Tuning into the Noise of Europe

International Conference The Hague University of Applied Sciences

18 and 19 January 2018

- Book of Abstracts -

After the sovereign debt crisis, the austerity responses of the powerful northern member states with its devastating results for the southern member states, the European Union finds itself confronted with old and new crises.

The European narrative though remains hidden under thick layers of Eurosceptic discourses, and does not provide for a straightforward paved path. Communicating the European vision is all but disrupted between the European elites and the recipients in the member states. Populist parties across Europe hail the death of the European vision. Once more, we find ourselves at crossroads. We need to choose wisely. The current cacophony of narratives of disengagement and isolationism, exemplified by the outcome of the Brexit referendum, seems to put the final dismissive stamp on a peaceful, prosperous and united Europe. It becomes clear that Europe needs a moment of reflection, and take stock of the available paths ahead in the search for a vision that could lead the way.

The aim of this conference, however, is not simply to contribute to this cacophony of voices, or to dwell on constructed narratives that lack substance and remain vague. This conference seeks to identify the reality of the European project as it is lived and perceived and sometimes feared by European citizens.

Thursday 18 January 2018

[Workshop and Opening Lecture]

Workshop - [15:00-16:30]

Talking Translation, hosted by Ricarda Vidal (King's College, London, UK).

This interactive workshop is based on the research/exhibition project Talking Transformations. Notions of 'home' in Europe are becoming more fluid, being challenged and reshaped by unprecedented migration. Britain's vote in favour of leaving the European Union was intricately connected to a fear of migration. Hence our project investigates the impact of migration on notions of home with a particular focus on Britain and the countries most important to EU migration into and out of the UK. We commissioned a British and a Polish poet to each write a poem on the theme of 'home' in response to public workshops held in Britain and Poland in spring 2017 where participants were invited to explore their own notions of home via creative writing exercises and debate. The two poems were then sent into a linguistic and artistic 'migration' which resulted in multiple literary translations as well as translations into moving image art. We employed both interlingual and intersemiotic translation as the interpolation, overlapping, cross-fertilisation of different modes, senses and signs making up 'meaning' allowed us to investigate notions and perceptions of 'home' from different, yet complementing perspectives. Between May and November 2017 poetry and artworks travelled from the UK via France to Spain and back, and from Poland via Romania to the UK and back. The results of both journeys (the original British poem plus its 4 interlingual translations and 4 art films; the original Polish poem plus its 4 interlingual translations and 3 art films) have now been pulled together in an exhibition, which we will draw on for the material of the workshop. In the workshop, we will present our project and invite participants to explore their own notions of home via intersemiotic translation. In three small groups, we will analyse one of the three art films made of the Polish poem and then work on an intersemiotic translation back into poetry. Participants are welcome to produce a poem in any language of their choice. At the end of the workshop we will share our new poems in the group and discuss the various transformations 'home' has undergone.

Opening Lecture - [17:00-19:00]

Reinventing the EU: New Politics, Counter-Voices, by Luuk van Middelaar (Leiden University, Leiden, Netherlands).

On Thursday our opening lecture will be given by historian and political philosopher Luuk van Middelaar, author of the acclaimed standard work *The Passage to Europe* (Yale University Press, 2014). Between 2010 and 2015 he worked as a speechwriter and advisor for Herman van Rompuy, the first permanent president of the European Council. In these turbulent years he witnessed as an insider how the European Union stumbled forwards from crisis to crisis. Now, in retrospective, he has taken the time to reflect on this period, both personally and historically, in his recently published *De Nieuwe Politiek van Europa* (The New Politics of Europe).

In the opening lecture of the conference he will discuss how the European Union has tried to solve these crises (the refugee crisis, the greek debt crisis, etc.) by means of continuous "improvisations", with both positive and negative outcomes. Van Middelaar argues that, in the past, the European Union had always been surprisingly good in developing tools to build an internal market, but now, in our times, a new "toolkit" is needed to solve the politically much more sensitive issues. In an interview for the Dutch daily *Trouw*, he concluded that it is necessary to "connect the techniques from the regulation-machine with the ability to take decisions that are visible and accountable for the public opinion."

From the blurb of his new book:
"No doubt Europe has arrived in a revolutionary phase. In recent years the Brussels-regulation-machine had reached its limits. The public stood up. No-one can ignore the spectacle. De Nieuwe Politiek van Europa *offers a readable and clarifying account of this exciting power-play. Luuk van Middelaar shows with élan how politicians in Brussels, Berlin, Paris, London, and The Hague tune the Union for the future."*

From Ian Buruma, Editor-in-Chief of the *New York Review of Books*:
"One of the most cogent thinkers about the EU is Luuk van Middelaar, a historian educated in Holland and France, and now based in Brussels. His articles frequently appear in France, as well as his native Holland. As a former member of the cabinet of the Belgian Herman Van Rompuy, the first president of the European Council, van Middelaar knows the EU from the inside out. He sees the problem of Europe mainly as a political crisis."

Friday 19 January 2018

Connecting conflicting narratives on European integration

→ Gjovalin Macaj (St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, UK)

This paper seeks to conceptualise conflicting narratives about the causes and consequences of the crisis of European Union, coming from both policy and academic discourse. Contrasting accounts on the state of European integration, ranging from disintegration, further integration through crisis or business as usual are not mutually exclusive, but in fact related dimensions of the current operation of the EU. The paper proposes a model to connect disparate diagnoses and solutions in order to produce a more coherent story about the state and direction of the EU. The paper builds on an analysis of conflicting narratives during key crises of EU, from the collapse of the European Political Cooperation to the present day.

Gjovalin Macaj is a Lecturer in Politics at Keble College and a DPhil candidate in International Relations at St Antony's College, University of Oxford. His research and teaching interests concern the European Union and ethics in global affairs.

Europe, yes you can! - The founding principles as guidelines for EU today

→ Margriet Krijtenburg (The Hague University of Applied Sciences, The Hague, Netherlands)

We know some of the new challenges that divide this family of nations, but what brought them once together? Given today's rumblings of discontent, it is worthwhile to reflect on the founding principles of the European Union, for they are still capable of uniting Europe and bringing it to prosperity. The European unification project started in 1950 with the objective of achieving peace and security on a devastated continent. A flourishing economy was seen as a means to an end: to implement this political integration project would lead to peace, make states interdependent and thereby war impossible. The main architect of this project, Robert Schuman, highlighted four key principles to guide unification: a) reconciliation, between the arch-enemies France and Germany. b) effective solidarity, c)

subsidiarity and d) supranationality. Schuman hoped to see the unification of Western, Central and Eastern Europe realised as soon as possible. Borders should become lines of communication rather than rigid lines of separation. Above all, Europe needed a soul. These principles have not always been honoured. Today's populism, lack of confidence in the EU, its spinelessness and all the other crises, can be partly explained by Schuman's frame of reference in which the person is at the heart of the economy, technology and politics and not the other way round. Schuman's key principles surprise for their simplicity and topicality. They can contribute in a crucial way to the solution of today's crises and therewith also to the stronger unification of Western, Central and Eastern European countries.

