads to the attainment of their axially in the self-definition process of the EU – a symptomatic evolution for the permanent state that it is now in – and the placement of the concept in the subsidiary of the entire communication action. The analysis carried out on the official discourse pertaining to Commissioners and EC Presidents resulted in a key observation regarding the relation between the communication act and the two instances of the border: in the internal communication, the relation element is the outer border, whereas in the external communication the attention is focused on the inner border or even the lack thereof. It has been ascertained that the need for the connotation transfer is most frequently in relation to the receiver whose interests cover various perception and need areas. The thoroughness of the discursive content supported the idea that there are constant vectors in the formation of the communication which is structurally related with a series of principles and reasons ordering not only the discourse, but also the self-perception of the EU on its own ontological substance. In the next step of the analysis, some correspondence elements between these and the border concept have been extracted. It has been ascertained that these principals and motives exert their influence on the notion of border, mostly on the outer border □ by delexicalization or by the international semantic permutations (for instance, the meaning transfer between the concept of border and that of challenge). It has been noted that the essentialization of the border in the union discourse owes very much to the ambiguity attached to the geographical structure of the EU as well, which is not made up of territorial

coordinates, but rather of political aspirations, of shared European traditional values leading to the existence of a community of principles and commitments. In a simple interpretation, the importance of the border in the discursive context arises from the need to disengage the courses of actions in relation to its practical existence; it is precisely this relation that provides the perspective of a reification of the border in the UE communication. The thoroughness of specific perceptions on the border concept needs a more in-depth analysis of the vision points of reference making the union narrative possible. The analysis at this point made use of the discursive content by correlating the characteristics exerted from the border literature with the semantic synthesis of all declared aspirations of the European project. Its premise was based on the idea that the UE vision on the systemic elements must be anchored in the selfperception argument stemming from the conveyed word. It has been ascertained that the use of the generic denominations reflects an integrated approach on the constituting parts; however, it also makes the relation with the territory ambiguous. The idea fabric points out to deterritorialization and transnationalization, the solidification of the entities around some ideas rather than around the geographic coordinates.

Keywords: European Union, borders, discourse, spatial vision, territoriality

Maria-Corina Popa

Strategies of Designing the European Identity in the Romanian Diplomatic Discourse

The purpose of this paper is an analysis of the construction means of the European identity in the Romanian diplomatic discourse. Starting from the premise that the identity of an international community is the result of a complex, dynamic and negotiated social and discursive process of building a common (political, legal, economic etc.) space, the objectives of this research begin with the attempt to answer a series of questions which we consider relevant for our approach:

- How can we use in the discursive analysis the study of identity's operational concepts borrowed from other subjects?
- Which is the best analysis method that can capture the means of discursive identity construction?
- How is identity shaped through discourse?
- What thematic contents, what strategies and what linguistic labels are used in order to design the European identity in the Romanian diplomatic discourse?

Being considered a crucial element in the establishment of interpersonal, institutional and intercultural relationships, until the present moment, identity has been approached from various perspectives (philosophical, sociologic, linguistic, psychological, etc.) and in diverse forms. Considering Ricoeur's distinction between the philosophy and hermeneutics of the self as a starting point, we attempt to universally define the identity of the international communities (which would subsume the specific teleological and actioning particularities), and the concept of habitus would be the basis in delimiting the discursive practices typical of this complex identification form. The ipse identity,

engaged in the relationship with the other, transposed in the diplomacy sphere, can be regarded as an area substantiating group identity through the assimilation and application of a specific habitus (in the sense which was given to this concept by Bourdieu). Taking into account the variety of interpretative directions which are traced in the national identity extensive study, the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) will lead to the approximation of this paper's analysis grid, through an inventory of the macro-strategies of the diplomatic habitus. The aforementioned "diplomatic habitus" implies a series of strategies of positive self-presentation, legitimization and creation of a consensual space which, in turn, are projected in a textual plan through specific rhetorical, linguistic and discursive markers. The second half of this paper is focused on the analysis of the strategies identified and on the way these are contextually updated through various linguistic markers. Complementary to the observation of the particularities of discursive, linguistic and rhetorical markers specific to the foreign politics practice, the second half of this paper turns to the functions and the effects that the identification markers are given in the diplomatic discourse

Keywords: European Identity, ipse identity, diplomatic, Discourse-Historical Approach, consensual space

Adomas Puras

Jean Monnet and European Studies: European Identity Projects in Scholarly Discourses

What is the relationship between the academic study of the European Union and the construction of European Identity? In this paper the question is tackled by investigating the representations of Jean Monnet in the discourses of the European Studies. In the historical, theoretical and popular-academic literature on European integration, we oftentimes discover Monnet portrayed as an enemy of nationalism and a builder of the European man. He can, however, also be portrayed as a French patriot who kick started the ECSC to advance the interest of the French economy. In theoretical debates, Monnet is usually hailed a pioneer of (neo)functionalism. But in other accounts he is invoked as an intergovernmentalist who recognized the primacy of inter-state bargains. Monnet is often seen as an enemy of democracy or a technocrat in the Saint-Simonian tradition. But can also be portrayed as a prudent builder of structures for a future European democracy. Finally, Monnet can be remembered as a free-marketeer and a forerunner of contemporary neoliberalism. But he can also be remembered as a left-leaning super-state planner. Should we be surprised, or even concerned, that students of the EU have such different perceptions of Monnet and, in turn, the origins of the European project? My proposal is rather to interpret the multiplicity of Monnet's images in light of the sociology of science and the theory of origin myths, contemporary political conflicts and struggles over European Identity. In *The End of the West: The Once and Future Europe* (2012), David Marquand explains that the contemporary crisis of the EU has as its root the great ambiguities that

have accompanied the European project since its very inception: nationalism vs europeanism, federalism vs confederalism, democracy vs technocracy, 'Social Europe' vs neoliberal Europe. I argue that these 'borders' give structure to the European identity project understood as a European narrative network. Building on the "Many Europes" research program developed Biebuyck, Buhari-Gulmez, Eder, Rumford, etc., this paper is grounded in the idea that European identity is a multifaceted phenomenon. Much more diverse than the nation-state, Europe also lacks a hegemonic "regulator of meaning" in the way that national political centers played this role in the top-down sedimentation of national identities in the nineteenth century. In contrast, the European identity project is marked by a multiplicity of the "regulators of meaning" who act as mouthpieces for different European interests, ideologies, and agendas. European identity should, therefore, be seen "not as a static concept but as a construct that is continually negotiated and rewritten in multiple discourses". The European identity project is expressed in narratives - and origin narratives in particular - which compete against each other and reflect the contemporary EUropean political 'borders'. The originality of this paper lies in the application of this perspective to academic discourses (which internalize the aforementioned 'borders'), and the reinterpretation of the role of the 'politics of founders' in the formation of European identity.

Keywords: Jean Monnet, european studies, politics of founders, european identity, narratives

Luciana Radut-Gaghi

The political discourse within the on line media discourse.

Legitimation or signification of the European project

As part of the LEMEL research project - Europe in online media, coordinated by the University of Cergy-Pontoise, we are alongside a team of researchers from eight European countries and realize an analysis of representations of Europe in the online media discourse. One of the variables in the analysis is the theme of the article (political, economic, social, etc.). One such topic is the general vision of Europe. These are the articles that discuss the European project as a whole and that address several questions of integration. Few in our corpora, they nevertheless give a very interesting vision of European identity, as it is present in the national media agenda setting. We rely here on comprehensive corpora collected on European issues in the LEMEL project in autumn 2014 and autumn 2015. We note, somewhat expected, these "general" items make their appearances in the media online especially during times of crisis. But it is even more interesting to point out that this type of media narrative is requested in relation to external events or to countries not belonging to the European Union: the crisis in Ukraine, relations between the EU and Russia or migrants arriving on the shores of the EU in the summer of 2015. That means the media appeal the discourses on the European project only in a specific type of media event (Dosse, 2015; Quéré, 2006). Under this type of media items, this communication

analyzes the evolution of the presence of European politicians discourses in the online press. It interests us to understand the relationship between the two visions for the formulation of European identity: political and media. Specifically, we ask the question whether the political speeches are used as institutional legitimacy of a supranational project or acquisition of meaning for the European project that lack of momentum. In the first case, it would be analyzed by the theory of discursive institutionalism of V. Schmidt (2008). In the second case, it would be a discussion under the auspices of poststructuralism in the wake of Derrida (1976). We ask if the two discourse analysis perspectives can bring different answers about the same discursive reality by engaging multiple epistemologies and discursive strategies. By comparing the media from several countries, we report the differences between the terms of appropriation of political discourse by media discourse. Our conclusions relate to the flow of ideas in the European public space and contribute to the overall analysis of the existence, relevance, usefulness of such a space.

Keywords: media, political discourse, european project, discursive institutionalism, poststructuralism, comparison

Dana Rem & Des Gasper

Citizens and Citizenship – the Rhetoric of Dutch Immigrant Integration Policies

Despite EU attempts to promote uniform practices regarding immigrants' integration in Europe, consensus has been far from reached around the original intention of the EU/EC to establish practices for migrants considered as equal candidates for citizenship. Instead, restrictive policies have been articulated, notably in The Netherlands and France, where under the influence of right-wing populist parties both governments took radical positions against migrants and distanced themselves from multiculturalism. The new rules have functioned as mechanisms for filtering against, not least, unwanted 'Others' from Eastern Europe [some of them classified in Dutch statistics as Other Europeans] and for differentiation and segregation against the non-Western allochthons – sometimes referred to in the literature as citizens with an integration deficit or dis-citizens [Wodak, 2013] – people deemed now as not possessing the required cultural knowledge or the language competencies to (deserve to) enjoy fully their citizenship rights. Using tools from lexical analysis, argumentation analysis, category analysis and rhetoric analysis, we explore Dutch immigration and integration policies. We look in particular at problematization and its political rationality, and at whether and how manipulation of knowledge through power shapes migrants' given identities, allocates and re-allocates positions in society, and can render migrants as subjects of marginalization and exclusion. Attention will be paid to: the concept of citizenship as a mechanism that regulates migrant exclusion [Brubaker, 1992] and to its contextual meanings and connotations; and to discursive strategies of ethnicization and exclusion with regard to two

targeted groups/constructed categories: the non-Western allochthons and Other Europeans. We investigate two key Netherlands government documents on immigrants' integration, a policy formulation document from 2011 and a policy implementation agenda from 2013: Integratie, Binding, Burgerschap [16.06.2011] and Agenda Integratie [24.03.2013]. We focus on the following questions:

- Who are the subjects of the immigration policy and how are they described/constructed as citizens? How are they framed as passive/active receivers of citizenship? Who are the citizens with a 'citizenship deficit' and how are they portrayed?
- Based on which rhetorical means are identities and purported communities constructed? What in/out grouping strategies are used? How is the logos constructed around these categories [structures of argumentation; coherence of the discourse]? What can be said about the voice of authority embedded in the text? Does a text appeal to feelings and emotions? How and with what effects?
- Do the texts use techniques of punishment, prohibition or exclusion? To which extent do they include moralization, assimilation, and correction of the candidates for citizenship?

By using a repertoire of tools from discourse studies and perspectives from governmental studies, political economy and cultural psychology, we will investigate whether and how the concept of citizenship can sometimes be used to contribute to migrants' marginalization and exclusion. Brubaker, R. (1992) *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge/London: Harvard Wodak, R. (2013) Dis-citizenship and Migration. A CDA perspective, *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 12: 3, 173-178

Keywords: immigrant integration policies, discursive strategies, citizenship, category formation, exclusion

Isabel Mariano Ribeiro

Regionalization in Portugal: “uma conversa de surdos? (a deaf conversation?)»

Regionalization and the concepts to it attached have been treated and exposed, surrounded by a strong polysemy, in an equivocate manner (Sá, 1989: 15 et seq.). In this presentation we will explore through an historical approach (having History of Ideas, Constructivism and Discourse Analysis in the theoretical framework) how this concept has been formulated and manipulated as a political idea by different actors, paying special attention on how it has been used in the last 40 years, relating to the democratic reform of the Portuguese state. To understand the various discourses on the subject it is necessary to deconstruct them. Considering the interrelations between context in which they are produced (and reproduced) and realities in which they play, we must also contemplate the inter-discourse,

and specially the associations made between regionalization and other ideas such as democracy (popular participation), economic and social development, and administrative reform (bureaucratization vs. administrative simplification).

Keywords: Constructivism, regionalism, regionalization, discourse, qualitative analysis

Blanka Richova

National identity in Contemporary Europe - Why devolution is not enough? (Regional identity vs. state political parties and disintegration of contemporary Europe)

The analysis proposed will focus on comparative regionalization of the states in contemporary Europe. The paper proposed will deal with the question why the regional parties in contemporary Europe are successful in regional election as well as whole-state (e.g. center) elections (cases of Scotland or Belgium) and why state-wide parties whose leaders formulated pro-decentralization politics were not successful in theirs strategies (research will discuss the accommodation thesis of A. Lijphart 1967, and the center-periphery concept of Rokkan and Urwin 1983). Our question can be as follows: firstly, can we speak about “demonstration effect” of decentralization which influences the separatist mobilization in countries where no (strong) regional party systems exists; and, secondly, how these decentralization processes influence the state parties or party systems in countries like the UK, Belgium, Spain. Does state-wide party systems still exists in decentralized European states or they are only “disintegration party systems”? The research focusing on influence of election and decentralization (S. Alonso 2008, 2012) leaves open the space for discussing the national identity in relation to state-wide parties as well as regional ones (M. Hroch, V. Bogdanor). That is why the paper will ask the question why the identity politics is (or why it is not) a part of state-wide parties electoral policy program.

Keywords: national identity, disintegration, Europe, regional parties, Hroch's approach

Christopher Stevens

Identity in diversity: etymology and multilingualism in education

As one aspect of a combined effort to construct a whole and coherent pluralistic approach to intellectual education in all areas (science, culture, language), the linguistic dimension constitutes the underlying condition for all others, in that an enormous part of our general thinking and reasoning occurs linguistically. Instilling the reality that language is both a universally shared human capacity and a multi-faceted lens for interacting with and assimilating our everyday reality in unique and distinct ways should be a cornerstone of education from a young

age. An introduction to this way of thinking that is both cognitively enriching and intellectually stimulating is the two pronged approach advanced here: a multilingual education that also openly imparts a spontaneous etymological curiosity into the minds of young learners. In its distilled form, the logic behind this multilingual, etymological approach to education is this: getting closer to the historical origins of our spoken languages makes us more conscious, not only of our shared linguistic identity, but also of the multiple creative acts underlying our rich conceptual diversity. The multilingual brain must establish distinct global conceptual networks for each of the languages it has learnt to use for describing and interacting with the world: different languages utilise different metaphors to arrive at similar abstract ideas and derive diverse figurative analogies from identical concrete objects. Retracing first the paths of metaphorical meanings and then the semantic paths of their literal component parts grounds current meaning in the flesh and blood interactions of our linguistic ancestors with their worlds, be these earlier instances of our own specific community, or the Romans, Germanic tribes, Greeks, Phoenicians, or some other, still older, proto-Indo-European community. Multilingualism makes the mind aware of how diverse our reflections of an identical world can be: etymology reminds it that this diversity flows from a shared source. Employing a combination of contemporary neuroscience (Braitenberg, Pülvermüller, Damasio), philosophy (Nietzsche, Husserl, Lakoff), poetics (Ralph Waldo Emerson), and several multilingual examples, this paper aims to show how multilingualism can stimulate otherwise dormant ways of semantic and metaphorical thinking whose simultaneous exploration through etymology works to bring back to the mind, to literally “re-mind” it that it owes much of its modes of thinking to a shared linguistic ancestry. Europe presents a prime example of how the history and evolution of our languages are inextricably linked, like a network of tapestries being reciprocally woven out of each other over time. The claim of a multilingual and etymological approach to education is precisely to make this history and evolution of language an implicitly conscious part of how future generations think and reason both about the world and about humanity's place within it. In a very real sense, it is a way to revive a felt experience of our shared origin by watering the very sources of what unites the various nations of Europe, by re-establishing the bond between the abstract conceptual words of today and their original literal/metaphorical semantics.

Keywords: multilingualism, etymology, neuroscience, education, European identity

Recovering European identity in educational discourse or what do we mean when we discuss European identity as a language course subject?

The educational emergence of European identity is not only of significant institutional and state policy importance but of political importance as well, as it conveys one aspect of the future citizenship in Europe (European Commission, 2012). In this paper the textual construction of European identity is analyzed as it is emerged in the language textbook of the final grade of the Greek Lyceum. Using a Critical discourse analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics, European identity is discussed not only as a special theme within language course closely connected to Greece's national identity and cultural direction but as a linguistically clarification and reinforcement of both the national and European identity (Fairclough, 2010; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Martin, 2000; Wodak, 2013; van Leeuwen, 2009). European identity is in inclusion to national identity and vice versa. In that sense a projection of Greece into Europe and Europe into Greece is educationally conveyed reflecting a historically driven identification of national identity with Europe. It only remains to be seen if that educational construct will be socially reflected.

Keywords: Educational policy, practice, educational context, textual construction of European identity

Ifigeneia Roulia

The importance of interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings: Directive 2010/64/EU and Greek status

Since the establishment of the EU, citizens' equality as well as respect to diversity have been some of the Union's fundamental principles. This is explicitly stipulated in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights in Articles 20 "Equality before the law" and 22 "Cultural, religious and linguistic diversity", Article 26 "Integration of persons with disabilities" and Article 47 "Right to an effective remedy and to a fair trial". Multilingualism is considered to be the cornerstone of the EU of the 24 official languages. To avoid making the European Union some sort of a Babel, Europeans used a valuable tool as Umberto Eco said: "the language of Europe is translation". Translation goes together with multilingualism and is an essential part of everyday job within the Institutions. In this context, interpreters are at the front line of multilingualism, working to ensure that language is no barrier to understanding. In terms of court interpreting, Directive 2010/64/EU of the European Parliament and the Council of 20 October 2010, on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings, was adopted to ensure fair trials for all EU citizens. Adding to that, the European Association for Legal Interpreters and Translators (EULITA) that represents its full and associate

member associations, as well as its associated individual members at European level, has drafted a code for legal interpreters and translators working in judicial contexts or similar settings, such as pre-trial proceedings (i.e. interviews with police and prosecution officers, consultations with defence lawyers), court hearings and post-trial interventions. In this framework, AVIDICUS is an EU-funded project that explores the use of videoconference interpreting in criminal proceedings. In this connection, the Directive provides for quality interpreting, compiling of registers, translation of essential documents, confidentiality, record keeping, appropriate use of technology, training, costs as well as waiver to the right to interpretation and challenging a court decision on the grounds of no or poor interpreting. This paper was my dissertation produced in the context of the Master's Degree Program "Master of Arts in Conference Interpretation", of Hellenic American University. It consists of three parts, the first defining the interpreter's role in criminal proceedings, the second comparing the aforementioned Directive with the respective Greek legislation, and the third part presenting the current situation in Greece. More specifically, the first part focuses on the main factors that contribute to court interpreting that ensures fair proceedings. The second part comprises the writer's comparison of certain guidelines, provided by the Directive, with the existing Greek legislation. The third part presents the steps that have been made in Greece towards complying with the Directive, as well as the ones that have to be taken. Finally, the steps made both in the European Union and in Greece, as well as the ones that should be taken comprise the last part of the paper. The existing Greek legislation, investigational programs and further steps are to be mentioned.

Keywords: Directive 2010/64/EU, interpretation, EULITA, criminal proceedings, Greek legislation

Ioulia Roumpini

Teaching English to unaccompanied minors

Europe, a place where a plethora of languages is spoken, a vibrant continent, home to a mosaic of peoples and cultures. I once rested content with the thought that the old continent was nestling comfortably upon its past History and magnificent Civilization. But those were thoughts before the crisis and before the continuous influx of migrants who, fleeing violence, seek sanctuary at the shores of the Mediterranean. It is as if a pebble was thrown to a quiet lake, bringing about ripples to its surface and motion to still waters. About a year ago I decided to volunteer for the Hellenic Red Cross and teach English at an accommodation centre for unaccompanied minors called Stegi plus. I taught Basic Level English once a week to young boys aged 8 to 18 who came from countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan and Syria. Before starting I carefully planned and organized the curriculum, certain it was all I needed. Very quickly I understood that theory alone combined with exercises given for homework could not be applied to this class. After the second week the students started losing their interest and I felt as

if I were building on sand. I had to find another approach as these children had fled violence and bore a trauma. During lessons they tended to shy away leaving words and sentences incomplete. For introduction I decided to make up very small dialogues such as “Hello, how are you?” “What’s your name?”, “Where do you come from?” I had all and each individually make the same questions to their fellow students. They were written on the blackboard and they all had to answer them – but on one condition: they had to speak clearly, loudly and not be afraid of making mistakes! Otherwise, I asked them what was the point of me being there? In the beginning it was a game to them and they laughed, but slowly they participated and wanted more complex sentences. Finally I had their attention! I applied the same with grammar. For example, they had to use Simple Present in terms of describing their likes and dislikes, and asked their fellow students about their activities. Because some were very keen on talking about past habits from their countries, I gave them a list of the most frequently used verbs in Past Simple urging them to use short sentences. The most enjoyable of all was the vocabulary. I made them visit imaginary mini markets, green grocery stores, parks and squares. Everything they would use in their daily lives. I drew products and wrote them on the board. Those they didn’t understand they looked up on their mobiles, something that turned out to be very useful and time-saving. Everything in today’s Europe seems to be reshuffled, like a stone thrown to a lake. Both education and class participation play a vital role for these youngsters. They help them regain self confidence, keep them from isolation and social exclusion and help them to adjust to new circumstances more smoothly, thus giving them a fair chance to life.