Margriet Krijtenburg is Researcher on European Integration and Senior lecturer in Spanish and Personal Leadership at the European Studies Programme of the Faculty of Management & Organisation, The Hague University of Applied Sciences (THUAS).

The financial and refugee "crises": Discursive practices and narratives on Europe in the northern and southern public spheres.
→ Christos Frangonikolopoulos (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece) & Stamatis Poulakidakos (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece)

The European Union is in the middle of a financial, political and social turmoil. The fiscal crisis in various member-countries (especially in the countries of southern Europe) and the ongoing refugee flows from the Middle East (predominantly from Syria), have created a context of internal political, financial and social transformation in the European Union. Amidst this context, the information concerning the advances in the European structure, become of utmost importance.

The aim of this research is to discuss -through the presentation of quantitative data- the stances developed towards the EU policies and its institutions (European Commission, European Parliament, European Central Bank) in the German and Greek public spheres, as expressed in the public discourse of politicians and journalists in mainstream Greek (kathimerini.gr, efsyn.gr) and German media (Sueddeutsche Zeitung (SZ) and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)), regarding the coverage of the EU financial and refugee "crises".

In addition, the proposed research, based on the theories of propaganda and post-truth, examines in a comparative way, several important discursive characteristics of the articulated discourse on the EU in Greece and Germany, such as the prevalence of opinions (expression of personal beliefs) over facts (narration of specific events), the existence of

populist discourse, the existence of a Manichean rationale in the examined discourses and the evocation to feelings (either positive or negative ones).

Conflicting Religious Narratives on Europe: Comparative cases of 'old' and 'new' member states
→ Vedran Obucina (Independent Institute for European and Globalisation Studies, Rijeka, Croatia)

The religious narrative on Europe is part of the common European identity, depicted as the heritage of Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Protestantism, as well as the contribution of the European Judaism and Islam. These religions constitute some 75 per cent of the European Union population, which includes also some 15 per cent atheists, non-believers, and agnostics. A large part of them will look for the answers in times of crisis precisely in the traditions of their beliefs.

This paper examines the religious narrative of Europe in times of crisis and immediately divides Europe in „old" and „new" member states, i.e. in countries different by the extent of their secularisation processes, percentage of believers and especially the messages given about European integration in different EU member states. The research is based on the official and broadcasted narrative from the major religious communities in the EU member countries and examined according to the five major units of research. The results show how religious narratives support the notions of Euroscepticism, ecumenism in Europe, (in)tolerance to the Other, European unity, and the European institutions and their decisions as the major units of this research. Among the most interesting findings is the large amount of indifference among certain churches to some of the European unity traits; the Catholic support for the refugees and immigrants; the Euroscepticism of the Orthodox churches; lacking ecumenism on the local levels; and the large acceptance of the legitimacy of the European institutions but without giving legitimacy to some of its core ideas and decisions.

Vedran Obućina is political scientist from Croatia, Head of the Study Group for Turkey and the Middle East in the independent Institute for the European and Globalisation Studies. He is also the deacon in the Orthodox Old-Catholic Province of St. Christopher in Croatia.

Panel 2: Daily Life Narratives

Chair   Paul Nixon

Student rapporteur   Henry Strong

How (New) European Values are perceived by Elderly People in Zadar, Rijeka and Pula (Croatia)

→ Olga Orlić, Anita Sujoldžić, Anja Iveković Martinis (Institute for Anthropological Research)

This paper addresses the phenomenon of an Intercultural Dialogue (ICD) as both a narrative of European and Croatian discourses (in both the public and private sphere). In Croatia, immediately after the breakup of Yugoslavia, but especially after the Homeland War in Croatia (Croatian War of Independence (1991-1995), the aspiration to become a member state of the EU shaped post-war discourses. The narratives of "returning to" or "belonging to Europe" and to the "Western" part of the world became popular in Croatian public discourse, where everything Yugoslav, socialist (and Balkan) is still, to this very day, perceived as undesirable, shameful and something to fear (Rihtman-Auguštin 1997). Especially in the process of accessing the Union, and during the time when Croatia was trying to meet the Copenhagen criteria, there was a growing trend to "claim" or "prove" Europeanness (to oneself and to Europe). This paper seeks to address the "Intercultural Dialogue" as part of this trend. Processes of Europeanization, as Radaelli puts it, do not relate to the implementation of certain formal or informal rules into diverse aspects of member (or aspiring) state's politics, but they are also influencing everyday lives of its inhabitants, at various levels. These processes of Europeanization also include promoting a set of desirable values, such as the European (or "European") one. Recently, in contemporary European society, the issue of internal mobilities of European peoples has been complemented by a renewed problematizing of the new influx of people from other parts of the world, mainly refugees. Europe is hence facing new challenges, while at the same time adding to further European cultural diversification. The European Commission, as well as the Council of Europe do stress the importance of cultural diversity. In this respect, especially the intercultural dialogue is perceived as a major tool for achieving pluralism in European society. This paper takes the pluralism-narrative of Europe as a point of departure, and hence deals with ways how elderly people in Croatia cope with the Intercultural Dialogue in their private settings and how do these narratives do (or do not) shape their everyday life. The results presented here are obtained from anthropological research carried out in 2016 in the mid-sized cities of Zadar, Rijeka and Pula, as a part of a wider TIDA project. The results presented are obtained by qualitative methodology, by semi-structured interviews carried with elderly people in homes for the elderly people in

the above mentioned cities. The objective was to analyse how ICD, as a prominent European narrative has affected the lives and mind-sets of the elderly citizens of the latest European member state. The main points of this research included perception and acknowledgement of our interlocutors about tangible and intangible cultural heritage of their city, its multicultural history/reality and the praxis of intercultural dialogue they perceive and/or employ as citizens. The outcomes of our research reveal differences between cities, which could be explained by looking at the dominant (local) narratives as expressed in city-marketing and/or branding. And while some cities (Pula, Rijeka) actively brand themselves as multicultural cities, cherishing Intercultural Dialogue as a typical European value, Zadar reveals quite a different story about the post-conflict ICD narrative that is not necessarily compliant with the European "top-down" ICD narrative. In further contextualization of the results we focus especially on the meaning and power of narratives of (multilayered and multifaceted) Europeanness in the mind-sets of elderly people in the youngest EU member Croatia.