Keywords: Importance of making mistakes, boosting confidence, teaching grammar, teaching vocabulary, help with mobiles

Christos Sagredos & Evelin Nikolova

Construction of Identities through the use of the first person pronouns (I/We) in the Greek Prime Minister’s statements before and after the summits

This research paper is two-folded. It aims to shed light on the way that identities are constructed in political discourse through the use of the pronouns on the one hand and demonstrate how politicians present these identities as Good/Evil and Right/Wrong on the other. By analyzing a number of statements made by Alexis Tsipras, before and after the summits over the period of June to October 2015, it was found that the Greek Prime Minister tends to use first plural pronoun “we” to a much greater extent than he uses the first singular pronoun “I”. Moreover, the pronoun “we” was found to serve the construction of three distinct identities. In particular, “we” can be interpreted as i) the Greek Prime Minister/Government, as ii) the Greek Prime Minister/Government and the Greek citizens and finally as iii) the Greek Prime Minister/ Government and the other European Union political

leaders. What also seems to be interesting is the fact that whether a statement is made before or after a negotiation may largely affect the extent to which and the underlying reasons why pronouns are employed. It was found that the politician seems to favour other identities in his pre-summit statements than in his post-summit ones. More specifically, the first identity constructed through the use of “we”, namely the one representing the Greek Prime minister and the Greek Government, is employed almost twice as much in his statements after the summits than in his pre-summit ones. On the contrary, in his pre-summit statements, Alexis Tsipras seems to identify more with the identity representing the European Union political leaders. Both the occurrence of the pronouns and the frequency of each “identity” constructed per Tsipras’ statement are illustrated by statistical data as well as qualitative analyses explaining the findings. Projections of Good/Evil, Right/Wrong and Truthfulness/Falsehood upon the identities are also part of the discussion of the findings

Keywords: political discourse, construction of identity, first person pronoun, projections of Good/Evil upon identities

Aggeliki Sakellariou

The images of the refugees and the immigrants in the Greek press

The present papers investigates how refugees and immigrants have been presented during 2015 by five Greek newspapers that favor either the communist party (Rizospastis), the left (Avgi), the center (To Vima), the center-right (I Kathimerini) or the populist extreme right (Xrisi Avgi). I will combine corpus and (critical) discourse analysis (cf. Baker 2006 and Baker et al. 2008) and I will analyze data both quantitatively and qualitatively. More specifically, I will use the newspapers’ electronic archives as corpora, in order to find out how refugees and immigrants have been presented and in what context. Additionally, the clusters and collocations found (for ex. refugee fluids) will be cross-checked against general language electronic corpora (for ex. fluid collocates also with liquids and money), in order to critically analyze (cf. Wodak 2008, Van Dijk 2012, Archakis 2010) how refugees and immigrants have been perceived during 2015. I have chosen this particular year, because the continuing war in Syria and the atrocities of ISIS have resulted in the arrival of many refugees and immigrants at the Greek islands. Finally, special emphasis will be laid on whether or not their image differs significantly from one newspaper to the other and on the different contexts that attribute a negative, neutral or positive quality to these images.

Keywords: refugees, immigrants, press, corpus analysis, critical discourse analysis

This is seductive Europa

This paper will draw on political anthropology, psychoanalysis, art and film studies to explore how supranational narratives are constructed through the use of visual tools. Based on the conviction that we perceive reality through imagination and unconscious fantasy and that political communities are tied together by emotional bonds (including both conscious and unconscious elements), it examines Europe as a 'fantasy community' (a state of mind rather than an objective, external reality, visionary and real at the same time) and Eurofederalism as a project of palingenesis, a political 'doctrine of salvation' driven by the Paradise dream of creating a new, idyllic Europe through the transformation of the United States of Europe from dream into fact. Using a multidisciplinary perspective, the paper will provide a critical interpretation of the European Central Bank's (ECB) decision to represent the common currency through the visual metaphor the mythological figure of Europa (her portrait ornaments the new 'Europa series' of the euro banknotes and 'she' features in official videos seeking to 'publicize' the 'new product'); its attempts to reinforce citizens' affective attachment to and identification with the European Union. The hope is to offer, though the analysis of the visual communications strategy of the ECB, insights into the supranational elite's 'politics of transcendence' – their endeavors to transport Europeans from the profane overwhelming present to the imaginary realm of pristine harmony with the (implicit) promise of fulfilling citizens' longing for wholeness and homecoming.

Keywords: "Europa" series banknotes, politics of transcendence, visual symbols, communications strategy

Athanasios Samaras, Eleni Loukopoulou & Maria-Eleni Dimitriou

European Frame and Nation Images in the Greek Press During the January 2015 Election Campaign: Assessing the Effects of Greek Financial Crisis on European Integration

Successful European integration necessitates an adequate process of communication as well as the emergence of a public sphere that will allow citizens to get involved in public discussions about European politics. The deficit of democratic legitimization of the EU is to a large extent related to the communication deficit. The communication deficit incorporates both the representation of the EU in the news and its employment in candidate controlled communication. To a certain extent this has been attributed to the ethnocentric perspective of the political communication system. Both the party system and the media system are operating at the state level and are thus fuelling ethnocentric perspectives consequently impairing the Europeanization process. European frame has been extensively employed as an analytical tool to examine the level of Europeanization

of news representations. This analysis draws from a content analytical project. It adopts the form of state-mapping since the images of every single state is content analysed; thus a representation of the state system is offered. Every news story containing a reference to a foreign country has been analysed for a period of two months (December 2014 – January 2015) in two Greek newspapers (one pro and one anti-memorandum). The theoretical framework draws from the fields of: European studies, Sociology of Journalism, Frame Theory, Nation Image Theory and International Political Communication. The analysis: ranks states according to the level of Europeanization of their image in the news; examines the impact of news agenda upon the employment of European frame; analyses the relationship between the employment of the European frame, the evaluation of different countries and the level of the domestication of the news discourse; and offers a multi-factorial analysis of the European frame. The project offers insights on the impact of the financial crisis news upon the Europeanization of the journalistically mediated nation images.

Keywords: european frame, europeanization, domestication, elections, greek financial crisis

Ioannis Saridakis & Effie Mouka

Immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Greece: a critical corpus-driven analysis of journalistic discourse

The aim of the proposed paper is to present the main discursual topics identified in Greek mainstream media, as well as their development, vis-à-vis the immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. The underlying hypothesis is that how the issue of immigration is presented by the media, reflects and/or triggers social attitudes and mainstream stances, in terms of solidarity and/or racism, and that such attitudes and stances are subject to marked shifts, or changes, consistent with the development and escalation of the refugee crisis. Such attitudes, stances and shifts merit attention, considering that Greece is a basic entry point for immigrants and refugees and that the refugee crisis is currently prevalent in the EU's political, economic and social agenda. To pursue this end, we have conducted a data-driven study of lexical and discourse semantics, by analysing a corpus of thematically selected "opinion articles" from mainstream Greek newspapers. The study corpus spans a period from 2010 to date, and is representative, in that the articles analysed have been thematically culled from "mainstream" sources covering the entire political/ideological spectrum. Using standard corpus linguistics techniques, we investigate how immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers are perceived and presented by the press. Corpus data analysis relies on: (a) lexical semantics, i.e. on the identification of key lexemes used to represent immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers and their grouping into conceptual categories; and (b) on the identification of the topoi and topics covered in the study corpus: this is achieved by analysing selected text stretches on the basis of: (i) Hoey's (1979, 1983) model and his postulate that

non-narrative, expository texts are characterised by a prevalent “problem-and-solution” pattern. “Problems” are designated by lexemes (words and collocates) with negative lexical prosodies, while “solutions” are tagged “using elements such as completion, caution, react, overcome” (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 1999, 108-109); and(ii) Fairclough's (2003) frame of analysis of semantic relations (i.e., causal, conditional, temporal, additive and elaborative). Standard Corpus Linguistics (CL) analysis is essentially complemented by the critical identification of “pragmatic devices and subtle, coded strategies or concepts” (Baker et al. 2008: 296; cf. Wodak 2007). Further, the findings from the study corpus and the ensuing analysis are investigated critically, with the aim being to identify prevalent and persistent topics (“patterns”), as well as discursal changes that may be linked to specific sociolinguistic situations and milestones (“turning points”).

Keywords: Refugee crisis, immigration, critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, greek press

Simone Schmidt

Powers of interpretation

The aim of the proposed paper is to analyze the discourse of the euro crisis 2015 and its conflicting dominant powers of interpretation. The paper aims to distinguish headlining narratives on the crisis. Starting from the assumption that news and analyses from the internet are an important source for formation of public opinion and thus different narratives, the study bases its analysis on data provided via Google Alerts, which were systematically collected during the whole year of 2015. Unlike other studies which usually base their analysis on data of selected broadsheets, the data used in my study is selected by algorithm of the search engine Google reflecting in a much more natural way the formation of narratives. Michael Zürn has distinguished in one of his last studies three narratives within the scholarly discourse on the crisis.

- The euro crisis as an extension of neo-liberalism. This narrative is reflected by arguments drawing for example on free market or on failure of democratic control mechanism.
- The re-nationalization of policies as a result of the euro crisis. Here especially right-wing populist have potential to mobilization society.
- The politicization of the EU as an opportunity that might arise from the euro crisis. Open public debates about competencies, legitimacy of European policy are taken as means to overcome the crisis while it is suggested that the crisis has the potential to accelerate the process of EU integration and polarization. Results of this analysis conclude on processes and systems how powers of interpretation are formed.

Keywords: euro crisis, formation of narratives, powers of interpretation

Discourse about Europe during the Greek Enlightenment and Revolution

During the 18th century, Europe is regarded as an exemplar of civilization, a common space or, as Gibbon puts it, “a large democracy whose inhabitants have attained almost the same level of education and culture”. In that cosmopolitan society, the French language and culture set the tone, creating the impression of a unity, which does not mean that there were no differentiations at the level of nations or conflicts at the level of politics. The mobility of merchants, scholars and diplomats, as much as the circulation of books and translations contributes to the community of ideas and ways of life. How do the Greeks participate in that community and which are the representations they form about Europe? On the one hand, for the Italian-speaking Greeks under Venetian rule, participation in a common universe of ideas is easier. On the other hand, for the Greeks under Ottoman rule, there are channels of communication thanks to the mobility and transmission of books in foreign languages, especially French in the last decades of the 18th century. For the educated Greeks at the time of the Greek Enlightenment, Europe is a place of education, culture and freedom, the “enlightened” Europe, as they call it. However, there is the other side of the coin emphasized by conservative circles, for whom Europe – and France in particular – is regarded as a place of atheists and libertines. The ideas disseminated from liberal Europe and the French Revolution will play a significant role in the demand for the liberation of the Greeks from foreign occupation. However, the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in 1821 takes place at a time when the Holy Alliance is dominant in the conservative Europe of the Restoration. The Greek Revolution will become a locus of conflict but also of consensus between liberal and conservative Europeans, while philhellenism will passionately support the Greek case, considering Greece to be the “cradle of culture” and a member of the European family. For the Greeks and philhellenes, conservatives and liberals, Europe ought to support Greece to which Europe is indebted for its lights and culture. This paper will present the different types of discourse about Europe, as they were articulated during the period of the Greek Enlightenment and the Revolution (1774-1832) in different sources: correspondence, pamphlets, books, the press.