Olga Orlić is a scientific associate and researcher at the Institute for Anthropological Research in Zagreb (Croatia). Anita Sujoldžić is a professor of anthropology at the University of Zagreb, Croatia, Senior Researcher at the Institute for Anthropological Research in Zagreb, and Vice-President of the Council for Anthropological Research of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Anja Iveković Martinis is a research assistant at the Institute for Anthropological Research in Zagreb (Croatia).

Beyond the Eurotypes: Alternative Narratives of Contemporary European Culture
→ Murray Pratt (Amsterdam University College, Amsterdam, the Netherlands) and Nicholas Manganas (University of Technology, Sydney, Australia).

In dialogue with the sounds and images of the competing and contrasting Europes they encounter in research, teaching and everyday practices, the presenters explore disparate cultural landscapes that offer alternative mappings of European Culture. In contrast to predominant visions, myths and versions that limit European identities as either jubilant (progress, harmony, inclusive) or catastrophic (dysfunctional, irrelevant, noise, neuralgia, antiquated or deceased), they encounter and uncover narratives that are more ambivalent, and where the contexts of narration are contested, the stories still in the telling.
The presentation outlines how stereotypes and myths inform a collective understanding representing pan-European and intra-European identities, before foregrounding cultural texts, events and interventions that configure the relations between the local and the European in surprising ways.

Alluding to a range of cultural objects that each contests dominant Eurotypes, the presenters' conversation brings brief cameos of the following queries and chronicles into communication with the sounds of Europe:

- What happens when student learning engages with the European cultural project? – Some observations from a study trip to Paphos, European Capital of Culture 2017
- Antipodean Europe – What narratives and forms do European archetypes take beyond its borders in Australian contexts, such as the work of Christos Tsiolkas?
- Imagining resistance – Can we detect, whether in contemporary Greek poetry, Michel Houellebecq's novels, or *Autumn* by Ali Smith, emerging narratives that take issue with austerity, popularism and Brexit respectively?

Aligned with Mireille Rosello's approach of queering European culture, the presenters conclude by considering whether the European cultural production can be reframed as a process of transvaluation, and encourage readings that attend to occluded voices, phantom narratives or cartographies that suggest approaching cultural value and identity in terms of relationality and community.

Prof. Murray Pratt is affiliated with the Amsterdam University College. Dr. Nicholas Manganas is affiliated with the University of Technology, Sydney.

Underrepresented Narratives of European Integration: Workers in Germany.
→ Antje Grebner, The Hague University of Applied Sciences, The Hague, Netherlands

A study on the changing worker attitudes towards Europe, conducted by the Hans Böckler Stiftung, shows that the attitudes towards European integration amongst workers in Germany is changing for the worse in the wake of the financial crisis, by which this particular group is amongst those directly affected. Rose and Borz (2015) note that while "eurozone institutions are committed to further integration, most EU citizens are not", although they do not elaborate on any significant social differentiation within public opinion survey. The Special Eurobarometer on designing Europe's future (EBS461, April 2017) found that manual workers more likely not to have trust in the European Union (50)%, compared to managers with 36% and other white collar workers with 42%).

The objective of this research paper is to research on the narrative of young people in vocational training and blue-collar workers in northern Bavaria. The theoretical and methodological approach is based on the criticism of middle-range theoretical frameworks that focus too much on model building and conceptualisation rather than detailed observation and analysis that would form the basis for theory-building. By turning to qualitative research methods and a historicist conceptualisation of development and continuity into life worlds, we will try to circumvent the dilemma of the missing link between

theoretical models and the construction of everyday life realities. In other words, this research proposes a bottom-up approach. In doing so, we view the dynamics of European integration more in the light of discourse than in the light if institution-building or structure. The dynamics of European integration is understood within a discursive framework within which transforming processes take place and meaning take shape. Within this process, "European" is viewed a "habitus" in the Bourdieuan sense, within which "[...] agents make sense of, and give meaning to their worlds, their place in it, and who they are [...]". (Robertson et al., 2012)

This research is based on field work. The aim of the field work is to uncover internalised scripts by mapping and describing practices of "being European" within the framework of European integration and the search for European narratives, thus disclosing the underlying assumptions in order to visualise meaning, agency, power relations, hierarchies, agency within and between hierarchies, the validity and transformations of practices and the self-understanding of what makes a European a European, and how this is affected by their self-perception of their standing within Europe.

Antje Grebner is a lecturer in politics at The Hague University of Applied Sciences.

Panel 3: Alternative narratives of 'Europa'

Chair   Andreas Funk

Student rapporteur   Laurens den Hartog

Before interrail: imagining Europe on the train between the Belle Epoque and the outbreak of the Second World War

→ Dina Gusejnova (University of Sheffield, UK)

The Belle Epoque was an epoch of train travels, a time when concepts of proximity and distance were rapidly changing. Trains were not only a means of transport from A to B, however, but also spaces of intellectual encounter. The close proximity encouraged intensive and revealing conversations, a phenomenon which Georg Simmel has devoted attention to. Key artefacts of European modern culture is full of examples of this, including works such as Tolstoy's 'Kreutzer sonata' and Orson Wells' The Lady Vanishes. As this paper will argue, the railway grid was also a matrix within which the contours of Europe were imagined. Looking at the Diary of one of the best connected Europeanists of the period, Count Harry Kessler (1868- 1937), I hope to examine how his ideas of Europe and those of his interlocutors mapped onto intellectual exchanges carried out in the context of rail journeys. The well-known diplomat and dandy had recorded over 40,000 encounters in the course of his life, many of them on or around rail travel. Train journeys were a

significant element of his mobile lifestyle, and a close reading of the diary from this perspective will enable me to map the subjects of his conversations onto the spatial contexts in which these took place. In the last part of the paper, I will place this case study in a broader context by relating the social history of elite mobility between the end of the Belle Epoque and the outbreak of the Second World Wars to the changing character of the idea of Europe in this period.

Dina Gusejnova is a Lecturer in Modern History at Sheffield University., currently working on the intellectual and cultural history of statelessness and forced displacement in British and transnational contexts. Her first book, European Elites and Ideas of Empire, 1917-57 *(Cambridge UP), is now available open access.*

A Europe of Cities: 'Europeanizing' Urban Imaginaries and Spaces in the Interwar Period
→ Stefan Couperus (University of Groningen, Netherlands)

Nation states are usually articulated as the main driving forces behind European (des)integration processes, particularly with regard to the historical trajectory of the European Union. However, as historical scholarship has disclosed, European (des)integration is not exclusively an affair of nation states nor is it a post war phenomenon. Senses of Europeanness or interconnectedness within what is conceived of as a European space and imaginary have been produced by ideas, practices and institutions that do not relate to the nation state per se. Flows of knowledge, exchange of ideas and intellectual encounters fostered many 'Europes' (e.g. the republic of letters, transnational political movements, academia), whereas the physical integration of Europe in the age of modernity (e.g. roads, infrastructure, waterworks, railways, aviation) rendered shared spaces that transcended the nation state.