Keywords: Europe, Greece, Enlightenment, Revolution, civilization, freedom, religion

Maria Sidiropoulou

Geopolitical affinities through mediation

The European identity and how it is reshaped and legitimized has attracted the attention of scholars (Carta and Wodak 2015, Wodak and Boukala 2015). I would assume that attention may be directed to the power of press translation (Kaniklidou and House) to reshape geopolitical affinities and establish a new form

of realism of the news. The study problematizes translation as mediation with a view to highlighting how institutional power reshapes spatio-temporal proximity/distance, agency and 'othering' to sensitize readership to or distance readership from issues of concern. A critical reader (and a translator-trainee) should be aware of the ways media discourses participate in reshaping aspects of reality, as chronotopic (proximity/distance) and agency-related shifts are assumed to affect readership roles (simply reading vs. acting).

Keywords: proximity, distance, agency, 'othering', readership roles

Alena Sobotova

Europe through journalists' eyes: the EU seen by Brussels correspondents from New Member States

Brussels features one of the biggest international press corps in the world. Day by day, foreign correspondents covering the European Union from Brussels enter in close contact with the EU, its main actors and institutions. They are experiencing the most concrete aspects of European integration but also its less visible elements, such as norms, values and representations characteristic of this political project. The correspondents' job is to inform about current developments in European affairs. To do so, they need to understand the functioning of the European political system and interpret its actions. This "sense-making" is necessary in order to make the EU news intelligible for their publics. Our aim is to look at how Brussels correspondents see the European project and how are those representations constructed. Instead of looking at the media content as the final product of correspondents' work, which might be subject to editorial and deontological pressures, this paper chooses to concentrate on in-depth interviews with the journalists. It explores the representations about the EU held by correspondents from New Member States (enlargements 2004, 2007 and 2013) present in Brussels. We ask the following research question : How is the European Union seen (and discursively constructed) by the correspondents from New Member States? What are the reoccurring frames and narratives? Ten years after the big-bang enlargement, we might expect a certain phasing-down of the „return-to-Europe“ narrative that has been typical for the accession period when Europe was seen as a role-model and political authority by actors coming from Central and Eastern Europe. Two contrasting hypotheses can be formulated. The first one stipulates a continuity of pre-enlargement narrative and reinforcement of positive framing of the EU project, while the second one expects a certain disenchantment experienced by those who are looking at the EU from within - from Brussels. The interviews with correspondents are analyzed using discourse analysis with particular emphasis put on studying frames.

Keywords: European Union, identity, journalists, framing, qualitative

Diversity in a European context: the challenge of creating a common critical vocabulary

This paper draws on research conducted as part of the EU-funded RADAR project (Regulating AntiDiscrimination and AntiRacism). It focuses on the need to create a common vocabulary on diversity and 'race' that can be shared by the 9 project partners in 6 EU countries (Italy, Greece, UK, Poland, Finland and the Netherlands) to fulfil the aims of the project. The project deals with the complex, sensitive and extremely topical phenomena of racism and xenophobia, which involve controversial terms and expressions. These are not static, but evolve with social change and increased awareness of diversity, which makes our task even more challenging. Most of the terms that we see critically have an excluding character, which intend to establish hierarchy and are therefore discriminatory. Dividing humanity into different 'races', for example, is a perfect "tool to oppress and exploit specific social groups and to deny them access to material, cultural and political resources, to work, welfare services, housing and political rights" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 2). As long as we continue to use the term 'race', we just perpetuate the false perception that there actually exist different human races. It becomes therefore essential that the terms 'race' and their derivatives are banned from official texts. But this is the only term that can easily be rejected in all project languages and it has been increasingly difficult to create a common multilingual, multicultural approach. Generally speaking, we need to take into account the following: firstly, the sociolinguistic dynamic, where a specific term has a socially and historically achieved meaning; secondly the pragmlinguistic dynamic, where the meaning of a specific term is given by its use in a specific cultural context and concrete social situation; thirdly, the conversational contextualisation of a term. This paper will therefore make recommendations on how to meet these challenges and make proposals of non-discriminatory language use that can be applied in multicultural contexts.

Keywords: diversity, racism, critical language use, hate communication, migrantS

Despina Symeon

Political Discourse in the European Union

The economic and political crisis of Europe during the last decades has influenced the standards of living of most European countries. Although each state has experienced the results of such a crisis differently, ranging from poorer countries' financial implosion to a more autonomous approach on the part of other more powerful nations, the political and social stability of Europe is under a constant threat. This situation is gradually leading to a steady reconstruction of most European countries, the results of which still remain alarming regarding the imminent social, economic and political structure of the European Community. The

analysis of politicians' speech concerning current economic and sociopolitical issues as well as the argumentation used in such cases are some of the main interests of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis. Moreover, the analysis of this type of speech is of primary importance in areas such as critical discourse and political discourse, which is the analysis of speech of politicians concerning various political issues. The political power of speaking is first viewed in Aristotle, who claims that the "purpose" of the human power of speech is closely connected to man's political nature. Recent studies (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012 and van Dijk 1998, 2000) refer to the importance of political discourse and its close connection to political ideology and argumentation. In this presentation, an attempt is made to study political speech concerning the current economic crisis influencing most countries in the European Union along with its direct social and economic consequences. Our data come from politicians' speeches as well as from journalists' reports and commentaries on politicians' views and acts, without disregarding other means showing the approach of the media towards the present situation of the European Union. Emphasis will be put on the social and economic crisis of Greece, whereas political discourse concerning other European countries will also be taken into consideration.

Keywords: economic crisis, political discourse, critical discourse, ideology, argumentation

Peter Szabo

European Multilingualism as Discursive and Social Practice: A Language Policy Analysis of Multilingualism in the European Parliament

The paper is based on a larger study analyzing European Multilingualism (EM) as language policy (LP) performance on the floor of the European Parliament (EP). The ethnographic observation and analysis of LP narratives and performance gleaned from empirical samples of everyday interaction in the multilingual field by agents, members of Parliament (MEPs) focuses on the emergence of symbolic and social boundaries accomplished in the semiotic and discursive levels available to various participatory frameworks including the emic perspective of the participant-observer. The multimodal data selected for the presentation is from an exchange in the EP floor which is a deliberative discussion of LP, a meta-pragmatic reflection on ongoing talk, and at the same time, is performed LP itself exhibiting semiotic-indexical practices of code-choice and code-mixing. The analysis of the speech event opens up pragmatic and meta-pragmatic dimensions of social meaning-making in a dynamic and changing semiotic ecology, and reveals relational positions of identification, addressed publics and framing contexts which are presupposed, accomplished and negotiated in/by linguistic resources. In the observed multilingual practice context-bound and context-construing, fine-grained configurations of indexicality evolve into a sociolinguistic ecology harnessed by participants as rich, diverse potentials of semiotic and

discursive boundary work and identity work, an integral element of sociolinguistic and political agency. From a narrower institutional LP point of view, practice in the EP shows that relying on the affordances of EM is not confined to accessing the denotational-referential, or pragmatically calibrated referential meaning of utterances in verbal exchanges, but allows agents to enact and perform dynamic social identifications and boundaries implying macro-sociological contexts of shifting ideological values and norms around language use in Europe.

Keywords: European multilingualism, language policy performance, boundary work

Anna Szczepaniak-Kozak & Sylwia Adamczak-Krysztofowicz

Linguistic markers of contemporary hate speech in Polish

Linguistic performance which is motivated by aggressive nationalism, intolerance or discrimination is termed hate speech. In Poland one of the hotly debated topics nowadays is which language forms to use to refer to ethnic/national minorities or migrants, i.e. which words/phrases are politically correct. Voices are heard that these are native speakers to decide whether certain traditional names are to be used or not, reasoning that this is the matter of free speech, and that native speakers are to decide whether certain linguistic forms are impolite/aggressive or not. In a similar vein, some experts or journalists raise the question of what is more important: polite behavior or emotional expression. This happens against the backdrop of a relatively small population of minorities in Poland (Gudaszewski 2013: 3), i.e. around 4 percent. The available scientific literature on hate speech is scant, in particular on the Polish language usage. Thereby, there are no clear and precise linguistic criteria what constitutes an act of verbal and nonverbal violence. For example, the findings of the most recent study on language used to talk about foreigners in Poland, conducted by Bielewicz et al's (2014), refer predominantly to the frequency and kind of exposition to hate speech, and social permissiveness concerning this phenomenon. Although their study categorizes hate speech messages into seven thematic motives (Bilewicz et al, 2014: 16-19), it does not reveal what features are characteristic of such a discriminatory discourse. At the same time, their study clearly indicates that there is a considerable divergence in the acceptance attitudes of Poles. Poles namely want a ban on hate speech directed at Ukrainians and Africans but they accept hate speech directed at Roma, Muslims, Jews and homosexuals (Bilewicz et al, 2014: 4,7). Our presentation aims therefore at 1) presenting the methodology of the RADAR project (Regulating Anti-Discrimination and Anti-Racism) financed by the European Commission, which is devoted to conducting research on hate speech directed towards migrants in Europe, including Poland, and 2) listing characteristic features of hate speech in Polish on the basis of newspaper articles collected throughout 2014 and 2015 from mass media, including electronic ones, and semi-formal interviews conducted with victims or witnesses of violent acts directed at migrants. The major tendencies found in the collected data are:

- 1.Mention of irrelevant information
- 2.False pretences
- 3.Negative labels (Reisigl and Wodak 2001)
- 4.Use of different connotations/labels in different contexts

Keywords: hate speech, discriminatory discourse, ethnic/national minorities, migrants, the Polish language

Yorgos Tahtsidis

The “OXI” (NO) of the Greek people in the European Media

As the title of the paper: “The OXI (NO) of the Greek people in the European Media” suggests, it examines how the language used in the Greek referendum on 05 July, 2015 was used by the Greek media in a form that totally altered the meaning of the referendum. The researcher critically analyzes the language used in the discourse about the question of the referendum; as published in the Greek printed media. In turn, the findings are compared to articles on the same subject in the German -and in English-speaking press of other European nations. Furthermore, the findings uncover how the question of the referendum [which was about whether the Greek public agrees with the terms of the applied financial measures] was interpreted and published in a way that made a large portion of the general public believe that the question was about whether Greece wants to stay in the European Union (EU) and in the European Monetary Union (EMU). The role that the language plays in a given published article is of outmost importance because it can not only shape public opinion; it also may guide and gather support for policies and/or planned political/socioeconomic policies and legislation. The study concludes by showing how the language used to formulate the question in the Greek referendum on 5 July, 2015 was used by different interest groups for different political purposes while adjusting its true meaning to their interests in the process. Finally, the results also indicate whether the misconstrued meaning of the referendum question became widely accepted to be true despite the confusion regarding the meaning of the question.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, political discourse, political discourse analysis, printed Media, politics of the Media, european politics, political power games

Rhetorical construction of the EU image by the Greek parties: The case of parliamentary discussion on the 2015 referendum

The operation of the political communication system facilitates a range of domestication processes in the construction of the projected images of foreign nations and of the European Union. At the party level, during the campaign period the construction of the image of the EU is submitted to a “campaign mode” logic: it is employed as a rhetorical device aiming to satisfy the strategic goals of the parties operating at the national level. Previous research on the representation of politics in television political advertising in Greece (Samaras 2003 & 2008) indicates that the reference to the EU is minimal and largely symbolic while the focus is predominantly on internal politics with limited reference to the European dimension of the issues. Rhetorically the EU is treated as an image making instrument rather than as the central issue of the political debate. More specifically it is treated as a glittering generality in order to associate a party with “modernity” and “effectiveness”, as an instrument for supporting the credibility of policy proposal or within the context of anti-globalization rhetoric as a namecalling device. This paper focuses on the impact that the Greek Financial Crisis had upon the image of European Union and is part of a wider research project on “Image Formulation During the Greek Financial Crisis” at the University of Piraeus. The Greek party system increased its references to the European Union as both a solution and a causal factor to the crisis. The image making process of the E.U. was fuelled by blame games employed by the Greek party that were pivotal to construct their own image. The aim of this research is to examine the rhetorical strategies employed by Greek parties towards the E.U. and assess the impact of such strategies on the image of EU, on the communication deficit of EU, and on Euroscepticism. Moreover the interplay of the Right-Vs-Left with the Pro.-Vs-Anti Memorandum cleavages with the employment of the aforementioned strategies is assessed. The events: The elections of January 2015 in Greece brought a new government formation, a coalition of two anti-memorandum parties: the left-wing party Syriza and the right-wing party ANEL. After long negotiations with the European institutions, the Prime Minister, Alexis Tsipras, announced a Referendum. On June 27th 2015 the parliamentary discussion took place regarding the Referendum with the question if the proposals by the European Central Bank, the European Commission and the International Monetary Fund should be accepted by the Greek government. The proposals were based on reforms for the completion of the financial program of Greece. The government supported the “No” campaign and as a result of the referendum, the bailout conditions were rejected by a majority of over 61% to 39% approving. This turnout brought more tension between the Greek government and Europe and further discussions regarding the future of Greece within the European Union. This research project analysis the parliamentary discussion of June 27th 2015.

Keywords: Rhetorical construction of the EU, image of EU, greek referendum, euroscepticism, discourse analysis

Politicizing EU: change and appropriation of EU discourse in Macedonia in times of political crisis

Macedonian political crises has begun in January 2015 with the opposition's disclosure of telephone conversations revealing involvement of political elites and government officials into series of criminal activities. The unprecedented political move intended to yield the opposition an access to power has led to mass demonstrations and political crisis ending in June 2015 by the intervention of EU trying to reason the political leaders into an agreement that will stabilize the country's political turmoil. The highly polarized society took this intervention to be both a symbol of incapacity of domestic institutions and democratic practices, but also a sign of political aggression and a deliberate attempt to destabilize and divide the state. The crisis has reached a climax with the first conditional recommendation by EC for Macedonian ascension to EU published in November 2015. The event has only highlighted, and even amplified the anti-EU sentiments stirred by EU involvement in the Macedonian political crises commenced in January 2015. Prior to the crisis the representation of EU in Macedonian political and popular discourses was filled with a more positive evaluations of Europe as a better future, an aspiration, an inspiration, and ultimately a model for the achievement of modern, economically, socially, politically and culturally stable state. The integration was narrated as mission in which EU was Santa's little helper. Nonetheless, the representation somewhat changed under the influence of EU involvement in the democratization process and the unfavourable recommendation from EC. Contextualizing the conditioned recommendation and the EU involvement into the right winged discourse produced by the Government affected the presentation of both EU and its role. Grounded in the rhetoric of fear constructed through the arguments of foreign imperialist interventionism and hidden agendas against the country, the political elite discourse shifted the image of EU from one of friendly political ally to a potentially dangerous subject. With this background in mind, the study attempts to account how political events in Macedonia have influenced a transformation, a recontextualisation of the EU discourse to fit into the ongoing political circumstances and domestic agendas concerned. In this respect the study tends to offer a summary of pre-2015 political and public discourse on EU, to present and analyze the discourse and its transformation in 2015, as well as to keep an open eye, and closely monitor the development of the discourse in the light of the on-coming elections in April 2016. Finally, by demonstrating the manner in which EU is being politicized; used as tool of achievement of political agendas, the study will try to demonstrate not only the political nature of representations of EU, but to also reveal how these relate both to the dramatic political events and to the political agendas in general.

Keywords: EU representation, political crisis, recontextualization

Governance and political discourse in Europe Union: the topic of Corporate Social Responsibility

During crisis times, transparency and stakeholder trust became two of the main fundamental needs and prerequisites for Europe's development, sustainability and social welfare. Towards that goal, the business community of Europe has always been a significant stakeholder in environmental sustainability, social cohesion, employment generation and transparency. This collaboration and synergy developed explicit characteristics over time within the European Union and led to the introduction of Corporate Social Responsibility and its European definition in 2001 (e.g. Green Paper). Moreover, the CSR political evolution in Europe lasts for long via its implicit characteristics (80s and 90s), which have been linked to business responsibility towards environment, society and economy. The first decade of the 21st century, CSR political discourse became more intensive and its explicit characteristics became more visible in European society, its institutions and member states. This political evolution and discourse of CSR was mainly based on the EU's first definition in 2001 as well as on other European and international objectives (e.g. pole of CSR excellence). Later on and especially after crisis, CSR was accompanied by "Europe 2020" strategy and the member states' political initiatives towards sustainable development, entrepreneurship and social cohesion. This fact resulted in CSR's redefinition and the development of a renewed strategy 2011-2014, an essential step in order for the EU to adjust CSR to its contemporary needs and socioeconomic trends. Furthermore, this redefinition depicted in its core the phases of CSR political discourse in Europe, the overall idea of European approach and its institutional traditions. The latter is also associated with member states CSR political approaches and different evolution levels, which are mainly influenced by their governance contexts and different institutional, political, economic and social characteristics and legacies regarding issues such as welfare state, entrepreneurship, sustainable development etc. In conclusion, this paper focuses on the presentation of CSR's political discourse in Europe and its member states, by taking also into account contemporary debates and political initiatives for good governance, transparency, responsible entrepreneurship and sustainable development.

Keywords: Governance, public policy, Eurore, corporate social responsibility

Elena Tarasheva

Media Construction of Eastern European Identities on the BBC website

The paper presents a study of media representations of Eastern European countries in an international medium, such as the BBC. The aim is to establish whether the former communist bloc is covered with a different set of topics from other European countries. The study is conducted using corpora compiled by tracing all the articles about a sample of Eastern European countries and countries from the West of Europe published on the website of BBC over a period of five years. Methods from Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies are applied to derive keywords for each country, mutual information and Z-score for selected key terms. Thus divergence or convergence is established in the conceptual basis for covering the countries. A methodology for deriving dominant themes in the coverage of the respective countries is devised with the research and tested on the material. In the centre of the analytical mechanism is establishing a type of coverage where several articles reveal a thematic thread which dominates the vision of the medium about the country and journalists seem to tease it out in their treatment of the country. The findings suggest that the BBC coverage has a range of topics pursued for the countries from the Eastern bloc: relations with Russia, the (poor) treatment of animals, failing health services, negligence to crimes committed against Jews by fascism and communism alike. These topics differ from the ones covered for the countries from Western Europe and reveal that the iron curtain is still in place, although its shapes and projections differ.

Keywords: media, representations, corpus assisted discourse studies, Eastern Europe

Yulia Ten

Symbolic approach to the analysis of the European identity

Symbolic approach presents the interdisciplinary new view on the nature of contemporary European Union identity. The EU policy creates and transmitters the particular symbols as the social technology forming links among European citizens and common European identity. The aim is to show the meaning of the official EU symbols in the process of shaping European identity. The key results of the research are four main trends in the interpretation of the meanings of the EU official symbols.

Keywords: identity, symbol, symbolic system of Europe, European identity

Burcu Toğral Koca

The Culturalization of Citizenship Practices across the EU: The German Case

This article explores the culturalization of citizenship practices across the EU with a specific focus on Germany. The culturalization process, which treats the so-called “cultural differences” of migrants as a threat to homogenized cultural identity and socio-economic well-being of “native” population, has been on the rise since the September 11 and subsequent attacks in Madrid and London. Especially, integration of Muslim communities and/or their alleged inability to integrate into European societies have become the focal point of a much larger sense of anxiety. In other words, the so-called “cultural differences” of Muslim communities (as well as of migrants from “non-Western” countries), have been reified, and depicted as a striking destabilizing factor across the EU. In such a context, the latest citizenship discourses and practices have been designated as strategies of filtering, disciplining and rehabilitating these deviant “abnormals”. In unpacking and problematizing these issues, this article, first, looks at the integration discourses and practices across the EU. Second, it delineates the culturalization of citizenship practices and discourses in Germany with a reference to the EU level developments. Finally, it suggests that this process has informed current approaches of multiculturalism and intercultural dialogue; thereby masking the very structural problems, such as racial discrimination and institutional racism and hindering political struggles surrounding the issue of migration.

Keywords: Culturalization, citizenship, EU, Germany, integration

Villy Tsakona

Images of the financial crisis in Greek crisis jokes

Research on political jokes concentrates on their content, which is interpreted in view of the sociopolitical events and contexts that have given rise to the jokes investigated each time (Badarneh 2011, Moalla 2013). The majority of studies on political jokes are performed several years after the jokes were created and disseminated, and are usually based on material coming from printed collections of jokes or historical archives. Nowadays, however, modern technology and media allow us not only to collect contemporary political (or other) jokes, but also to gather evidence on how jokes are disseminated and on the reasons why they are circulated and on the social functions they serve, as described by the speakers themselves (Kramer 2011, Laineste 2011, Tsakona 2013). This line of research is pursued here. The data of the study comes from a large corpus of verbal jokes referring to the Greek financial crisis, collected from 2010 until 2013, and circulated via email among friends and relatives. It also includes the metapragmatic comments speakers add in their emails after reading the jokes

and before forwarding them. Such comments constitute authentic, spontaneous reactions to the jokes and could offer us some information on how speakers perceive such jokes and why they forward them. The analysis of the data shows that via crisis jokes Greek people express their criticism and indignation and refer to the problems they have to deal with in their daily lives while struggling with expenses they can no longer afford, unemployment, and disappointment from the services expected to be provided to them by the Greek state. What is more, they critically recognize their own irresponsibility and inadequate behavior in preventing and/or solving such problems. Furthermore, the comments offered by speakers on Greek crisis jokes reveal that crisis jokes are perceived as “realistic” representations of reality which help people psychologically cope with the consequences of the austerity measures. Hence such jokes are shared as a means of self- and other-encouragement and of making people aware of the critical circumstances surrounding them and, less often, of their own responsibility therein.