In the age of accelerated urbanization and industrialization, particularly just before and after the Great War, cities were also considered to be constituents of a shared space and imaginary that was transnational, European and global before anything else. During the interwar period, transnational networks emerged in which city actors, e.g. administrators, politicians, engineers, civil servants, articulated the city as a socio-political unit that generated narratives of Europe and Europeaneness without much reference to nations or states. As such, particular urban imaginaries and spaces fostered the notion of a Europe of cities.

This paper addresses the construction(s) of a Europe of cities by the transnational agents and networks that were involved in what others have dubbed the 'urban internationale' of the interwar period. It will too assess how legacies of these integrative narratives have

played out in European and global collaborations between cities and to what extent a 'Europe of cities' is part of contemporary integrative narratives of Europe today.

Stefan Couperus is an associate professor who teaches European Politics and Society at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands. He works and publishes mainly on the modern history of urban governance and planning in Europe and the US. His recent publications include a co-edited book volume entitled (Re)Constructing Communities in Europe 1918-1968 (Routledge 2017)*, a guest co-edited special section entitled* In Search of the Social *in the* Journal of Urban History (2017) *and a guest co-edited special issue in the* Journal of Modern European History (2016) *entitled* Experimental Spaces – Planning in High Modernity*.*

"Europa Erwache!" A Look into the Ongoing Construction of a Racialized European Identity and Its *völkisch* Roots
→ Kevan Feshami (University of Colorado Boulder, US).

Asked in a 2014 interview whether he places more value on "race" or "nation," musician Nick Giohalas, a member of Greek racist black metal band Der Stürmer, responded that "race…is the common bond between all European people that unite[s] us to a common cause". In the interview, Giohalas was not only representing his band, but also his political party, Golden Dawn. While nominally a "social nationalist" party, Golden Dawn has a history of extending its vision and its activism beyond the borders of Greece.

Golden Dawn is far from alone in this internationalist outlook. Intellectual movements from Identitarianism to the French New Right offer visions of a common Europe brought together around shared "traditions," "values," and "heritage," meaning race. Digital presences like EuropeanUnity565—a cross-platform collection of racist music videos from all over Europe—exclaims to its followers "We act as one lest we perish alone." Nor is this internationalism contained to Europe. In the United States, groups like Identity Europa clearly model themselves on the Identitarian Movement, while many platforms and parties foster closer ties with their European counterparts. For white nationalist groups, Europe is a common narrative of identity through which they seek to build connections.

One of the most striking aspects of this narrative is its resemblance to the role "Germanness" played for the Völkisch movement. Active in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the movement was a loosely related group of nationalist intellectuals seeking to establish a unifying German identity that could provide cultural stability in the midst of Germany's passage to industrial modernity. Much of Völkisch discourse has key qualities in common with today's white nationalists, including: romanticization of folk

traditions; naturalism and environmentalism; nativism, anti-Semitism, and racism; anti-capitalism and illiberalism; and an anti-Christian sentiment grounded in paganism. Accordingly, this paper examines the discourse and cultural material produced by white nationalists who seek to build a common identity around "Europeanness," putting it into relation with Völkisch thought. Particular attention is given to contemporary music, ranging from Identitarian hip hop to national socialist black metal, which is a popular way to express and circulate this racist identitarianism. In addition, the similarities by which both intellectual currents construct their racialized vision of identity as under threat is also considered in light of the respective social instability of early modern Germany and today. Narratives of victimhood helped Völkisch thinkers to position their constructed Germanness as under threat from the forces of industrial modernity—including those "outsiders," like Jewish people, whom they blamed for this modernity. The paper considers how contemporary social instability serves the same role for racist Euro-identitarians. Ultimately, this paper explores how this alternative, racist vision of Europe draws on an older tradition in remarkably similar circumstances, with the hope that a greater understanding of these relationships can help to better illuminate the challenges of addressing contemporary racist narratives.

Kevan A. Feshami is a doctoral candidate in the College of Media, Communication, and Information at the University of Colorado Boulder in the US. He studies the intellectual histories and digital activities of white nationalism, with a focus on the white genocide myth.

Europeanism as a Third Way: Conservative notions of a European identity before the Second World War.
→ Guido van Hengel (THUAS, The Hague, The Netherlands)

The idea of Europe wasn't born with the Treaty of Rome, not even with the founding of the Council of Europe just after the end of World War II. Long before World War II and during the interwar period there were various European visionaries who shared ideas and ideals about saving Europe as a continent and a culture. By then, conceptions of Europe were not about pragmatic collaboration or the pooling of coal and steel, but about the deeper spiritual roots of a shared European culture. Nationalism ostensibly had had a disastrous effect on the presumed harmony of European culture, and therefore the European pioneers of the twenties and thirties found a counterpart of the nation states in the idealization of European 'communities'. These communities would fit in a hierarchical society in which 'everyone would know his place'. In short, these European ideals of the interwar period couldn't be further away from the left-liberal dream of Europe as we know it today. Some

French proponents of a European integration, such as the intellectuals belonging to the *Ordre Nouveau*, were fierce and militant Catholics, who longed for the lost culture of the middle Ages. Moreover, they had no problems with colonialism and anti-Semitism, two sentiments that haunted the European societies during the interwar period. This paper contextualizes three of these rather conservative 'European platforms' from the period 1914-1938. These are the *Forte Kreis* (Germany), the *New Europe Group* (England) and *L'Ordre Nouveau* (France).

Guido van Hengel is a lecturer in politics at The Hague University of Applied Sciences.

Lecture: European identity as political struggle

The keynote lecture of the conference "Tuning into the Noise of Europe" will be given by Belgian scholar Nico Carpentier, who has been conducting research into subjects of communication, narration, discourse, participation and democratization for a variety of universities and research institutes.

Currently, he is working as a Professor at the Department of Informatics and Media of Uppsala University (Sweden), and he holds two part-time positions as Associate Professor of the Communication Studies Department of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgium) and a Lecturer at the Charles University in Prague (CZ).

How to communicate

The lecture will be grounded in a discourse-material theoretical framework, which emphasizes the contingent and struggled-over nature of identities. In this approach, communication plays a key role in making the multitude of signifying and material practices circulate, but also in sedimenting them into discourses. This perspective allows articulating the European identity as an unstable outcome of a series of political struggles, that relate to the fantasy of homogeneity to construct their particular articulation of the European identity as hegemonic and universal.

After outlining this theoretical (and methodological) approach, I will first discuss some of the key European identity projects, starting with the radical right-wing nationalist projects that often deny the (relevance and centrality of) the European identity, but that also have been the hotbed of the European nationalism that Hannah Arendt warned for in the 1950s. A second, and significant, European identity project, very much aligned with the EU's formal position, is the unity-in-diversity project, which aims to reconcile and institutionalize different layers of national belonging. Again, the analytical focus is the limits of this articulation and what is excluded from this project. One of the main discursive exclusions is the signifier of peace, originally a nodal point in the construction of the European identity, but also the signifier of democracy is highly particular (and contested). A second main exclusion is related to the constitutive outside(s), which are related to history, culture, religion and territory.

In the third part, the workings of the discursive-material knot and the European identity struggles will be illustrated by a series of small case studies situated in the 1/academic (European public sphere and Erasmus), 2/popular (Eurovision Song Contest and Sinterklaas) and 3/artistic fields (David Černý's *Entropa* and Bernard Romain's Statue of Europe), which will also allow me to further elaborate the main theoretical framework.

Panel 4: Contrasts and Cacophonies

Chair   Rajash Rawal

Student rapporteur   Vittoria di Canzio

Of national questions and multi-national unions: Britain, Europe and the phantoms of Brexit

→ Georgios Giannakopoulos (Queen Mary University, London, UK)

The paper addresses the disjointed state of the European project today by focusing on the discourses underpinning Britain's exiting from the institutions comprising the European Union. More specifically, taking seriously the proposition that we are currently witnessing the rise of nationalism across the continent, the paper offers a historical account of the key national questions in the British isles which further complicate the attempted re-adjustement of Britain's relation with Europe, namely the Irish and the Scottish question. The paper argues that the state of affairs within Great Britain is eerily familiar with the rise of ethnic tensions and the erection of barriers curtailing the freedom of movement across the continent and goes on to illustrate this by dwelling on the discourses stemming from the unfolding refugee crisis. It also reflects on the current predicament of the European project and seeks to map out ways to transgress the prevalent cacophony across the European landscape. The paper is a foray into contemporary history with an emphasis on the legacy of national and imperial questions in Britain's relations with Europe. It connects with my historical research and current teaching commitments.

Dr. Georgios Giannakopoulos teaches seminars in European and Intellectual history at QMUL and UCL. He is working on his first book monograph provisionally titled 'Weather Men: British Intellectuals, National Questions and Imperial Order in Europe (1880-1930)'.

Polish Visions and Revisions of Europe

→ Joanna Orzechowska-Wacławska and Natasza Styczyńska (Jagiellonian University Cracow, Poland).

2015 presidential and parliamentary elections have marked an important turn in the Polish public and political discourse on Europe. The main aim of this paper is to analyze the changing visons of Europe and European integration, as well as the place of Poland within the European Union in the context of EU's internal crisises and global challenges.

The study, whose results are presented here, is based on the analysis of party discourse (mainly party programs and stenographic records of Parliamentary Commission on the EU matters) and public appearances of Polish political leaders (study based on interviews published on printed media: newspapers and weeklies) between 2015 (Nov) and 2017 (Sep).

The changes on the Polish political arena have had an important impact on the dominant narrative on Europe. As our study shows, there has been a significant strengthening of centre-periphery and West *versus* East dichotomous discourse, alongside with the deepening of elite *versus* non-elite ('ordinary people') narrative. At the same time European matters have been overwhelmingly instrumentalized by Polish political leaders (both liberal and conservative) who have been using European arguments to address national issues rather than to participate in the debate on the future of European integration. The visible and growing Eurosceptic discourse of major Polish political forces (mainly Law and Justice party), that derives from the ethnic conception of nation and the territorial (exclusive) idea of sovereignty, has fueled the perceived conflict between national and non-national (European) interests. Its strikingly anti-western rhetoric may be seen as an exemplary of de-europeanization practice,that might in the future have disintegrational consequences.

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Ukraina Europaea? Ukrainian historical narratives and Ukraine's troubled path to European integration
→ Nicolaas A. Kraft van Ermel, MA Netherlands-Russia Centre, University of Groningen

The recent upheavals in Ukraine are related to European integration: the 2014 Euromaidan Revolution started because president Yanukovych, acting against his earlier statements,

refused to sign the Association Agreement with the EU at the Vilnius summit. This also counteracted the policies of European integration which has been favored by all ruling political elites since Ukraine's independence in 1991. Successful European integration is a multi-faceted process and involves both tangible legal reforms as well as more intangible achievements such as true commitment to European values. The latter has repercussions for established historical narratives: in fact, besides the European legal acquis communautaire, there also exists an acquis historique (as proposed by Fabrice Larat and Chiara Bottici). Successful integration – either membership of or close association with – the European Union thus also entails the adoption of historical narratives which are in line with the EU's ruling narratives, which are centered around the ideas about the uniqueness of the Holocaust, the presentation of Nazi dictatorship and the entire Second World War as the lowest point of European history. These negative experiences are contrasted with the positive experiences of post-war European integration. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, newly independent Ukraine needed to provide its population with new historical narratives which could replace previous Soviet narratives. While different ruling elites have proposed different historical narratives, they are all national in nature. This process of nation building presents Ukraine as a European nation, but how compatible with European integration are these narratives? This question will be the focal point of this paper. I will first briefly expound the framework of the acquis historique and then continue with the narratives proposed by Ukrainian ruling elites in their nation building strategies, focusing on two cases: the artificial Famine of 1932-1933 and the actions of Ukrainian nationalists during the Inter War period and the Second World War. I will show that although these narratives could be presented in a way compatible with the acquis historique, none of the ruling elites since 1991, have done so. In this respect, Ukraine is hardly unique: we have only to mention the handling of the heritage of Estonian SS legion, the admiration for the dictator Ion Antonescu in Romania or the fascist Ustaše movement in Croatia. In fact, post-communist states which have already become EU-member states or are in various stages of integration, are actively questioning established European narratives. Using the Ukrainian example, I will argue that Western Europe will need to rethink its common historical narratives for European integration – in dialogue with the entire Central and Eastern European region, including Ukraine – to succeed. This all, besides, the great economic and (geo)political challenges that Europe is currently facing.

Nicolaas A. Kraft van Ermel, MA is historian of Central and Eastern Europe and is currently affiliated with the Netherlands-Russia Centre at the University of Groningen. He is also pursuing a PhD with the research project entitled 'Ukrainian history at the crossroads of Europe: History politics and Ukraine's "European Turn"'.