Keywords: humor research, political jokes, Greek financial crisis, metapragmatic comments, online humor

Ahmet Goksel Uluer

EU-Turkey relations: Scissors keep opening

Turkey-European Union (EU) bilateral relations has started in 1959, but Turkey has been accepted as a candidate for EU in 1999. After that milestone, Turkey has eagerly conducted the process by legislation and support of civil society. AK Party government which has taken the office in 2002, has also stand behind the process and swiftly fulfil conditions that lead up to negotiations in 2005. Since then, AK Party governments' practises has been appreciated by EU officials that has been emphasized in several progress reports. Until 2013, domestic improvements (such as constitutional reforms, promotion of human rights, restriction of military's role on politics and democratisation) were promising figures for bilateral relations. But, the government could only close one chapter of negotiations. These situation has generated an opinion that AK Party has instrumentalised EU process to eliminate internal powers, such as military or political opponents. Yet, in 2013, excessiv e police power use during Gezi Park protests and, changes and manipulations in jurisdiction after corruption and bribery investigations about some ministers have been criticised. Turkey has perceived aforementioned events as a survival issue (coup d'etat attempts) and securitised them. Also, since Arap Spring period, Turkey has oriented its foreign policy to Middle East, rather than Europe. EU and Turkey's foreign and security policies have been differentiated, about post-Arab Spring order of Middle East. Lastly, EU seems not to have a consistent opinion about membership of Turkey. Germany and France's privileged partnership suggestion, not to foresee a membership date, economical crisis, refugee problems and Turkey's questionable absorbtion capacity still remains unsolved

for EU itself. All in all, if we use scissors metaphor and think EU and Turkey, as both side of it, scissors keep opening politically, economically and culturally, without any hope of getting close.

Keywords: EU-Turkey relations, Turkish foreign policy, EU crisis, AK party, Turkish policy

Dina Vaiou

The “right to the city” as a contemporary stake. A view from Athens in the crisis-ridden European South

Almost fifty years after the publication of H. Lefebvre's seminal book, whose title became a forceful slogan of the 1968 student uprising in Paris, the “right to the city” comes back as a stake and a claim in crisis-ridden cities of the European South. Cities, where “the crisis bites”, are a strategic site for the implementation of a broad range of socio-spatial restructurings which characterise neoliberal capitalism. In those same cities, very diverse groups of people live their everyday lives and develop practices to cope with and often resist austerity policies, extreme deprivation and exclusion, shrinking social and democratic rights. In the context of an on-going and multifaceted crisis, the “right to the city” is re-discovered as a discourse and a base for mobilisation, often appropriated by state institutions. In what terms can this right be or is claimed in the urban landscape of crisis and recovery? Whose right in what city does it call for? Is the city still a space of possibility and multiplicity where distinct trajectories and realities intersect and can be lived? What kinds of encounters, conflicts and negotiations can be traced in the city? The paper proposes a theoretical reflection on such questions drawing from the practices and experiences of people's initiatives in Athens.

Keywords: urban space, austerity, Athens, solidarity initiatives, right-to-the-city

Simon Varga

Clean coal vs. nuclear power. A contrastive analysis of France's and Germany's national discourses on climate change and energy production

Climate change is one of the most urgent issues of our time. To counter the threat of global warming, the European Union has set itself ambitious climate goals for the immediate future, including a 20% cut in greenhouse gas emissions, a target of 20% of EU energy from renewables and a 20% improvement in energy efficiency by 2020. However, while these targets are supported by binding legislation and concerted EU measures in several areas, member states' action to achieve them considerably varies across countries. As a result, while remaining in the framework of the European Union's climate policy, member states' national

climate discourses highlight very different aspects and are often contradictory when compared to one another. One of the more interesting examples of such diverging national discourses can be found in Germany and France, two countries that, though committed to modernizing their domestic energy production systems, have adopted very different discourses when it comes to fitting the historical idiosyncrasies of their respective energy production models into the framework of the European climate change discourse. Being the 8th biggest coal consumer in the world and the largest coal consumer in Europe, Germany still depends heavily on fossil fuels, although the percentage of renewables in its electricity mix has been steadily increasing over the last years, and already exceeds the target of 20%, thanks to the German energy transition policy. France, on the other hand, remains almost exclusively dependent on nuclear energy, which still accounts for as much as 75% of its domestic electricity production. Germany and France being not only neighboring countries but also closely linked through economic and political ties, these substantial differences are regularly addressed in their respective national discourses on climate change. Interestingly, both countries often use the same concepts when it comes to framing their energy production systems as an efficient weapon in the fight against greenhouse gas emissions and global warming. In this context, the most noticeable example is probably the concept of “carbon-free energies”. Introduced in the European climate debate by the French government in 2007, after a failed attempt to get the other member states to accept nuclear power as a form of renewable energy, it is today equally used by France and Germany to frame nuclear energy and “clean coal” as climate friendly forms of power generation. However, the two energy production models being so substantially different, they also mutually serve as negative examples in both France’s and Germany’s political and media discourses. The construction of France’s discursive self-image, for instance, is partly based on the harsh criticism of Germany’s energy production model, especially since the German government decided to accelerate the phasing out of nuclear energy in the wake of the 2011 reactor disaster in Japan, thus sending a strong signal against atomic energy and casting further doubt on France’s choice of nuclear power.

Keywords: contrastive discourse analysis, France, Germany, European discourse on climate change, nuclear power

Tommaso Visone

Towards a European Public Sphere: the case of Talk Real

Europe as a “space of integration” (Zielonka, 2014) needs a true European public sphere. At the same time it is difficult to conceive such a “Sphere” as it was instituted during the XX century, only through medias such as the television and the national newspapers (Noelle-Neumann 2002; Frank 2010). From this point of view it is interesting to ask how it is possible to create a true transnational debate about common European issues. From this point of view the case of “Talk Real” shows some features that can reveal some crucial points of such a possible

new European space. As explained by the creators : “Talk Real is a new talk show for web-tv created and managed by European Alternatives and Piroetta Production. It is a space for dynamic discussions that explore topics in depth, from a radical perspective : an informal but professional audiovisual platform for the dissemination of innovative ideas and the organisations and individuals behind them. Talk Real enjoys a heterogeneous participation of intellectuals, cultural workers and activists. Participants of the first episodes included Toni Negri, acclaimed intellectual and author of “Empire” and “Multitude”, Srecko Horvat, Croatian activist and philosopher, Costas Douzinas, Greek intellectual and professor of law at Birkbeck college, Luciana Castellina, several times MEP and co-founder of Il Manifesto), Margarita Tsomou, Greek performer and public commentator, Ugo Mattei, one of the key figures of the movement for the commons, and more. Talk Real is a nomadic broadcast: the episodes are set in places deeply connected with ongoing new practices or struggles. The first ones were shot in Rome, in the Museum of the Other and the Elsewhere of Metropolis; in Turin at the Festival of the Commons; in Lisbon in the context of a Create/React activist training promoted by European Alternatives, and in Athens during the Democracy Rising Conference and the day after the approval of the current memorandum. The show is directed by Berardo Carboni, cinema director and one of the early occupiers of the Teatro Valle Occupato. Among the models that inspired us are Fort Apache by Pablo Iglesias, Al Jazeera’s The Stream, The World of Tomorrow by Julian Assange and programs such as Recetas Municipales of the Spanish activist group, Zemos98. Talk Real seeks to create an opening to the world and to be transformed by the tensions and energies that run society. We are wanting to build a wide alternative media network to participate and disseminate the program. Current participants include OpenDemocracy, Italian daily Il Manifesto, activist online magazine ROAR, and spotlight on Eastern european activism LeftEast”. What is truly interesting here is that 1) the show is realized all around Europe, in symbolic and politically meaningful places; 2) it is in several languages (English, Italian, and for the future in French, German and Spanish) and that 3) puts together different European activist, intellectuals, artist, policy makers with the aim of debate a common European issue. Each episode is subtitled in English or in another European language and it is widespread on the web trough You Tube, Facebook and other social media with the idea to involve the largest number of people. The first four episodes reached more than 4000 people all around Europe, creating a true European web that will be hosted by a site that will be online during the next months. The site will host – together with the Talk Real transnational episodes – different national episodes subtitled in English, organized by the different partner of the project. The aim of this paper is to discuss – with the help of the creators that will be present during the debate – if such a new kind of nomadic and multilingual talk show can become a format able to foster a common European/transnational debate inside the European left and to be a potential “format” able to be adopted also out of a “radical perspective” in order to give shape to different European discourses.

Keywords: European Public Sphere, European Left, nomadic talk show, new medias

Europe during the era of terrorism and immigration: A political discourse analysis. Shifts, challenges and new correlations

Since the 21st of November the European Union, staggered by the multiple terrorist attacks in Paris, has still been trying to find a balance on the immigration problem and security from terrorist groups which are active in Europe. Amidst these historical changes, the politicians of the European Union have adjusted their rhetoric over some crucial issues that trouble the European structure. These shifts in political discourse are the central matter of our concern and will be analyzed through a discourse analysis. The course of this analysis will focus on the designation of crucial changes in political speeches as an outcome of the attacks in Paris. Thus, political discourse before the attacks will also be analyzed and some highlighted points will be stressed to make the differentiation of the political discourse after the attacks more obvious. There are two main points on which we shall concentrate on. The first one is the way the immigration problem is treated after the attacks. There is a wide debate among political parties, countries and even individual analysts about the policies and handling of Europe towards the influx of immigrants throughout Europe and how this problem may be connected with potential terrorist threats and the rise of xenophobic agendas by conservative parties. The second one is the attitude with which the political discourse deals with the Islamic state. Over the last years, terrorism was connected mostly with groups and organizations. Now it is the first time that a terrorist strike was sponsored and encouraged by a self-proclaimed state. It is interesting to trace any differences in discourse related to the attitude towards the Islamic state and the ideology it represents. It is worth mentioning that this ideology stems from the Sunni Muslim religion, whose adherents can be found everywhere in Europe. Thus, this gives us the chance to analyze the stance of European political discourse towards this religion without insulting the Muslim world and maintaining the European values intact. The presentation will be a discourse analysis by comparison of political speeches given before and after the terrorist attacks. If it is available the speeches will be presented via a multimedia source for a further examination of facial and body expressions of the speaker. The choice of speeches will be based on the importance of the speaker related to their political status, the popularity of the media broadcast of the speech and the impact that it has regarding the new post-Paris attacks policies and ideologies of the European Union as a whole. To put it in a nutshell, the majority of our potential conclusions from this analysis will show us to what degree such shocking events as a terrorist attack in the heart of Europe can affect the ideas and the ideals of the European Union in political discourse. Finally, it will also allow us to examine how solid some of the founding principles of the European Union, such as the solidarity among member nations and the trust of the governments on population diversity, are.