Competing narratives of the EU in Russian foreign policy: in search for identity or policy?

→ Aziz Elmuradov (University of Bielefeld, Germany).

The Russian discourse on the EU in recent years has been marked by its strong dynamism and multiplicity of perspectives and trajectories that come into light in view of Russia's evaluation of its own 'weight' and that of the EU. While the EU has remained a constant point of reference across various contexts, new ways have emerged in which the Russian policymakers problematize and frame the EU in their discursive practices. On the one hand, in line with 'popular' perceptions and speculations that Russia sees 'a declining Europe' or is rather up 'to sow discord in Europe', different narratives of Europe are recalled in attempts to interpret the course of Russia's present relations with the EU. On the other hand, and contrary to common expectations, these very discourses also seem to indicate that Russia self-identifies with a strong EU. Using discourse analysis and the concept of Other this research project seeks to trace Russia's changing images of Europe and provide insights into how Russian foreign policy debates draw upon multiple images of Europe while trying to transform them into their self-image.

Aziz Elmuradov, MA is a member of the Research Group "World politics" at the Faculty of Sociology of Bielefeld University

Panel 5: How to communicate

Chair   Piotr Perczynski
Student rapporteur   Valeria Babara

Lobbying of professional's bodies versus European public space

→ Olivier Arifon (Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium).

Within the European Union, does an integral European public space, place of legitimation of politics, exist? According to (Dacheux, 2008), the answer to that question is negative. A public space is defined as a place where debates between contradictories made by all types of actors occur. Its non-existence is visible on a daily basis for the European citizens and its dynamism would signify a vibrant public space and successful European media. That is currently not the reality. . Nevertheless, some fragments of a European public space exist, as the ones created by NGO's coalitions. Another particular place exists, debating of questions concerning European citizens. This space is composed of dialog between companies, broadly professional organisations, and civils servants of the Commission,

broadly Institutions. The political construction of Europe elaborates by agreements between governments (Telo, 1995). During the 80 and the 90s, the economic construction adopt the same process. The federations organise themselves efficiently in order to lobby the Commission. In a way, they create a European space at their advantage. Which challenges are raised by the lobbying activities by European federations in the communication and the comprehension of the European project? Why the European citizens are unsatisfied by the functioning of the Union? Do lobbying strategies generate tensions, and at which levels? According to the definition of the European Parliament, lobbying is « all activities carried out with the objective of influencing the policy-making and decision-making processes of the European Union institutions". 1 In Brussels, lobbying is accepted. It focuses its action and legitimacy by providing information to civil servants and politicians, who recognise their needs for their activities. Behind this model called « check and balance », where separation of powers would contribute to an equilibrium, the reality is more complex. Actions and quality of information may vary according to the actors and their ethics. In some branch, federations provide intensively and by several manners, quantities of information to the institutions. Scholars and journalists labelled the strategy "creation of doubt" by misleading content. This scheme, gaining time by proving more information, more studies, more debate creates the doubt among the researchers, the politicians and the citizens. Since around ten years, it is identified as the major actions of professional's federations in some sectors towards European institutions and states. These actions contribute to discredit the efficient of the European system, and to move away citizens from the project. The second element relies on the methods used by federations: astroturfing, scientific studies, selection of influence on experts. In the framework, lobbying has in internal contradiction. Instead of nourishing debate and contradictions of the European society, the federations are fragmenting and diverting them. In this fragmented place, a common public space is difficult to animate. This communication will present the process and, with one or two cases, the results.

Olivier Arifon is a research fellow at the Université libre de Bruxelles, Brussels, Belgium.

Jobs and growth or threat to democracy? The narrative struggle for the signification of TTIP.
→ Luis Bouza Garcia (College of Europe, Bruges) and Alvaro Oleart (Université Libre de Bruxelles).

European Union studies are undergoing a narrative turn (Bouza Garcia 2017): academic debate is starting to consider both the importance of socio-cultural representations of Europeanness for understanding citizens and civil society attitudes towards the EU and the

usage of narrative strategies by EU political actors and institutions to select, frame, emplot and represent political strategies on EU integration. Although the current interest for narratives of the EU is part of the broader "argumentative turn" in social sciences in the last two decades (Forester 1993) it also departs from previous approaches in that narrative replaces discourse without explicit elaboration. Often authors and political commentators refer to narratives as metaphors of a dominant discourse or the 'zeitgeist' on a given issue. This departs clearly from post-structuralist understandings of the role of discourse in power struggles (Fairclough 2003) as narrative analyses are less interested in the intentions of the authors than in the text itself: Czarniawska suggests that "one of the reasons for an eager espousal of a narrative approach in both the humanities and social sciences might be that it is useful to think of an enacted narrative as the most typical form of social life" (2004:3). We depart from these approaches in that we consider that narratives are important devices in political communication. Narratives select and emplot events, posit relations between them and provide explanation, justification and accountability (Sassatelli 2012). However, far from being natural forms of representation of the political world, they are the result of power struggles for the definition of reality. Instead, they are crucial in shaping the 'non-decision-making' power (Bachrach and Barataz 1962) within a polity, by which certain ideas are systematically silenced. Narratives provide the ideational framework of understanding issues and events in the public sphere.. Imposing a narrative in the public sphere has material implications, given that, depending on the 'story' that becomes hegemonic, certain actors, and not others, will gain political influence. The current narrative turn encompasses previous reflections on the EU democratic deficit, identity issues and the lack of a European public sphere, but it reflects that after the financial crisis the EU has never been so present in the public sphere (Beck 2013). In order to contribute to the analysis of how European integration is narrated in the current politicised environment we focus on the competition to define, frame, explain and provide accountability for the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) project by considering the competing narrative strategies of the EU institutions and the Stop TTIP coalition. We will analyse the frames of reference in the documents of both types of actors as well as in-depth interviews and the networks of production and circulation of discourses. The paper provides evidence of the different narrative strategies of the institutions and coalitions around a depoliticisation / politicisation cleavage.

Luis Bouza Garcia is assistant professor in political science at the Universidad Autonoma de Madrid. He is a professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, where he coordinates European General Studies courses. His main field of interest is the emergence of European debates in the public sphere. He is the author of Participatory Democracy Civil Society in the EU: Agenda-Setting and Institutionalisation (Palgrave Macmillan) and has recently

edited a special issue on the narrative turn in EU studies for the Journal of Contemporary European Studies (25:3, Sept 2017).

Alvaro Oleart has an MA in communications from the VUB (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), an executive master in European political communication from IHECS (Institut des Hautes Études des Communications Sociales) and is currently undertaking a PhD in political communication at the ULB (Université Libre de Bruxelles). He is part of the ARC project ValEUR at the Institute of European Studies of the ULB (IEE-ULB), where he is a doctoral researcher. His PhD thesis focuses on the extent to which the national public spheres in France, Spain and the UK have become Europeanised on the issue of TTIP, taking into account the role of civil society, institutional and media discourses on these negotiations.

'Reverse Europeanization'? Making sense of the Overlapping Crises of Europe - Insights from Media Narratives in Romania

→ Miruna Troncotă (National University of Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA), Bucharest, Romania).

The idea that the communication of European narratives is crucial for the Europeanization of national public spheres was very much challenged by the low turnout at the 2014 European elections and the subsequent crises that hit the European Union shortly after (the migration crisis, Euro-scepticism, Greek debt crisis, the Brexit vote etc). Thus, particular attention was given to the role of national media in instrumentalizing Europeanization (understood as the feeling of affiliation to 'a European family', which means not only being part of the same political structure as a EU member state, but also sharing the same political identity). Thus, it was argued that the process of Europeanization suggests a "top-down diffusion of common political rules, norms and practices in Europe" (Hughes, Sasse & Gordon, 2005). It was concluded that media discourses about EU affairs play a key role in the Europeanization of the national public spheres. Considering the various processes of Europeanization, extensive research has been devoted to the emergence of 'a European public sphere', Europeanized national public spheres or simply to national public spheres (de Vreese, 2007, Risse, 2003). An increase in reporting and broadcasting European topics in national media was expected after a country becomes a member of the EU. From this point of view, the Europeanization of public sphere in Romania represents a very challenging case study in order to better understand the impact of the last 3 years overlapping crises faced by the EU on the elite perception.

As such, the main objective of the article is to identify and categorize the major narratives about the European Union and European policies in the Romanian media. The period of time under analysis covers the last 3 years and it focuses on three major moments - European elections in 2014, the migration crisis in 2015, and the Brexit vote in 2016.

Such an insight would be very interesting particularly in the debates about the future of Europe and in context of the policy narratives generated by the 2017 celebration of 60 years since the Treaty of Rome.

The scope is to evaluate the discursive effects of those subsequent crises on the overall perception of a Europeanized public sphere in Romania, 10 years after its membership. In order to achieve these goals the research will be organised in two sections: first, a discourse analysis of media narratives about the three moments as reflected in several leading online journals in Romania. Second, a series of 2 focus groups with journalists and experts in EU affairs will be conducted in order to comment the results of the discourse analysis. The main hypothesis to be tested by the article is the following: The phenomenon of 'discursive polarization' in the national public sphere is one important effect of the major crises affecting the EU, which lead to a so-called 'reverse Europeanization'. The conclusions of the study aim to theoretize this emerging concept of backward effects of Europeanization of national public spheres (called 'reverse Europeanization') and to draw several in-depth observations based on the Romanian media case study about the new narratives abou the EU and its post-Brexit future.

Miruna Troncotă is a Lecturer and Researcher at the Department of International Relations and European Integration in the National University of Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA), Bucharest, Romania. Her most recent book is 'Post-conflict Europeanization and the War of Meanings: the Challenges of EU Conditionality in Bosnia and Kosovo' (Tritonic Publishing House, 2016).

An Image of Citizenship: Michael Haneke's 71 Fragments of a Utopian Europe
→ Alex Forbes (independent scholar)

On 27th August 2015 a truck containing 71 dead bodies, including those of four children as well as 59 men and eight women, was found parked beside an Austrian motorway. Although only one, Syrian, identity document was found at the scene, it was clear that the bodies, although of unknown nationality, were those of people who had been attempting to join the 107, 500 migrants crossing into the European Union the previous month.

The number of human beings found in the truck happens to correspond with the number of *Fragments of a Chronology of Chance* that compose Michael Haneke's 1994 film. The first of the film's 71 scenes, uncannily, is a sequence in which a Romanian orphan attempts to stow away on a truck parked at a service station near the Austrian border. The association may appear tangential and, to say the least, macabre, yet I wish to suggest that this film, twenty-three years of age, may have as much to say about the present situation of Europe than the mute, but no less accusatory, testimony of each of the 71

fragments of human life found in the truck parked by the Austrian motorway in the summer of 2015. The correspondence in the two circumstances, the number of fragmentary scenes and the number of tragic deaths of innocent people, activates a chronological link at the same time as suggesting that the force in operation has nothing to do with 'chance', as the film's title perhaps ironically revokes, but in fact elicits reflection on the meaning of this disruptive recurrence.

Around a close examination of a scene of gestural communication, I will place this film in its early 1990s context. Where *71 Fragments* presents a Romanian orphan child engaging in a game of dare with his Austrian counterpart across the tracks of an underground railway station, it evokes contemporary questioning of the evolution of the nature of migration, the status of refugees, and the consequences for citizenship. Reading this questioning through the contemporary work of Giorgio Agamben and Étienne Balibar, I show the extent to which the questions asked of Europe then, the uncertainties and anxieties surrounding the meaning of the term and the future of the loosely-defined geographical space it refers to, are identical with those to which Europe is once again subjected today.

Where Human Rights organisations and members of the public may call upon 'Europe' to uphold its claim on the protection of human life, the ongoing situation of refugees vis-à-vis European institutions and the opinions of their citizens has, in the time since the early 1990s, continued to have the potential to alter the understanding of life itself.

Panel 6: Spaces of communication

Chair   Daniela Vicherat Mattar
Student rapporteur Fakiha Ahmed

Shared (hi)stories as a remedy for Europe?
→ Astrid Van Weyenberg (Leiden University)

In May 2017, the House of European History opened its doors in the Leopold Park in Brussels. On the website of the European Parliament, the answer to the most important Frequently Asked Question, "Why have a house of European History?" reads as follows: "The generation of people who experienced the tragedies of the 20th century and went on to build the European Communities is disappearing," so that it is now high time "to record their stories and memories to allow future generations to understand how and why today's Union developed as and when it did," because "[i]n times of crisis, it is particularly important to articulate the crucial role of culture and heritage and to remember that peaceful cooperation is not to be taken for granted." Though I would subscribe to the importance of culture, there is something unsettling about the way in which the specific "tragedies of the 20th century" are tied to the generalized and pluralized "in times of crisis."

Are we at present in times of crisis and is this why we need a House of European History to begin with? If so, what is suggested in the belief that current crises (which, problematically, remain unspecified) are best addressed by appealing to a shared heritage, a shared memory, a shared narrative? With these questions in mind and taking a Literary Studies approach, I will discuss some implications of the European narrative that the House of European History displays.