Keywords: political discourse analysis, terrorism, immigrants, new challenges, EU cohesion

Evelyn Vovou

Humanitarian Discourse in the Web: For or Against Democracy? The Case of Greece and the EU

For globalized societies social media are essential tools for public participation. Individuals use them to be informed as well as to participate in discussions in much broader spaces than non-virtual ones. Thus, social media like Facebook, Twitter etc. can be seen as today's Agora, a place to actively engage with others, freely utter one's opinion, frame and reframe political views and form common reality fragments. But does today's virtual Agora serve the people and democracy or institutional authorities? The paper draws upon digital data depicting the political and social upheaval in Greece due to the imposed austerity measures drawn by the EU and the Institutions with the intention to focus on how humanitarian discourse practices followed by both sides work for or against democratic ideals. Data has been gathered in the course of two weeks, before and after the Greek Referendum, with a focus on the following target groups: the Greeks who were against the proposal of the Institutions and voted for "OXI" (No), the Greeks who were for the proposal and voted for "NAI" (Yes) and the EU/Institutions. Data from Facebook and Twitter were gathered, with key tags on #democracy, #humanitarian crisis, #dignity, #political war etc. By drawing upon Badiou's ethics of truths and how its dimensions may shed light or obscure a particular truth event and on Kramsch's argument that cross-cultural communication implies understanding "what [individuals] remember from the past, what they imagine and project onto the future, and how they position themselves in the present" (2006: 251), my proposed paper focuses on how, in Touraine's words, the authority of political discourse on the web may disguise as humanitarian discourse and thus dull or strengthen the attempts of individuals to realize their agency and democracy as a virtue and not a vice

Keywords: cross-cultural communication, political metaphor, critical discourse analysis, identity, agency

Iouliani Vrotsi

The dominant political narrative for Europe through Greek political speeches (1975-2015):

The hope-despair vision of the European Union

This paper attempts to depict aspects of the dominant political narrative for Europe as it is traced in paradigmatically selected Greek political speeches on crucial moments in the latest history of Greece and concretely throughout the after the regime change period. Using comparatively the method of discourse analysis, we intend to examine how is represented the European ideal in parallel with the ethnic and European identity of Greek people correlating this with the

political reality (existing and created) inside the country and abroad. Moreover we shall investigate how is connected this political narrative for Europe with the whole historical and cultural background of Greece and how this has been exploited in a different manner by the political parties. In such a framework the emphasis is given on three speeches, announced by three, elected by the Greek people, prime ministers, that correspond also to the three main phases of the relationship of Greece with the European Union and simultaneously respectively to the three main dominant in each phase political zone of the Greek political landscape. Thus starting from the speech of Konstantinos Karamanlis, the leader of a right-wing party, for the accession of Greece to EEK in 1979, through the speech of the socialist Kostas Simitis for the accession of Greece to EMU in 2000, to the speech of Alexis Tsipras, the leader of a left-wing party, in the Plenary Session of European Parliament (July 2015) in the context of the recent Greek crisis we attempt moreover to define the signified of the wide-known assertion of Karamanlis "we belong to the West". Finally and having in addition analysed the speech of the overage Manolis Glezos (2015), a still alive in the 21st century combatant of Greek National Resistance and an elected member of European Parliament we will denote that during almost the last four decades the Greek political narrative for a dramatically changing Europe is constructed on the dipole of hope-despair vision of a united Europe mirroring on the one hand the stalemates of the after military Junta democratic government in Greece and the Greeks' identity crisis and on the other hand the weaknesses of the continuously extending European construction in a globalized world.

Keywords: political narrative, discourse analysis, vision, identity, crisis

Suzana Vuljevic

Twilight of Europe: Reconciling Dreams of "Paneuropa" with the Heady Attempt at Balkan Union, 1923-1934

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi first introduced his vision for a "United States of Europe" in his manifesto *Paneuropa*, published in 1923. In it, he lamented Europe's woefully diminished status in the global arena, and proceeded to make a case for its revival through a new federative political arrangement, heavily inspired by both the panhellenic and contemporary American models. Small and revisionist states alike were considered obstacles to long-lasting peace and security, and much faith was invested in federative schemes. With the tide of European integration steadily on the rise—evidenced by the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact some years later, and the ratification of various other bilateral agreements among Balkan states—the political future seemed rosy. In 1930, former prime minister of Greece Alexander Papanastassiou addressed the delegates of six neighboring nations in Athens. Statesmen, experts and intellectuals from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as well as representatives of the League of Nations, the International Labour Organization, and the Carnegie

Endowment for International Peace all took their seats at the inaugural session of the Balkan Conferences, the first attempt at region-wide union since the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Papanastassiou's triumphal attitude toward the prospect of a future fraternity of nations is distilled in the following pronouncement: "Today [...] we prove that we, the Balkan peoples, are to become the masters of our destinies and are to develop again in this corner of Europe a new and glorious civilization which will illuminate the world." Papanastassiou and his colleagues knew just as well as Coudenhove-Kalergi that the decline of Europe had major political, economic, social and cultural ramifications, especially in the wake of the worldwide economic depression. Beyond that, however, both men, along with their respective social circles, sought to corral nations around the idea of unity in mind and spirit—albeit complex and fraught—and to create institutions for fostering friendly and productive intellectual exchange. This paper, thus, will seek to retrace the networks of cultural diplomacy that traversed Europe and its proverbial Other, the Balkans, during the interwar period. Coudenhove-Kalergi's plan for pan-Europe intersected quite neatly with the project that southeast Europe's spokesmen themselves pursued in the years leading up to the Second World War. Despite the fact that historians treat Europe and the Balkans as discrete entities, wholly separate and isolated from one another, the existence of trans-national intellectual networks indicates that such an approach is seriously flawed and in need of major revision. The social circles that formed around European discourse and Balkan federation were deeply intertwined, which suggests that the projects were similar in their concerns and aims. By many accounts, the ceremonial dethronement of the nation was a first step towards the achievement of postwar rapprochement and peace. The underlying tension between nation and "supra" requires more careful examination: how exactly were the two to be conceived of? And second, how were they to fit together at this critical point of spiritual crisis and burgeoning cosmopolitanism?

Keywords: civilization, crisis, spirit, pan-Balkanism, universalism

Sandra Wagemakers

"You're (not) one of us!" Active and reflexive ideas of regional identification

Globalization is entangled with local identification; they may be two sides of the same coin. The local is part of globalization as people remix global elements into their (local) cultures. People experience feelings of belonging on different scales. With the advance of online technologies, people have increasingly interacted with people from all over the world. However, it is important to realize that such 'new' practices are highly embedded within existing habits. Billig's concept of banal nationalism highlights how the nation is often reproduced unconsciously through the presence of familiar symbols or indexical word such as 'we' and 'the'. We often take the nation for granted because such articulations are not consciously

registered as national. Moreover, 'global' practices are embedded within quotidian practices of the locality. Often national practices are highly reflexive and unconscious. However, other times processes of exclusion are deliberately reinforced, and symbols of a geographical place are put forward to enhance this. Indeed, unconscious reflexive interactions are intertwined with active deliberate performances. In this contribution I will detail on Noord-Brabant, a province in the Netherlands, as a case study of such processes of identification and negotiation. In my analysis I focus on processes of in- and exclusion in regional identities. I will examine how on the one hand deliberate attempts of formulating the geographical space are used. For instance the television series *Smeris* plays with elements of the region, through for instance jokes. Additionally, local inhabitants visualize their affinity with their region on Facebook pages. Furthermore, when people sound different they may be consciously rejected within a particular identity frame. Nevertheless, such processes are also often part of unconscious processes. For instance, some banal regionalism is visible within the television series and Facebook posts. Moreover, a more inclusive idea of Brabant is communicated than the experienced region based on proximate elements. While symbols and signs may be conscious attempts to mark the region, they may hardly be noticed in everyday life. As can be noted, these unconscious and conscious performances are often highly entangled. As such, in this contribution, I will try to analyze how identities in Noord-Brabant are discursively constructed and negotiated both in active and reflexive processes.

Keywords: identification, inclusion, exclusion, boundaries, media

Birgit Wolf

Media, Refugees and EU Borders: Ethic Principles Abandoned

Since 1978, International and regional organizations of professional journalists, representing altogether 400,000 working journalists in all parts of the world, have held consultative meetings based on the lasting value of the UNESCO Declaration in which it is stated *inter alia* that "the exercise of freedom of opinion, expression and information, recognized as an integral part of human rights and fundamental freedoms, is a vital factor in the strengthening of peace and international understanding." The conclusive meeting of this process issued the document *International Principles of Professional Ethics* on this bases as an international common ground and as a source of inspiration for national and regional codes of ethics. The Principle VI refers to Respect for privacy and human dignity and explains "An integral part of the professional standards of the journalists is respect for the right of the individual to privacy and human dignity, in conformity with provisions of international and national law concerning protection of the rights and the reputation of others, prohibiting libel, calumny, slander and defamation." According to the UNHCR (2014), approximately 54 million people were refugees worldwide. 2015 Europe witnessed an enormous

refugee crisis, when about 660.000 were seeking entry to the EU by their passage to Greece, mostly from Turkey to the Greek Island Lesbos. Refugees landing on Lesbos find themselves in an extremely vulnerable state, sometimes narrowly escaping drowning. Then, moreover rude journalists abandon ethical principles and take photos of unconscious or half-naked adults or kids in a situation unable to defend their rights. By participating observation, as well as by analyzing communications of volunteers and NGOs involved in providing human aid for refugees, one phenomenon became obvious – the abandonment of professional ethics of journalists regarding the respect for the right of the individual to privacy and human dignity. The presentation will provide examples of violations of this right to privacy and human dignity when asylum and protection seekers land on Lesbos or other hot spots at the EU borders.

Keywords: refugees, journalism, professional ethics, Europe, media

Maria Zafiropoulou, Anastasia Catela & Nikos Kanellakis

Grexit statements, predictions and projections of mass media: a discourse analysis of Greek online newspapers' scaremongering strategies

This paper aims to examine the Grexit statements, predictions and projections and the hidden causes of the polarization of supporters and opposites of the Grexit in Europe according to Greek medias. We analyze discourses as “practices of power-knowledge” according to Teun A. van Dijk’s approach (2001: 354) and close to Foucauldian doctrine of CDA by pointing out dominant and hegemonic language, social structure and scaremongering discourse. Blaming, as a recourse, is used by the Greek media in order to reallocate its funds of responsibility. Therefore, trying to analyze media’s discourses must be dealt with the question of what journalists’ perception consists of, what cultural, social and economic understandings it draws upon and which national and European resources it mobilizes to sustain its rationale.

Methodology: We focused on 1058 samples of three online newspapers (To Vima, Naftemporiki.gr and Proto Thema). The selection criteria of the newspaper, was the their own credibility, the free access to online articles’ database from 01/01/2008 until 25/03/2015, and their political orientation.

Main research questions:

1. By means of what arguments do Greek mass media try to allocate responsibility for the current crisis? How Grexit scenarios are formed in different periods (from 2008 to 2015) and how Europe is perceived in these argumentation patterns?
2. How do Greece and Europe are framed? How the “others” are named? What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them? From

what perspective are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed? (i.e. moral, cultural, economic, political, etc.) and are there scaremongering patterns employed in order to implement these attributions?