Dr. Astrid Van Weyenberg is Assistant Professor in Literary Studies and Cultural Analysis at Leiden University and a member of the Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society (LUCAS). She is the author of The Politics of Adaptation: Contemporary African Drama and Greek Tragedy (Brill, 2013), *which analyses six South African and Nigerian dramatic texts through the thematic lenses of resistance, revolution, reconciliation, and mourning. She is also co-editor of the volume* Peripheral Visions in the Globalizing Present (Brill, 2016), *which sheds new light on how today's peripheries are made, lived, imagined and mobilized in a context of rapidly advancing globalization.*

How to create new spaces of encounter where new ways of communication that challenge official narratives can emerge in times of European crisis?
→ Laura M. Pana (Migrationlab, Vienna, Austria)

Giving opportunities to migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and locals to co-design and co-create their own spaces of encounter in the form of public living rooms in different European cities, where they can meet, share their experiences, ideas, creativity, challenge official narratives and find solutions together to issues that matter to them, can be quite challenging in a time of deep polarization between Europeans. This presentation will cover how Migrationlab -a foundation inspired by its founder's own migration journey in Europe - explores together with different communities and organizations new ways to communicate with and relate to each other as well as collaborate through co-design and culture in different European contexts. Examples will include experiences and communities in The Netherlands, Austria, Italy, and Ireland. Following our activities in different European countries and noticing already different forms of positive impact, we wanted to better understand the impact of co-creating Migrationlab spaces of encounter in terms of the meaning people gave to these experiences and how we can construct a new language and concepts of how we look at the world and each other.

Laura M. Pana is a social entrepreneur, facilitator, and communicator based in Vienna. Founder and director of Migrationlab, a non-profit organization, which co-designs and co-creates together with communities and organizations across Europe new ways to

acknowledge, relate to and communicate with each other, as well as collaborate in daily multicultural contexts, be it in public space or at work.

Communities of practice towards social change: A journey through the ECF's Idea Camp (2014-2017)
→ Lore Gabler (European Cultural Foundation, Amsterdam)

In our rapidly changing societies – in which hope is not a given – it seems more urgent every day to look beyond what prevents us from acknowledging that another future can be achieved: one that we imagine and actively shape. Every day, we are reminded of the accelerated polarisation of a world whose horizons seems circumscribed by growing inequalities, an ongoing ecological crisis, an increasing scarcity of resources, and a decline of justice. And yet, every day, new initiatives are being born that bring about a different narrative: a narrative in which democracy is not a mere idea but a social dynamic, an embodied practice that stirs the very movement of society.

Since its inception in 1954, the European Cultural Foundation (ECF) has been a firm advocate for an open and democratic Europe. Like many of the people we have been working with over the past decades, we passionately believe in the power of culture in building societies that are embracing the values of justice, diversity, trust, solidarity and equality. Culture provides us with the means, the imagination and the desire to affect the path and direction we are heading towards, giving us a raison d'être to act.

The presentation will introduce some of ECF's programmes, with a focus on the Idea Camp that was initiated in 2013. A three-day collaborative working platform, the Idea Camp offered a safe and open space for sharing and co-creation that addressed some of the most urgent challenges facing our continent. It was held by the ECF and partners between 2014 and 2017 in, respectively, Marseille, Botkyrka, and Madrid. Our ambition with the Idea Camp was to shed light on initiatives undertaken by creative, courageous, committed individuals.

The book, *A community of practice towards social change: A journey through the Idea Camp (2014-2017)*, will be launched at the occasion of the conference 'Tuning into the Noise of Europe'. By taking a journey through the three editions of the Idea Camp and the ideas that it convened, it offers an insight into the Idea Camp as a concept as well as the communities it has brought together. It also delves into the issues and strategies highlighted through the different ideas discussed and developed over the last four years. These insights are brought to life through conversations, essays and contributions with and by some of the ECF team who played a key role in developing the Idea Camp, and some of the inspirational people and organisations whose ideas have helped to shape the Idea Camp.

Lore Gablier is Programme Officer at the European Cultural Foundation (ECF). She was the curator of the last two editions of the Idea Camp held in Botkyrka (2015) and Madrid (2017). She is also co-editor of the book Build the City: Perspectives on Commons and Culture *published in conjunction with the 2015 Idea Camp.*

The European vision and the voices of Europeans: Comparing views on a European cultural heritage in today's EU
→ Viktorija L.A. Čeginskas and Tuuli Lähdesmäki (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)

In 2016, Europe was shocked by the UK's vote for leaving the European Union (EU). Moreover, the recent popularity of nationalistic and populist parties in Europe and the lack of solidarity among the EU member states in dealing with critical issues, such as the economic crises and the massive influx of refugees and migrants, have increased the cacophony of noises in Europe and stretched the EU's credibility of speaking with a united voice. The EU sought to respond to this cacophony by promoting unity and integration and by re-narrating the European past in various EU projects and initiatives. The global cultural flows and movement of people within and across European borders in the past decades contributed to increase the inner pluralism of the continent. Many in the national media and politics have been quick at decrying the EU's attempts for further integration, criticizing the EU for a top-to-bottom notion of Europe and highlighting the problematic notion of a common Europe as many different, also contradictory, histories, narratives as well as cultural identities and memories exist.

In response to criticism of its legitimacy and integration processes, the EU has shown a greater interest in creating a common cultural narrative to foster a notion of sharing common values as well as a common past and cultural heritage. In recent years, the EU has launched several cultural initiatives, among them the European Heritage Label (EHL) that promotes European cultural heritage and communicates predominantly to European citizens about Europe, its values and cultural past at selected sites.

This paper seeks to scrutinize the current polyphony of narratives of Europe and its common past by comparing on an EU and a grassroots level the diverse understandings of what is a 'European' cultural heritage. First, we explore the EU's notion of 'European significance' of cultural heritage and the representations of Europe through the policy discourse of the European heritage Label. Second, our fieldwork conducted at selected cultural sites awarded with the European Heritage Label further enables us to approach directly visitors and to ask them how they understood European cultural heritage. The analysis of visitors' non-elite narratives and personal ideas about a European cultural heritage is contrasted with the 'official' EU narrative. The data, the EU policy documents and visitor interviews, is examined with qualitative content analysis emphasising the use

of language, conceptualisation and rhetoric as locations in which meanings are both consciously and unconsciously produced. Our paper contributes to the discussion of the lived reality of the EU's European project.

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Tuuli Lähdesmäki (PhD, DSocSc) is Academy of Finland Research Fellow and Adjunct Professor at the Department of Music, Art and Culture Studies, University of Jyväskylä (JYU), Finland. Lähdesmäki specializes in heritage, culture and identity politics particularly in the European context.