3. Do projections of a possible Grexit constitute scaremongering strategies?

4. Which linguistic strategies tend to be prototypical in mass medias' discourse?

Main results: In 2012 Greek newspapers subscribe to the so called "domino theory" holding that a Greek collapse would be followed by other European countries. However, even though this neologism was only introduced in 2012, since 2010 according to Greek mass media, the speculated withdrawal of Greece from the Eurozone was capable to provoke a self fulfilling panic in the market. According to the data analysis, especially during the period 2012, the "domino theory" has been replaced by the "chain theory" claiming that a Grexit is expected to induce a stronger chain and thus only its weakest link would be eliminated. The main Grexit scenarios which will be analyzed are the following:

a. "Now you see it and now you don't!"

b. A legal impasse

c. A European disaster

d. Conspiracy argumentation patterns

e. A costly but manageable Grexit

During the crisis, the discursive scaremongering strategies of Greek mass media about Grexit focus on three (3) different multilevel constellations of attribution patterns. The first one refers directly to the Grexit, expliciting the impacts of Grexit (what Grexit can cause) and presenting it as both a symptom and source of prejudice, thus producing a multilevel constellation of causal attributions. The two others follow an indirect way to scaremonger readers by exposing the causes of a possible Grexit (what can cause Grexit) requesting causal responsibilities for the crisis and an eventual exit from eurozone. Finally, while 65,67% of mass medias' statements claim Greece's stay in the eurozone and only 15,57% argue for a Grexit solution, the percentage of predictions and projections against a Grexit is low, reaching 35,14% of the total number of predictions and projections, compared to the high rate of headlines presenting a doubtful and hypothetical future phenomenon of Grexit (59,6%).

Keywords: discourse analysis, media, scaremongering strategies, Grexit

Illiberal Discourse in the European Union

Radicalism became maybe the most rapidly spreading phenomenon in the world, and some states of the European Union became regular targets of it. Violent attacks against exponents of fundamental values like: personal freedom, free market, freedom of speech and moving are periodically hitting the headlines. Protagonists of these actions are covering a wide scenery on the informal side, from obscurantist terrorist groups to quasi-peaceful members of occupy-movements. But there is another group of actors, on the formal side: so-called radical parties, backed by pressure groups and supported by affiliated NGOs, members of parliaments and governments whose popularity and power is increasing all around the EU. In their case, attacks on the rule of law, constitutionalism, free market or individual rights became a daily routine. Political actors, individuals and institutions, are using intolerance and hatred to subordinate the citizens of their countries and perpetuate their government. The most trivial, although most important means of carrying out these goals is nationalist discourse. As an interesting phenomenon, in the last time we can notice also the rise of a new kind of pan-European exclusivist and intolerant discourse. My paper aims to present some theoretical principles and aspects of the actual situation in the EU, in respect of what I call state radicalism. I mainly want to present how radical and reactionary voices can offend political and cultural diversity by using their access to state-owned media channels and communications possibilities as well as the chances of alternative voices to make themselves be heard. I intend to illustrate my presentation by some notorious cases from inside the European Union, especially Central and Eastern Europe. I will put some special emphasis on the case of Hungary, an EU-member state known for the intolerance towards its own political, ethnic, religious minorities and the prime-minister of which recently declared that now it came the time to build an “illiberal democracy”.

Keywords: State radicalism, state-owned Media, illiberal democracy, European Union, Central and Eastern Europe

Ekaterina Zheltova

“You are speaking Greek but acting like an Albanian”: discursive construction of national sameness and difference in every day talk among the Greek speakers of Southern Albania (Northern Epirus)

The paper elaborates on how national identity is being discursively constructed and how it interrelates with locality and ethnicity in the minority context. The research is based on the data collected during two field trips held in August – September 2014 and in February 2015 in two bilingual regions of Southern Albania – Himara and Dropul. Dropul is a part of officially recognized by Albanian state Greek

minority zone, while Himara is not. Ca. 60 respondents of different age, gender and social background took part in the research. For collecting material, the methods of semi-structured interview and participant observation were applied. In my analysis I employ the methodological perspective of discourse analysis. Thus, I presuppose that social reality we experience is being constructed in the process of symbolic interaction through discursive means (see, e.g., De Cillia, Reisigl, Wodak 1999). Northern Epirus (Southern Albania) is one of the Balkan's contested spaces being constantly a matter of intense negotiation. After the Balkan Wars and formation of independent Albanian State Greece repeatedly claimed its right to the territory, but those claims were never satisfied. After World War II, Enver Hoxha came to power in Albania, and the borders of the state were "closed". This artificial isolation led to breaking the connection between community members. People belonging to the same family often happened to find themselves on the opposite sides of the border. In the times of communist regime in Albania, a discourse about the "enslaved brothers" of Northern Epirus was being cultivated in Greece. The discourse created a positive image of the "ethnic Greek" suffering from the cruel regime in a foreign country. After the border was opened in 1990, a great number of migrants headed from Albania to Greece, and, among them, of course, the Greeks of the Northern Epirus (vorioepiriotis). The discourse about the "enslaved brothers" quickly lost its significance giving space to the "immigration discourse". The term *vorioepiriotis* has lost its positive coloration (see Nitsiakos 2013). Presently elements of these and other discourses are being manipulated by the members of Greek speaking communities of Himara and Dropul in their casual discursive practices and are being instrumental in managing their symbolic relationships with the two "imagined communities" of Albanian and Greek national states as well as in linking national identity to locality and ethnicity. In this paper, several "discursive events" dealing with identity issues are being presented and analyzed in their situational linguistic, social and political contexts.

Keywords: discourse, national identity, boundaries, minority, Greek-Albanian border

Sole Alba Zollo

The web construction of European identities among young people: The EU Teachers' Corner

One of the European Union's (EU) main challenges is how to bridge the knowledge gap between the Institution and its citizens. By using different media, in particular the Internet, the EU has been realizing a lot of informative material addressed to laypeople in order to promote interaction to construct European identities (Di Martino et al. 2008; Caliendo and Magistro 2009). By browsing the EU's website, you can find the Teachers' Corner, a webpage which contains a wide range of teaching resources aimed at explaining the European Union and its policies in an understandable and attractive way to students of different age groups. The analysis will be conducted on a corpus collected from the Teachers' Corner

website which includes different text types – booklets, comics, and brochures – addressed both to teachers and students. By following a Multimodal Discourse Analysis approach (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 2001; Jewitt 2008), this study aims at exploring the different discursive strategies used to develop European consciousness among the young and promote the development of a shared sense of European identity. In addition, the multimodal analysis aims to verify whether in this didactic material the EU has focused not only on information adopting a self-referential dimension, but whether it has paid more attention to its younger citizens' needs. Finally, since "territory is mental as well as physical, and its capacity to demarcate social, political, and cultural boundaries makes it the core of public and private identity projects" (Berezin and Schain 2003: vii), the research will allow us to discuss about the role that these educational texts might play in class in forging, maintaining or challenging European identities; so that teachers and students might become co-creators of a sense of belonging to a Europe "united in diversity".

Keywords: EU and young people, web construction of European identities, multimodal discourse analysis, EU and the Internet, educational materials

Poster Presentations



Martins Laizans & Ojars Lams

Hyperborean variété of identities in Neo-latin texts of Riga Humanists

The image of Hyperboreans describes the Northeast border of Europe that has always been in a pendular state between the cultural values of the West, East, and local pagan ones. Early modern times were a crucial period in the shaping of the region's identity features as at the time Livonian Order collapsed and Livonia was devastated by the Russian Tsardom, but in contrast the Riga Humanists brought Renaissance echoes to the furthestmost part of Europe. This poster will give a concise outline how the Livonian identity was being developed through the works of poetry by Riga Humanists (Frenzel, Eucaedius, Plinius).

Keywords: humanists, Livonia, Hyperboreans

Sergey Lyubichankovskiy

Preservation of European Identity on the Edge of Europe: Casus of Germans-"Orenburger" (the End of XIX – the Beginning of XX cent.)

At the end of XIX – the beginning of XX centuries in the Orenburg steppes thousands German migrants were located. In the paper the analysis of the reasons of their geo-cultural moving to the region and their everyday life practices are given. Research is based on memoirs of migrants and the unique documents which remained in the Orenburg archive. Protracted residence in Russia made an originality in an inner world of the Ural Germans. They had special name – "Orenburger". This was the way of preservation by the Ural Germans of the European identity in absolutely alien society which became geopolitical factor.

Keywords: European identity, Germans, Russia, history, geopolitical

Stefanie Meier

Language schools as outposts of EU border control

Philippine nurses are trained in German language and culture skills in the Philippines in order to work in Germany. This on-going, state sponsored project has led to the entrance of new schools, brokers and potential migrants. The role of the language schools and the issuing of language certificates are pivotal within the migration apparatus and for border regulations. The poster visualizes the different players and their relation to each other. It outlines how EU border

regulations are exercised outside and perceived beyond Europe. The poster follows a design process as practiced by the beehive collective in the US (e.g. Mesoamérica Resiste) and has been brought to Europe by Proyecto Úter. This type of visualisation serves not only as a tool of presentation but furthers the analysis on different scales.

Keywords: EU border control, language education, migration apparatus

Charleine Saad

Migrant Crisis or Europe Crisis?

Amid the changes that Europe is witnessing due to the increasing flux of refugees and the mounting attacks, Donald Tusk, the president of the European Council seizes every opportunity to defend Europe and insists on the importance of maintaining Europe's values of "tolerance, openness, respect for diversity, freedom, human rights"... However, is Europe as tolerant and united as he claims? Van Dijk's political discourse analysis of Tusk's addresses on the refugees' issue explores whether this growing crisis is paving the road of division or is only unveiling the already divided union of Europe.

Keywords: discourse, Europe, migrant

Bilyana Todorova

Europe under threat?

Fears and prejudices in BG-MAMMA forums

The aim of the poster is to present an online discussion about the refugee flow since summer 2015. It is held in the biggest Bulgarian forum – bg-mamma, whose active members are women in active age. The fears, the prejudices as well as the stereotypes which presuppose the negative reactions to the migrants are revealed. The special attention is paid to the scope of the concept European culture in discussions as well as to the linguistic means that form the opposition European - non-European.

Keywords: stereotypes, refugees, Bulgarian forum

Mariva Zacharof

What do we have in common?

In times of European economy crisis, where the state of the neo-poor citizens of the EU has been increased, the rapid influx of asylum seekers and illegal

immigrants distract Europeans from their own problems and potential solutions. Socio- political class issues end up becoming national by questioning the human identity. Upper class and lower class people become the element of discourse instead of seeking vital resources for a fertile economy. There seems to be no fertile land anymore and nothing grows as it should in Europe. The borders of each European state, meant to protect the inner lands from invasions, can easily be disrupted but without this invasion to anticipate progress on no side.

Keywords: Europe, economy, borders



ISBN 978-0-9979971-0-1

